

THE HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN EPISCOPAL
CHURCH

1587-1883.

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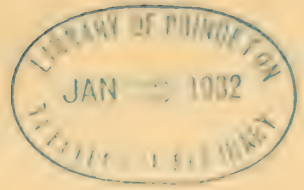
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THE HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH





THE HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN
EPISCOPAL CHURCH

1587-1883

BY
✓✓
WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., LL.D.
BISHOP OF IOWA

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II
THE ORGANIZATION AND PROGRESS OF THE
AMERICAN CHURCH
1783-1883

PROJECTED BY CLARENCE F. JEWETT

BOSTON
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THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The Organization and Progress of the American Church.

1783-1883.

By WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., LL.D.,
Bishop of Iowa.

CHAPTER I.

MEN AND MEASURES OF THE PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION.

HERE the close of hostilities between the mother-land and the revolted colonies the minds of both clergy and laity who had continued faithful to the church of their baptism had become familiarized with the fact that the civil independence of the American States involved the separation of the Church in America from the parent Church of England. It was in Connecticut and in Maryland that the recognition of this fact first took form in efforts for organization, and the perpetuation of the church's continuity. These measures proceeded from ideas wholly at variance, and in their development threatened for a time the disruption of the infant Church. In their subsequent modification and comprehension in a single system they have each left their influence on the principles and procedure of the American Episcopal Church.

In Connecticut, where the Episcopal Church had struggled for existence for three-quarters of a century, and under wise leadership and with a native ministry had attained no inconsiderable strength and prominence, ten of the fourteen clergymen who were still in their eures met in convocation at Woodbury, and on "Lady-day," the feast of the Annunciation, 1783, as the first step towards organization and the perpetuation of the Church, made choice of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., as their bishop-elect. The clergy of the city of New

York united with their brethren of Connecticut in their approval of this act, and the few clergy of the Church in New England outside of the limits of Connecticut followed with kindly sympathies and hearty prayers the indefatigable Seabury across the ocean on his difficult and

*Samuel Seabury D. D. Bp.
Epl. Chh. Connect.*

doubtful errand. Once entered upon this effort to secure the episcopate as the foundation of the Church, the Connecticut clergy never relaxed their labors till the end was gained. Their action had been taken without the presence of the laity, who had been trained to "trust matters purely ecclesiastical to their clergy."¹ They consistently declined to unite in schemes for organization or the formation of ecclesiastical constitutions, or the consideration of alterations in the liturgy, until they had secured the completion of the church's polity in the possession of a valid episcopacy. Their longings and labors were not in vain, and on the 14th of November, 1784, in an "upper room" at Aberdeen the first Bishop of Connecticut received at the hands of the primus and two other bishops of the Scottish Church the consecration denied him in England.

In Maryland, under the proprietary and colonial governments, the Church had been established by law, and upon the breaking out of the war, under the name and title of "the Protestant Episcopal Church" the identity of the Church in the independent State with the mother-church of England, and its rights of property in the churches, chapels, glebes and endowments of that mother-church, were duly recognized in the "vestry act" of 1779. There was danger that the legislature might go further than merely secure the church's rights and property. So closely was the Erastianism of the age ingrained in churchmen and legislators alike that it was proposed in the Assembly to proceed to organize the Church by legislative enactment, and to appoint ordainers to the ministry. Happily, this extraordinary propo-

*Samuel Keene DD Professor of Logic
& moral Philosophy in Washington
College - & Rector of Dorchester Church*

sition attracted the attention of the wise and scholarly Samuel Keene, who hastened to Annapolis, and was heard before the House in oppo-

¹ *I*vide an interesting letter from the Rev. Notes and Documents, illustrating the Organization of the Church," appended to the reprint of Abraham Beach to the Rev. Dr. White, reporting the result of a visit to the meeting of the Connecticut clergy in 1784, in Perry's "Historical the "Journals of General Conventions," III., p. 12.

sition to the measure contemplated. His arguments were convincing, and the scheme was abandoned.

The temporal necessities of the various parishes induced action on the part of "a very considerable number of vestries, wholly in their lay character,"¹ in the form of a petition to the General Assembly of the State for the passage of a law for "the support of the Christian Religion," enabling any church-wardens and vestry "by rates on the pews from time to time or otherwise, . . . to repair the Church or Chapel, and the Church yard and Burying Ground of the same." The consideration of this petition was not pressed during the continuance of the war, but on the coming of peace, the question of a religious establishment was brought before the Assembly in an address from the executive, warmly commending the provision of a "public support for the Ministers of the Gospel." A copy of this address came into the hands of a number of the clergy, assembled at the commencement of Washington College in May, 1783, who at once took the initiative in securing "a Council or Consultation" for the purpose of considering "what alterations might be necessary in our Liturgy and Service; and how our Church might be organized and a succession of the Ministry kept up."² At a meeting of the clergy, held with the permission of the Assembly, besides the preparation of a draft of an act or charter of incorporation for adoption by the legislature, the following "Declaration of fundamental rights and liberties" was unanimously agreed upon and subscribed. In the style and arrangement of this paper we see the hand of the leading man of the Maryland clergy, the celebrated Rev. Dr. William Smith, at that time President of Wash-

William Smith D.D. President
of Washington College, & Rector of
Chester Parish —

ington College. The original manuscript is preserved among the Smith papers in the archives of the General Convention. We give it in full as one of the most important, as it is the earliest, of our ecclesiastical "state papers":—

A *Declaration of certain fundamental Rights & Liberties* of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland: had & made at a *Convention or Meeting* of the Clergy of said Church, duly assembled at Annapolis, August 13, 1783, agreeable to a Vote

¹ "An Address to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland, containing an account of the Proceedings of some late Conventions both of clergy and laity, for the purpose of organizing the said Church, and providing a Succession in her Ministry agreeably to the

Principles of the American Revolution." Baltimore, 1784. 8vo. p. 17. This rare tract is reprinted in full in Perry's "Hist. Notes and Documents," pp. 14, 33.

² The address, etc., p. 6. Perry's "Hist. Notes and Documents," p. 19.

of the *General Assembly* passed upon a petition presented in the Name and Behalf of the said Clergy.

Whereas by the Constitution and Form of Government of this State "all persons professing the Christian Religion are equally entitled to protection in their Religious Liberty, and no person by any Law (or otherwise) ought to be molested in his Person or Estate on account of his Religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practice; unless, under Colour of Religion, any man shall disturb the good order, peace, or safety of the State, or shall infringe the Laws of morality, or injure others in their natural, civil or religious Rights;" And Whereas the ecclesiastical and *Spiritual Independence* of the different Religious Denominations, Societies, Congregations, and Churches of Christians in this State, necessarily follows from, or is included in, their *Civil Independence*.

Wherefore we the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland, (heretofore denominated the Church of England, as by Law established) with all duty to the Civil authority of the State, and with all Love and Good will to our Fellow-Christians of every other Religious Denomination, do hereby declare, make known, and claim the following as certain of the fundamental Rights and Liberties inherent, and belonging to the said *Episcopal Church*, not only of common Right, but agreeable to the express words, spirit and design of the Constitution & Form of Government, aforesaid, viz. —

1st. We consider it as the undoubted Right of the said Protestant Episcopal Church, in common with other Christian Churches under the American Revolution, to compleat and preserve herself as an *entire Church*, agreeable to her antient Usages and Profession; and to have the full enjoyment and free exercise of those purely *spiritual powers* which are essential to the Being of every Church or Congregation of the *faithful*; and which, being derived only from Christ and his Apostles, are to be maintained independent of every foreign or other Jurisdiction, so far as may be consistent with the Civil Rights of Society.

2d. That ever since the *Reformation*, it hath been the received Doctrine of the Church whereof we are members (& which by the Constitution of this State is entitled to the perpetual enjoyment of certain Property and Rights under the Denomination of the Church of England), that there be these three Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: *Bishops, Priests* and *Deacons*, and that an Episcopal Ordination and Commission are necessary to the Valid Administration of the Sacraments, & the due Exercise of the Ministerial Functions *in the said Church*.

3d. That, without calling in Question, or wishing the least Contest with any other Christian Churches or Societies, concerning their Rights, Modes and Forms, we consider and declare it to be an Essential Right of the Protestant Episcopal Church to have, & enjoy the Continuance of the said three Orders of Ministers for ever, so far as concerns matters purely Spiritual, & that no persons in the character of Ministers, except such as are in the Communion of the said Church and duly called to the ministry by regular Episcopal Ordination can or ought to be admitted into or enjoy any of "the Churches, Chapels, Glebes, or other Property" formerly belonging to the Church of England, in this State, & which by the Constitution and Form of Government is secured to the said Church for ever, by whatever Name she, the said Church, or her Superior Order of Ministers, may in future be denominated.

4th. That as it is the Right, so it will be the Duty, of the said Church, when duly organized, constituted and represented in a Synod or Convention of the different Orders of her ministry and People, to revise her Liturgy, Forms of Prayer & publick worship, in order to adapt the same to the late Revolution, & other local circumstances of America, which it is humbly conceived may and will be done, without any other or farther Departure from the Venerable Order and beautiful Forms of worship of the Church from whom we sprung, than may be found expedient in the Change of our situation from a *Daughter* to a *Sister Church*.

William Smith, President, S' Paul's & Chester Parishes, Kent County.

John Gordon, S' Michael's, Talbot.

John MacPherson, W^m and Mary Parish, Charles County.

Samuel Keene, Dorchester Parish, Dorchester County.

W^m West, S' Paul's Parish, Baltimore County.

W^m Thomson, S' Stephen's, Cecil County.

Walter Magowan, S' James's Parish, Ann Arundel County.

John Stephen, All-Faith Parish, S' Mary's County.

Tho' Jn' Claggett, S' Paul's Parish, Prince George's County.

George Goldie, King & Queen, Saint Mary's County.
 Joseph Messenger, S^t Andrew's Parish, S^t Mary's County.
 John Bowie, S^t Peter's Parish, Talbot County.
 Walter Harrison, Durham Parish, Charles County.
 W^m Hanna, S^t Margaret's, Ann Arundel.
 Thomas Gates, S^t Ann's, Annapolis.
 John Andrews, S^t Thomas's, Balt. County.
 Hamilton Bell, Stephney, Somerset County.
 Francis Walker, Kent Island.
 John Stewart, Port-tobacco Parish, Charles County.

In this important document we find the first public assumption of the present legal title of the "Protestant Episcopal Church" by a representative body of that Church. There is also the assertion of "the ecclesiastical and spiritual independence of 'the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland,'" as necessarily following from the civil independence of the state. The right of this Church of Maryland "to preserve herself as an *entire* Church, agreeably to her ancient usages and profession," as well as to exercise her "spiritual power" derived "from Christ and His Apostles" independent of "Every foreign or other jurisdiction," so far as "consistent with the civil rights of Society is claimed." The necessity of Episcopal Ordination and commission, "to the valid administration of the Sacraments and the due exercise of the Ministerial Functions in the said Church," is clearly laid down, and the exclusive right of "the Ministry by regular Episcopal Ordination" to be "admitted into or enjoy any of the Churches, Chapels, Glebes, or other property formerly belonging to the Church of England," is emphatically asserted. It is claimed that "the said Church, when duly organized, constituted, and represented in a Synod or Convention of her Ministry and people," is competent "to revise her Liturgy, Forms of Prayer, and public worship, in order to adapt the same to the late revolution, and other local circumstances of America." Here, also, we have the first authoritative recognition of the right of the laity to admission to the counsels of the Church, and this document, it will be borne in mind, was the production of the clergy alone. Deprecating any "further departure from the venerable order and beautiful form of worship of the Church" of England, "that may be found expedient in the change . . . from a daughter to a sister Church," these clergymen of Maryland, less than a score in number, laid broad and deep in this comprehensive and yet conserva-

Abraham Beach
Rector of Christ Church
New Brunswick.

tive document the foundations of the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the American Church.

While these important measures were occupying the attention of the churchmen of Maryland, a correspondence had been opened by the Rev. Abraham Beach, of New Brunswick, New Jersey, with the Rev. Dr. William White, of Philadelphia, in which the hope was expressed "that the members of the Episcopal Church in this country would interest themselves in its behalf, would endeavour to introduce Order and uniformity into it, and provide for a succession in the Ministry." The meeting of the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy, which had been organized prior to the war, was made the occasion of an informal gathering at New Brunswick of clergy and laity from the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania,

*Sam. Magaw Sec. of St
Paul's Phila*

on the 11th of May, 1784, and a committee of correspondence was appointed "for the purpose of forming a continental representation of the Episcopal Church and for the better management of the concerns of the said Church." There were present at the conference, the Rev. Drs. White and Magaw, the Rev. Messrs. Beach, Bloomer, Frazer, Ogden, Blackwell, Bowden, Benjamin Moore and Thomas Moore, and Messrs. James Parker, John Stevens, Richard Stevens, John Dennis, Esquire, and Colonels Hoyt and Furman. This conference appointed a committee, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Abraham Beach, Joshua Bloomer and Benjamin Moore, to attend the Trinity convocation of the Connecticut clergy, "for the purpose of soliciting their concurrence . . . in such measures as may be deemed conducive to the union and prosperity of the Episcopal Church in the States of America."

On the 24th of May, 1784, there met at Christ Church, Philadelphia, under the chairmanship of the Rev. Dr. William White, a convention of the clergy and laity, assembled in pursuance of a recommendation of the clergy and vestries of the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, Philadelphia. This convention, memorable as being the first occasion on which the laity were admitted to sit in the councils of the Church, was convened for the purpose of "forming a representative body of the Episcopal churches in the State." The clergy appeared by virtue of their holding the cure of souls. The laity had their appointment by delegation from "the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of each Episcopal Congregation in

the State." There were four clergymen present and twenty-one of the laity. The principle was laid down at the outset that each church should have one vote. This convention appointed a standing committee of clergy and laity, for concerted action with the representatives of "the Episcopal Church in the other States," in framing a constitution for an ecclesiastical government, and agreed upon the "fundamental principles" thereof, claiming the independence of "the Episcopal Church in these States" of foreign authority; asserting its "full and exclusive power to regulate the concerns of its own communion;" professing its doctrinal agreement with the Church of England, and its purpose of preserving "uniformity of worship" "as near as may be;" recognizing the three orders of the ministry, with prerogatives and powers to "be exercised according to reasonable laws;" declaring that the right of enacting "canons or laws" was in "a representative body of the clergy and laity conjointly;" and stipulating "that no powers be delegated to a general ecclesiastical government, except such as cannot conveniently be exercised by the clergy and laity in their respective congregations."

Bishop White claims to have been "the proposer" of the measure adopted in the Philadelphia convention of uniting the laity with the clergy in the church's deliberative and legislative bodies. It was near the close of the contest for independence, early in August, 1782, that William White "despairing," as he himself says in a letter written years afterwards to Bishop Hobart, "of a speedy acknowledgment of our independence, although there was not likely to be more of war, and perceiving our ministry gradually approaching to annihilation," published in pamphlet form an essay entitled "The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered."¹ It is important to the full understanding of this essay to remember that at the time of its issue from the press the first week in August, 1783, there had been no acknowledged negotiations between the hostile governments looking to a return of peace on the basis of a recognition of American independence. The "Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered" was advertised in the "Pennsylvania Packet" of August 6th, though a few copies had been distributed by the writer to his friends immediately prior to this announce-

*William White
President - 288. Rector
of Unit Church & of City
Philadelphia*

¹ *Vide* MS. note on the Church in America, by Thos. H. Montgomery, Esq., of Philadelphia. William White, published in photo-lithography, phia.

ment.¹ It was on this very day that Congress received from Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby a communication, dated on the 2d, giving a prospect of peace. That a cessation of hostilities would shortly take place had been generally believed, but that Great Britain, hopeless though she might be of a successful issue of the struggle to reduce the revolted colonies, would treat with them on a footing of equality as a nation, was not anticipated by any. The communication from the British authorities changed at once the whole aspect of affairs. The pamphlet was at once withdrawn from sale, and as many copies as were within the author's reach were destroyed. The bishop himself, in his episcopal charge of 1807, when adverting to the measures proposed in this pamphlet, adds to the expression of his conviction "that under the state of things contemplated some such expedient as that proposed must have been resorted to;" acknowledges that "had the proposal been delayed a little longer, the happy change of prospects would have prevented the appearance of the pamphlet, unless with considerable alterations."

This pamphlet, in its discussion of measures for the perpetuation of the Church, while proceeding on the understanding "that the succession cannot at present be obtained," recommended, "in the proposed frame of government, a general approbation of Episcopacy, and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession as soon as conveniently may be; but in the mean time" advised an effort "to carry the plan into effect without waiting for the succession."² In view of the assertion, "that the very name of 'bishop' is offensive," the pamphlet proceeded: "If so, change it for another; let the superior clergyman be a president, superintendent, or in plain English, and according to the literal translation of the original, an overseer."³ The proposal of "an immediate execution of the plan" of organization, and the perpetuation of the ministry, "without waiting for the Episcopal succession," was urged "on the presumption that the worship of God and the instruction and reformation of the people are the principal objects of ecclesiastical discipline; if so, to relinquish them from a scrupulous adherence to Episcopacy is sacrificing the substance to the ceremony."³ The plea of delay is met by the inquiry, "Are the acknowledged ordinances of Christ's holy religion to be suspended for years, perhaps as long as the present generation shall continue, out of delicacy to a disputed point, and that relating only to externals."³ "All the obligations of conformity to the divine ordinances, all the arguments which prove the connexion between public

¹ Copies of this pamphlet were advertised for sale in the "Pennsylvania Packet" of the 6th of August, 1782, the day on which Congress received a communication which opened the way for the cessation of hostilities and the coming of peace. Bishop White tells us, in the "MS. Note" already cited, that "some copies had been previously handed by the author to a few of his friends. Copies bearing the date of 1782 are to be found in the public libraries in Philadelphia and elsewhere. Bishop White in his *Memoirs* (Second edition, p. 89) speaks of it as "published in the summer of 1783," and the reprint by Stavely in 1827 and that of 1859, and that appended to Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," III., p. 416-436, give the date of Clay-

pole's edition as 1783. There seems every probability that since the prospect of peace opened, as it did almost contemporaneously with the first appearance of this pamphlet, rendering its plea of necessity no longer available, its dissemination was for a time suspended, and it was withheld from general circulation till the time named in the *Bishop's Memoirs*, the summer of 1783. One of the early copies must have fallen into the hands of the Connecticut Clergy Convention. The original edition of 1782 or 1783 is exceedingly rare, and of the Stavely reprint but few exist.

² *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in Perry's "Hist. Notes and Documents,"* p. 427.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

worship and the morals of a people, combine to urge the adopting some speedy measures, to provide for the public ministry in these churches, if such as have been above recommended should be adopted, and the Episcopal succession afterwards obtained, any supposed imperfections of the supposed intermediate ordinations might, if it were judged proper, be supplied without acknowledging their nullity, by a *conditional* ordination resembling that of *conditional baptism* in the liturgy."¹ The pamphlet proceeds to an examination of the claims made by the advocates of the exclusive validity of Episcopal orders, naturally arguing against their view, even to the extent of conceding that "the original of the order of bishop was from the presbyters choosing one from among themselves to be a stated president in their assemblies, in the 2d or 3d century."² But independently of this proposition for the organization of the Church and the continuation of its ministry, without the succession, "which," as Bishop White subsequently acknowledged, "in the opinion of the author, would have been justified by necessity and by no other consideration;" and the arguments by which this proposal was sustained, the "Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered" presented a plan for the organization of the American Church which exhibited the comprehensive mind of a statesman, and which, in its general features, was subsequently formulated in the ecclesiastical constitution under which we have so long and so happily been united. The ideas of the essential unity of the whole American Church as a national and autonymous body; its independence of all foreign jurisdiction, civil or ecclesiastical; its entire separation from State control; the comprehension of the laity in the deliberative, legislative, and judicial assemblies of the Church; the choice of its ministers by those to whom they were to minister; the equality of its parishes; its threefold organization, diocesan, provincial, and "continental" or general, are clearly stated and temperately enforced. In fact, the legislation of a century has hardly filled out the outline sketch of church organization and government, prepared by the young patriot, priest and preacher of Philadelphia, in 1782.

To the principles set forth in this important pamphlet Bishop White clung with characteristic consistence to the latest years of his long and honored life. In a note appended to a letter addressed to Bishop Hobart, under date of December 21, 1830, he thus alludes to this production of his youth: "In agreement with the sentiments expressed in this pamphlet I am still of opinion that in an exigency in which duly authorized Ministers cannot be obtained, the paramount duty of preaching the Gospel, and the worshipping of God on the terms of the Christian Covenant should go on in the best manner which circumstances permit. In regard to Episcopacy I think that it should be sustained as the government of the Church from the time of the Apostles, but without criminating the ministry of other churches; as is the course taken by the Church of England."

The impression produced by the appearance of this pamphlet was profound. The breadth and comprehensiveness of its suggestions, and

¹ The Case of the Episcopal Churches, etc. Perry's "Hist. Notes and Documents," p. 428.

² *Ibid.*, p. 430.

the soberness of judgment and unfailing courtesy and consideration with which the views of others were stated and discussed, compelled a hearing, even for those proposals which were so happily rendered unnecessary by the immediate prospects of peace. It was but a few months after the appearance of "The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered" that the clergy of Connecticut, with the advice and hearty coöperation of their brethren of New York, made choice of Seabury as their bishop-elect, and sent him abroad, first to England, and then

to Scotland for consecration. At the meeting of the Connecticut Clergy, at Woodbury, on the eventful Lady Day of 1783, the "Philadelphian Plan," as it was subsequently called, was fully discussed,

*Abraham Jarvis A. M.
Bishop of the Church
Middlebury*

and the Secretary of the Convocation, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, was instructed "in a frank and brotherly way, to express their opinion of the mistakes and dangerous tendency of this pamphlet." There seems ample evidence from the following extracts of letters written by the Rev. Charles Inglis, D.D., who was then about starting for England, to Dr. White, that suspicions, arising from the perusal of the pamphlet we have alluded to, had prevented the comprehension of White, and the clergy still further at the southward, in these efforts for an American Episcopate.

NEW YORK, May 21, 1783.

For some time past I have very much wished to see you, and have some Conversation on the common Interests of our Church, with which Politicks have nothing to do. In the late Troubles, I firmly believe that you, like myself, took that part which Conscience and Judgment pointed out; and although we differed in Sentiments, yet this did not in the least diminish my Regard for you, nor the good Opinion I had always of your Temper, Disposition, and Religious Principles. I ever shall esteem a man who acts from Principle and in the Integrity of his Heart, though his Judgment of Things may not exactly coincide with mine.

In one Point I am certain we agree, that is, in the Desire of preserving our Church and promoting the Interests of Religion. This Point, I am persuaded, might be served, could we confer together. The State of Things is such that I cannot go to Philadelphia, or else I would go with pleasure; but you can come here, — there is no impediment in the Way but a Pass to come within the Lines, which I shall immediately procure when you arrive at Elizabeth-Town. Think on this Matter, and let me hear from you.

Family affliction prevented Dr. White's acceptance of this invitation, and, instead, a kind letter bore to Dr. Inglis words of affectionate interest and brotherly regard, eliciting the following letter in reply: —

I thank you for the Pamphlet which accompanied the Letter. I had seen it before, and on being told that you were the Author, concluded that you wrote it under the Impression that the Case of our Church was hopeless, and no other method left of preserving it from utterly perishing. From some Hints in your Let-

ter, I perceive that my conclusion was right. It must be confessed that your apprehensions at that Time were not wholly without Foundation; nor is anything more natural than, when we are anxious about any Object of Moment, to cast about for some expedient to accomplish it, and to catch at whatever appears practicable, when the most eligible method is thought to be out of our Power. In making this Observation, I only give a Transcript of what has passed in my own Mind on this very subject; and therefore I cannot but applaud your Zeal in a Matter of such general and great Moment: at the same Time I tell you candidly my Opinion, with which I believe you will agree, that the supposed Necessity, on which your Scheme is founded, does not now really exist; and that the Scheme itself could not answer the End of a regular Episcopate. In short, my good Brother, you proposed — not what you thought absolutely best and most eligible, but what the supposed Necessity of the Times compelled you to adopt, and when, no better Expedient appeared to be within your Reach. In this Light the Pamphlet struck me the moment I heard it was yours; and your Letter confirms me in the Judgment I had formed.

That the Necessity there supposed does not now exist is demonstratively clear, because the way to England is open, from whence an Episcopate can be obtained, to say nothing of other Episcopal Churches, from which the Relief might probably be procured for our Church. That the Scheme itself would not answer the end of an Episcopate, is no less clear; for if adopted and adhered to our Church would cease to be an Episcopal Church! It is impossible that there can be an Episcopal Church without Episcopal Ordination; and the Ordination here proposed is not Episcopal, that is, by a Bishop, but by Presbyters. But it is needless to enlarge on the point, as you very ingenuously own that “you are not wedded to the particular plan proposed;” and your good sense has prudently directed you “to delay rather than forward measures to accomplish the Object in Contemplation, with Hopes of its being undertaken with better Information.”

You desire to know my Sentiments as to “the Measures to be pursued for the continuance of our Church.” One principal Reason why I wished for an interview was, that we might confer together on the Subject. We might receive mutual Information by an Interview, which cannot so well be obtained by Letter. Indeed, there are many particulars of great Moment in such a Business that cannot conveniently be committed to writing; for although whatever you say to me would be perfectly safe and kept secret, as I believe what I say to you would also be on your Part, yet there are a thousand little incidental Circumstances that are necessary to be known, in order to form a right Judgment, which do not occur, perhaps, when we write, or would require much time to set down.

My clear, decided Opinion in general is, that some Clergyman of Character and Abilities should go from hence to England to be Consecrated and admitted to the sacred office of a Bishop by the English Bishops, and then to return and reside in America. The next consideration to a good moral Character, sound principles, abilities and learning in this Clergyman is, that he should be held in esteem by the leading Men in Power in this Country, as it would reconcile them the better to the Measure. If such a Clergyman will undertake to go on this Design, he shall have all the Assistance and Support that I can possibly give him. But whether Matters are yet ripe for such a Step, or how far you and others may think them so, is what I am unable to determine. Were it necessary, I could adduce unanswerable arguments to evince this to be the most eligible Scheme; though I verily believe there needs no Arguments to convince you of it. What I wish you to do is to keep your Eye upon it, and prepare Matters, as your Judgment and Prudence shall direct, for its Execution, when you think the Time for it is come.

To these letters, the weighty words of one to whose master-hand was afterwards committed the moulding of the English colonial Church at the Northward, we may add, as bearing upon the general history of this period of organization, and also illustrative of the views entertained abroad of the famous pamphlet to which we have referred, extracts from letters of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Murray and the Rev. Jacob Duché, two loyalist clergymen from Pennsylvania, then resident in London, to whose kind offices Dr. White was subsequently much indebted in the prosecution of his plans: —

LONDON, 26th July, 1783.

DEAR SIR:— . . . The grievance of having had no Resident Bishops in America can now be easily and regularly remedied: it depends not now so much on the will of this as of that country. You will, no doubt, have an Ambassador or Resident at this Court, to negotiate your public concerns; and if he applies, at the request of any one State or Body of People, for the consecration of an American Bishop, you may have any of your own Nomination set apart for that Office according to the rules of the Church of England, without requiring oaths of allegiance to this kingdom; an Act of Parliament would be no sooner moved for than passed, enabling the Bishops to dispense with whatever was incompatible on the occasion.

If, then, you plead necessity for Presbyterian Ordinations, it is a necessity of your own making, which can never justify such an extraordinary step, which will necessarily give rise to new divisions and sects in your young States, and these formidable ones. You may expect thousands of Emigrants who will choose the Sacraments from the hands of Ministers Episcopally ordained, and will continue, as formerly, to call such from England or Nova Scotia (in which a Bishop—Ingليس or Dr. T. B. Chandler—and College is to be settled), to supply their spiritual necessities; better then have an unexceptionable, complete Church Government at once within yourselves, than be constantly depending upon another people for supplies of this kind. If you are the author of the pamphlet on this subject, it must have been written when you despaired of such an amicable accommodation as has lately taken place. You might have expected peace or truce, without a Recognizance of Independence, as in the case of the Spanish and Dutch; but now that this is ratified in the most solemn manner, you have everything that is friendly and reasonable to expect from the British; they are as generous as brave, and you may one day combine your forces, as the Spanish and Dutch have done lately. There is nothing new under the sun. Your mode of Government would depress the present Episcopalians far below the level of the Presbyterians, who preserve some consistence, and admit Episcopal Ordination, while we constantly reject theirs, and will also yours. . . .

ALEXANDER MURRAY.

Mr. Duché's letter, interesting as containing the germ of the principles on which our ecclesiastical constitution was subsequently constructed, is also an evidence of the interest felt in the mother-church in the plans and purposes of our founders. Mr. Duché spoke *ex cathedra*, being on terms of close intimacy with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, to a certain extent, representing that prelate's opinions.

ASYLUM, Aug. 11th, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR:— . . . I have read your Pamphlet with great attention. Reasoning, as you do, on the ground of necessity, you are certainly right; and the Arguments, as well as the Cases you adduce, are exactly to the Purpose. But I cannot conceive that any such necessity at present exists. The venerable old Doctrine of Apostolic Succession need not yet be given up. The Episcopal Clergy have only to wait with Patience, and they may have, if they are unanimous, a Church in each State, with a Bishop at its head, chosen by themselves, and regularly consecrated, without taking any Oaths of Supremacy, etc., and unconnected with any Civil or Ecclesiastical Government but their own. The Plan I would propose would be simply this. Let the Clergy of each State (say Pennsylvania for instance), together with Lay Deputies from each Congregation in the State, assemble, and with due Solemnity elect one of their Presbyters to ye Office of Bishop. Let him preside in their Conventions, and agree with them upon such alterations in the Discipline and Liturgy of the Church of England as Circumstances have rendered necessary. Let him wait for an opportunity of being regularly consecrated; and till such opportunity offers, let the Convention meet and fix upon his Powers, the Mode of supporting him, and all other things that may contribute to ye Good Order and Government of the Church. He may do all the Offices of a Bishop but ORDAIN and confirm, and he will not be long without receiving Power to exercise these. All this will be perfectly consistent with your new Constitution. Nay, you cannot be interrupted in the completion of such a Plan, unless Mobs and Associa-

tions should still be suffered to exercise an illegal Power. Each Episcopal Church of each State to be independent of the others. Or, if for y^e sake of Uniformity of Discipline and Worship, throughout y^e States, an annual Synod or Convocation be deemed necessary, let the Bishop of each State, with a certain Number of his Presbytery, be sent to the Place appointed; but let there be no Archbishop or Patriarch. The first consecrated Bishop always to preside. The rest to take Precedency according to seniority of Consecration. Though I may never see you, I shall always be happy to hear of the welfare and increase of the Episcopal Church. I have much to say on this subject, and think a Church might now be formed more upon y^e Primitive and Apostolic Plan in America, than any at present in Christendom. . . .

Ever yours sincerely,

J. DUCHÉ.

But among these letters none were more weighty or wiser than another from the gifted Inglis, then on the eve of his departure for England. The whole communication, with its preface of touching references to his wife's decease, and its refutation of some of the slanders heaped upon him for his "Toryism" by the unscrupulous Whigs of New York,¹ is most creditable to the writer's head and heart. We have room only for extracts; and we may remark, in passing, that the clear and full statement of what the churchmen of New York had all along sought to secure in striving for an American episcopate, is a most interesting commentary on the statements already made in giving, as we have sought to do, the story of the struggle for the episcopate:—

NEW YORK, October 22d, 1783.

REVEREND SIR:— . . . Your last Letter contained many Points of Moment, which require the most serious Consideration. Some of them could be better discussed at a personal Interview, which was the Reason of my wishing for one; but since that is now impracticable, I shall give you my sentiments upon them briefly; for my present hurry in preparing to embark for England will not permit me to enlarge on them so fully as I would otherwise chuse.

As to "the Obligation of the Episcopal Succession," which, you say, "you never could find sufficient arguments to satisfy you of," I need only declare that I am perfectly clear and decided in my judgment of it. Before I entered into Holy Orders, I was fully persuaded of the truth of what is asserted in the Preface to our Ordinal—viz., "It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that, from the Apostles' Times, there have been three Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." All my Reading and Inquiries since (and they have been diligent and impartial) have served to confirm me in this Persuasion. The Episcopal Order originated from our Saviour himself in the Persons of his Apostles; the Succession of that Order was continued by the inspired Apostles, who, equally under the Influence of the Divine Spirit, dictated those Scriptures which are to be the Rule of Faith and Practice to the Christian Church to the End of Time; and also appointed those Ministers, and that Form of Government which were ever after to continue in the Christian Church; and I conceive that we are as much bound to observe their appointment and directions in the one case as the other.

It is evident, from Scripture and Ecclesiastical Antiquity, that Bishops were superior to the other two Orders; and that Ordination and Government were chiefly referred to them. The true State of the Question on this Point is, Did the Apostles establish a perfect equality between Gospel Ministers? or, Did they establish a Subordination among those Ministers? The latter appears as clear to me as the noon-day sun; nor are we more at Liberty, as I hinted before, to depart from what they have instituted and appointed in this Respect, than we are to lay aside or depart

¹ *Vide*, among other publications, "Dr. Inglis's Defence of his character against certain false and malicious charges contained in a pamphlet, en-

titled, *A Reply to Remarks on a Vindication of Gov. Parr and his Council, &c., &c.* . . . London: Printed in the year 1784."

from the Scriptures which they left for the Rule of our Faith and Practice. If they were unerringly guided by the Divine Spirit in one case, they were so in the other also; and it is a certain Fact, that, for 1500 years after our Saviour's Time, there was no regular Ordination or Ecclesiastical Government, but what was of the Episcopal kind.

But enough of this Head in an amicable, short Letter to a Brother; and I shall only observe further that few Things have more confirmed my Sentiments on this Subject than the poor, flimsy Evasions that have been used by Men, otherwise respectable, to elude the Force of those Arguments, which have been drawn from Paul's Epistles, and the primitive Writers in behalf of Episcopacy. These men would laugh at such Evasions in any other case where their judgment was not biased or predetermined.

You say that some settled mode must be adopted for the selecting the "principal Pastor of the Church;" and then ask, "By whom is this to be done?" I answer, If by principal Pastors you mean the Incumbents of Parishes, I apprehend the Right of Presentation should, in general, remain in the same Hands as formerly. Thus the Election of a Rector in Philadelphia and New York, or, in other Words, the Right of Presentation, is vested in the Church Wardens and Vestry, and should continue in the same Hands. When the Legislature, by a publick Law, makes Provision for the Support of Clergymen, it has a Right to prescribe the mode of electing or appointing those Clergymen to particular Parishes, as was the Case, if I remember right, in Maryland formerly. But, in my Opinion, it would be best, on many accounts, that, on the Demise or Removal of an Incumbent, the Church Wardens and Vestry of each Parish should have the Right of chusing a Succession; and even where the State has made legal Provision for the Clergy, I think this mode preferable to any other; granting no more to the Governor than the authority to induct the Person chosen. If by principal Pastors you mean Bishops, I think the Clergy of each State should have the Right of Electing, with the Governor's Approbation. But it is time enough to talk of this Point when it shall please God to grant this essential Benefit to the Episcopal Churches in America.

You say, "That some Alterations in our Liturgy are become necessary in Consequence of a Change of Circumstances," which is undoubtedly true; and ask, "By whom are those changes to be made?" I answer, By the Clergy without Doubt; yet still with the Consent and Approbation of the Civil Authority. I suppose that all the State Holy-Days, such as November the 5th, January 30th, etc., will be laid aside in the Thirteen States. The Collects for the King and Royal Family must be altered and adapted to the present State of Things; for in Publick Worship Prayers for the Civil Rulers of the State should never be omitted. And here I cannot but express my Wish that Harmony and Uniformity might take place among all the Episcopal Churches; which can only be effected by the Clergy of the several States consulting each other, and agreeing to adopt the same Collects for this Purpose. Were a Bishop settled in America, this point would be easily accomplished; without one, I apprehend Difficulties will arise.

You say, "The Trial and Deposition of irregular Clergymen is to be provided for; and it is to be hoped that this will not be done at pleasure, but under reasonable Laws;" and ask, "By whom are such Laws to be made?" To this, I reply, That Clergymen are amenable, equally with Laymen to the Laws of the State, and are punishable by those Laws, if they transgress them. But as to any proper Ecclesiastical Discipline, by which Irregularities in Clergymen, not cognizable by the Civil Laws, shall be censured or punished, it is not to be expected until you have Bishops, and some regular System of Church Government is settled. I mean not that Bishops should be vested with Arbitrary Power; or that they should censure and depose at Pleasure. They are to be guided by Canons, which point out the Duty of Clergymen, and according to which the latter should be judged. Our Church has already provided several such Canons; and if any more such should be required in this Country, the Clergy, in Conjunction with a Bishop or Bishops, are the Persons by whom they should be enacted.

Some years since, I drew up a Plan for an American Episcopate, which met with the Approbation of several of the most respectable Characters in England, as well as America. Give me leave to transcribe a few Extracts from it, which will partly convey my Sentiments on the Subject. It was proposed in that Plan—

"That two or more Protestant Bishops of the Church of England be appointed to reside in America.

"That they are not to have any temporal authority whatever, nor interfere with the Rights or Emoluments of Governors.

"That their proper Business shall be to Ordain and Superintend the Clergy, and Confirm such as chuse to be Confirmed.

"That they may hold Visitations, assemble the Clergy of their respective Dioceses in Convocations, where the Clergy shall be their Assessors or Assistants; and that, in those Convocations, such matters only shall be transacted as relate to the Conduct of the Clergy, or to the Order and Government of the Churches.

"That they be vested with Authority to censure delinquent Clergymen according to the Nature of their Offence; and to proceed even to Deprivation, in cases which may require it, after a regular Trial; the Courts in which such Trials are held to consist of the Clergy of the Provinces respectively where the Delinquent Persons reside; and the Bishop to pronounce the sentence of Deprivation, according to Canon 122."

Here it is supposed that there are Canons or Laws by which the Delinquent Person is to be tried, according to which the Court is to proceed in the Trial; that each Clergyman, as an Assistant to the Bishop, has a Vote in acquitting or condemning; and that the Bishop, according to his Function, and Superiority of his Order, pronounces or delivers whatever Sentence the Court may award. On such a Plan, Arbitrary Sway and Oppression are wholly excluded. It may be proper to observe, that the Canons, like the Liturgy, will require Revision. The Canons, as they now stand, are applicable to the State of Things in England, where they were made; but many of them are not so in America; and, therefore, some should be altered, others wholly omitted, and others again, perhaps, added, when a Bishop is settled in this Country; for, until you have a Bishop, you can have no centre of Union, nor can you act with Regularity and Order in Matters of this Sort. I could say more on this Subject, but really have not Time.

I must be candid in telling you that I can neither see the Propriety or the Advantage of the scheme you propose, to join Laymen with Clergymen for enacting Ecclesiastical Laws, trying delinquent Clergymen, etc., as a "Collective Body, to whom the extraordinary occasions of our Churches may be referred." This certainly, if I understand you right, is not the plan of the Church of England. Many Inconveniences will unquestionably attend it—the Advantages are doubtful. Instead of attracting Lay-Members to the Church, I apprehend it would be productive of endless Broils between the Laity and Clergy, probably, of oppression to the latter. The Clergy are already amenable to the Civil Power for Civil Offences; is not that sufficient? Are not Clergymen the best Judges of Ecclesiastical Offences? and of the properest Methods to reclaim their erring Brethren? which is preferable to punishment, if it can be effected.

There is little doubt but that a Clergyman of good Character, who went to England properly recommended, with the Consent of the State from whence he went, and where he was afterwards to reside, would be consecrated a Bishop. An Act of Parliament, indeed, would be necessary to empower the Bishops in England to Consecrate without administering the State Oaths; but I am confident this Act might be obtained. I am almost a Convert to your Opinion that it would be best to request the Bishops in England to chuse a proper Person there, a Man of Abilities, Piety, liberal Sentiments, and unblemished Morals, for the first American Bishop. All Circumstances considered, it would be better than to send a Person from hence. There would be fewer Objections to a stranger, who had never been in America, and was clear of having taken any Part in our unhappy Divisions, both in England and America, than against an American Clergyman, however respectable his Character might be. But a Bishop is absolutely necessary, and either way he ought, by all means, to be obtained. The great Point is to procure the Consent and Approbation of the Legislature of some State to the Measure; if this is done, the Rest will be easy. And here, I must tell you that my only Hope is from Maryland or Virginia. Nothing of the kind is to be expected from the Northern States. Consider this Matter, and try what you can do with your Friends in Maryland. The Church of God calls for your Assistance, and that of all its other worthy Members, and it is their indispensable Duty to afford that Assistance as far as it is in their power.

The News Papers, some time since, announced that the Clergy of Maryland had chosen Mr. Keene to be sent for Consecration to England; but I find the account was premature. Mr. Keene was a very worthy man when I knew him, and I doubt not but he is so still. I shall embark next week for England, where I

shall be happy to give every aid within the Compass of my Power to any measure of this kind. I shall, therefore, be glad to hear from you, and know how matters are circumstanced; and particularly what progress is made in Maryland toward procuring an Episcopate. Direct to me, etc., etc.

Sincerely wishing you Health, Happiness, and every temporal Felicity, and Success in your Ministry,

I am, with much Esteem, Reverend Sir,
Your affectionate Friend and humble Servant,

CHARLES INGLIS.

REVEREND DR. WHITE.

Though the announcement in the newspapers alluded to by Dr. Inglis in his concluding paragraph was incorrect, still the movement for the episcopate, first inaugurated by the clergy of Connecticut, had been followed by the action of their brethren of Maryland. The clergy of this important State, where the Church had retained much of its former influence and respect, met in August, 1783, at Annapolis; framed, after the political fashion of the times, a "Bill of Rights;" and chose the celebrated William Smith, D.D., formerly Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, but at that time President of Washington College, Maryland, as their bishop. But this effort for a bishop at the southward failed, in consequence of grave charges affecting the character of the bishop-elect; and from being among the foremost of all the American churches, in efforts for the perfection of her ecclesiastical organization, Maryland, as we shall subsequently see, was outstripped in gaining the prize by Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. In the meantime, when the mind of every thoughtful member of our communion was turned upon these questions of church perpetuation, there came from the Rev. Abraham Beach, of New Jersey, the first definite plan for general organization and a united effort to secure the end desired. This letter, so interesting in itself, as furnishing information of the state of feeling in the Church at this time with reference to union and organization, becomes important as we remember the great results springing directly from the proposition it was the first to enunciate in public:—

NEW BRUNSWICK, 26th January, 1784.

REVEREND SIR:—I always expected, as soon as the Return of Peace should put it in their Power, that the Members of the Episcopal Church in this Country would interest themselves in its Behalf— would endeavour to introduce Order and Uniformity into it, and Provide for a Succession in the Ministry. The Silence on this Subject which hath universally prevailed, and still prevails, is a Matter of real Concern to me, as it seems to portend an utter extinction of that Church which I so highly venerate.

As I flatter myself your Sentiments correspond with my own, I cannot deny myself the Satisfaction of writing you on the Subject.

Every Person I have conversed with is fully sensible that something should be done, and the sooner the better. For my own Part, I think the first step that should be taken, in the present unsettled State of the Country, is to get a Meeting of as many of the Clergy as can be conveniently collected. Such a Meeting appears to be peculiarly necessary in order to look into the condition of the Widows' Fund,¹ which may at present be an object worth attending to, but will unavoidably dwindle to nothing, if much longer neglected. Would it not, therefore, be proper to advertise a Meeting of the Corporation in the Spring at Brunswick, or any other place

¹ The Charitable Corporation for the Relief men of the Church of England in the American of the Widows and Children of deceased Clergy- Colonies, established prior to the Revolution.

that may be thought more convenient, and endeavour to get together as many as possible of the Clergy who are not members, at the same time and place.

A sincere Regard to the Interests of the Church induces me to make these Proposals, wishing to be favored with your sentiments on this subject. If anything should occur to you as necessary to be done, in order to put us upon an equal footing with other Denominations of Christians, and cement us together in the Bonds of Love, I should be happy in an opportunity of assisting in it.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Your affectionate Brother,
And very humble Servant,
ABRAHAM BEACH.

THE REVEREND DR. WHITE.

We have reason to regret here, as in many other connections, that the voluminous manuscript correspondence of Bishop White has so few copies or drafts of his own communications. In some instances we have been fortunate enough to supply the deficiency from other collections; but, in the present instance, we can only infer the doctor's answer from Mr. Beach's response the following month: —

NEW BRUNSWICK, 22d March, 1784.

REVEREND SIR: — As soon as I was made acquainted by your Favour of the 7th Feb. of your concurrence in the Proposed Meeting of the Clergy, I wrote to Mr. Provoost and Mr. Moore, of New York, on the subject. They both approve of the Measure; and not only approve of it, but think it absolutely necessary.

In a Letter I received from Mr. Blackwell, some time ago, he proposed Tuesday, 11th May, as a proper time for the Meeting, and acquiesced with my proposal of Brunswick for the place. I remarked this in my Letter to Mr. Provoost; in answer to which he acquainted me that on consulting Mr. Duane, and other Members of the Corporation in New York, they discovered a desire that the Meeting should be held in New York, on Wednesday, the 12th May.

For my own Part, I have no manner of Objection to the Alteration, any farther than its depriving me of the Company of some of my Brethren at my House. Even this Pleasure, however, I am ready to forego, if our meeting in New York may have any tendency to promote peace and harmony in the Church there. This expectation and belief is the principal Reason for their wishing for the Alteration with regard to time and place.

Should this proposal of meeting in New York, on Wednesday, the 12th May, meet with your approbation, will you be so good as to acquaint the members of the Corporation in Pennsylvania, and desire their attendance? Would not advertising in the public papers be proper?

Some of the Lay Members may, perhaps, scarcely think it worth their while to take so much Trouble without a prospect of immediate Profit to themselves. I cannot but flatter myself, however, that there are some still, who would wish to promote the Interests of Religion in general — to save the Church of which we are Members, from utter decay — and consequently to promote the real happiness and prosperity of the country. Persons of this character will not, surely, withhold their assistance at this very critical juncture.

I should be exceedingly happy to hear from you, as soon as your Convenience will permit; and am, Rev. Sir,

Your affectionate Brother,
And very Humble Servant,

ABRAHAM BEACH.

REV. DR. WHITE.

Recurring to the subject a few weeks later, the amiable Mr. Beach announces the completion of his arrangements for the proposed meeting at New Brunswick, and requests his brother of Philadelphia to open the services there with a sermon. His letter is as follows: —

NEW BRUNSWICK, 13th April, 1784.

REVEREND SIR:—I have just received a Letter from Mr. Provoost, signifying his concurrence with the first appointment. It is at length agreed, upon all hands, that our meeting be held at Brunswick, on Tuesday, the 11th May; and as the day is near at hand, I think no Time ought to be lost in giving the proper Notice.

I wish you would be so good as to advertise it in one of your News Papers, with an invitation to all Clergymen of the Episcopal Church; and perhaps you may think it proper to invite respectable characters of the Laity, as matters of general concern to the Church may probably be discussed. As soon as I find the Advertisement in a Philadelphia paper, I will cause it to be inserted in one in New York; and will write, likewise, to all concerned in Jersey.

You will doubtless agree with me in the propriety of having a Sermon on the occasion. Will you be so good as to preach it?

I am much obliged to you for the Pamphlet you were so kind as to send me. I had the Pleasure of reading it on its first Publication, and am happy to agree with you in every particular, excepting the necessity of receding from ancient usages. If this necessity existed in time of war, I cannot think that it does at present; and as you convey the same idea in your letter, I flatter myself our sentiments on Church Government entirely agree.

Your affectionate Brother,

And very Humble Servant,

ABRAHAM BEACH.

REVEREND DR. WHITE.

We have given these copious extracts from the correspondence of those most active at this period of our church organization for the purpose of presenting, as in the case of Dr. Inglis's lengthy communication, the views of White, and the arguments with which he supported them,—to be learned, unfortunately, only from the quotations made by his correspondent for the purpose of answering them,—and also to show the influence in the Church already attained by this comparatively young man, when the old and experienced are found waiting for his advice, or seeking to influence his action.

Thus already was he a *primus inter pares*, without whose aid and influence nothing could be successfully done or even attempted.

The meeting in New Brunswick met, as appointed, on the eleventh of May. Bishop White, in his "Memoirs," dates this preliminary gathering a little later in the month; but the original records, still preserved, in the handwriting of one of its members, subsequently the second Bishop of New York, are conclusive on this point. These simple minutes of our preliminary convention are informal and brief, filling less than a common letter-sheet; and their preservation is solely owing to the care with which Bishop White gathered and preserved the data of our history.¹

¹ "At New Brunswick, Tuesday, 11th May, 1784, several Members of the Episcopal Church, both of the Clergy & Laity, from the States of New York, New Jersey, & Pennsylvania were assembled together, present: The Rev^d. Dr. White, Rev^d. Dr. Magaw, Rev^d. Mr. Beach, Rev^d. Mr. Bloomer, Rev^d. Mr. Fraser, Rev^d. Mr. Ogden, Rev^d. Mr. Blackwell, Rev^d. Mr. Boden, Rev^d. Mr. Benjaⁿ. Moore, Rev^d. Mr. Tho^s. Moore, James Parker, John Stevens, Richard Stevens, John Dennis, Esquires, Col. Hoyt & Col. Furman.

"It was agreed, that the Rev^d. Mess^{rs}. Beach, Bloomer & B. Moore be requested to wait upon the Clergy of Connecticut, who are to be convened on the Wednesday in Trinity Week next

ensuing, for the Purpose of soliciting their Concurrence with us in such Measures as may be deemed conducive to the Union & Prosperity of the Episcopal Churches in the States of America.

"Also agreed by the Gentlemen present, that the undermentioned Persons be requested to correspond with each other, & with any other Persons, for the Purpose of forming a Continental Representation of the Episcopal Church, & for the better Management of other Concerns of the said Church.

"Rev^d. Mess^{rs}. Bloomer, Provoost & B. Moore for New York.

"Rev^d. Mess^{rs}. Beach, Ogden & Ayres for New Jersey.

While this correspondence was going on, and before the arrangements for this informal meeting at New Brunswick had been perfected, there had taken place, at the instance of Dr. White, the measures for convening a State Convention in close connection with the wider ecclesiastical organization already in process of formation. Thus was the clear and comprehensive mind of White grasping at once the details of the local and general government of the Church; and the theories promulgated in "The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered" were being put to the test of actual trial, establishing in the test their originator's claims to remarkable foresight and unusual constructive and executive power.

Nor was this all that the earnest and laborious White contributed to the general organization of our Church. There were letters, written at length and in detail, — letters still remaining, and, from their faded yellow foolscap pages and well-formed characters, abounding in the quaint contractions, betokening the hurry and drive of a wearisome correspondence, speaking to us again and again of the love and interest felt by this excellent man in the successful working out of his plans for good for the Church of Christ. These letters, borne by post or packet, to Parker, in Boston, and through him to Bass, at Newbury-

Samuel Parker D.D.
Rect Trinity Church Boston
Massachusetts

port, and even to the then destitute parish at Falmouth, just reviving from the ashes of the bombardment, and, as yet, unable to secure or support a clergyman; finding their way to New York, where the patriot Whigs were busied in measures for the election of Provoost to the rec-

torship of
 Trinity and
 the episco-
 pate of that
 State; easily

Saml Provoost.

carried by water to the excellent Wharton, at Wilmington, in Delaware, where the first convert from Romanism to the Protestant faith in our American Church was beginning a life-long work of faithful labors in his new ecclesiastical home; borne on the great mail roads to the thoughtful William West, in Baltimore, one of the most earnest-minded and best of men; taken by coach to Chestertown, in Mary-

"Rev^d. Dr. White, Dr. Magaw, & Mr. Blackwell for Pennsylvania.

"Any one of which Persons of each State respectively, to correspond with the others, with-

out consulting his Colleagues of the same State, whenever it may be deemed expedient." — *From the Bishop White Papers.*

land, where the indefatigable Smith, driven from one college, had speedily inaugurated another of reputation and success; pressing further, by winding roads and water-courses, to Fairfax, in Virginia, where the pious Griffith was laboring in his pleasant parish, unconscious of the trials that awaited him in his struggle for the episcopate; and reaching even South Carolina, where Purcell, an interested correspondent of the painstaking White, received them with mingled hopes and fears as to his chances for a mitre; — these letters, in a day when note-paper and penny posts were never dreamed of by the most sanguine of correspondents, were the great stimulants to flagging exertions, and the cause, we may not doubt, of success in quarters where any other pen would have found no such response. And, borne across the water in the heavy mail-bags of slowly-sailing packets, they conveyed to old friends and new ones tokens of church life in our western hemisphere, where many anxious hearts had feared that life was all crushed out. Surely, then, as there are piled around us, while we write, volume after volume of these carefully considered letters, ever fresh in their expressions, and fair in their swift chirography, we cannot withhold from White — the patient, laborious, loving father of our revived, reorganized Church — our highest meed of praise with an ever-deepening respect, an ever-increasing honor.

It was a wise Providence, as we shall see, that united in the work of laying thus broad and deep the foundations of our American Church, the apostolic Seabury and the saintly White. Recognizing, as we cannot fail to do, the minor points of theological difference that were never deemed by the latter of importance enough to cause any diminution of the "affection and respect"¹ with which he regarded the former, we may well and wisely rejoice, that, with the acknowledged diversity of gifts, of graces, of opinions, and of temper and character, the bishops of Connecticut and Pennsylvania were chosen of God to build up, independently at first, and then unitedly, the firm fabric of our ecclesiastical organization. Had it been formed wholly as the one wished it, it might have been found impracticable. Had the other's ideas been carried out, without the modification after years' experience and conference with his Episcopal brother brought about, there might have been found tendencies to radicalism in the working of our system. But, by these holy men's united efforts, there was built up, with no untempered mortar, under God, "a glorious Church" — built by these, his servants, on the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

WE append the "testimonial" of Dr. Smith, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. John Moore, and signed by the Maryland clergy, which is still preserved in the hands of one of his descendants: —

¹ Bishop White, in his "Memoirs of the Church," 2d ed., p. 84.

"MARYLAND, ANNAPOLIS,

"Augt. 16th, 1783.

"MY LORD — Whereas the good people of this State in communion with the Church of England have long laboured & do still labour under great Difficulties, through the want of a regular Clergy to supply the many Parishes, that have for a considerable time been vacant —

"To prevent therefore and guard against such an unhappy situation for the future, We the Convocation or meeting of the Clergy of the Church of England have made choice of, and do recommend our Brother the Reverend Doctor William Smith, as a fit and proper Person, and every way well qualified to be invested with the Sacred Office of a Bishop, in order to perpetuate a regular succession of Clergy Among us. We do with the greater confidence present unto your Lordship this Godly and well learned Man to be ordained and consecrated Bishop; being perfectly satisfied that he will duly execute the office whereunto he is called, to the edifying of the Church, and to the Glory of God.

"Your Lordship's well known Zeal for the Church and Propagation of the Christian Religion, induces us to trust that your Lordship will compassionate the case of a remote and distressed People, and comply with our Earnest Request in this matter. For without such Remedy the Church in this Country, is in imminent danger of becoming Extinct —

"That your Lordship may long continue An Ornament to the Church, is the hearty Prayer of My Lord

"Your very Dutiful and Most obedient Servants

"JOHN GORDON, St. Michael's, Talbot County

"JOHN MACPHERSON, W^m & Mary Parish, Charles County

"W^m THOMSON, St. Stephen's Parish, Cecil County.

"SAMUEL KEENE, Dorchester & Great Choptank Parishes, Dorchester County.

"W^m WEST, St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore County.

"GEORGE GOLDIE, King & Queen, Saint Mary's.

"JOHN BOWIE, St. Peter's, Talbot.

"JOHN STEPHEN, All-Faith Parish, Saint Mary's County

"WALTER MAGOWAN, St. James' Parish, Ann-Aundel Cty.

"W^m HANNA, St. Margaret, Ann-Arundel

"JOSEPH MESSENGER, St. Andrew's Parish, St. Mary's County

"THO^s. JNO. CLAGGET, St. Paul's Parish, Prince George's County

"THOMAS GATES, St. Ann's, Annapolis.

"JOHN ANDREWS, S Thomas, Balt. County.

"HAMILTON BELL, Stepney, Somerset County

"FRANCIS WALKER, Kent Island, Queen Ann's County

"JOHN STEWART, Port Tobacco Parish, Charles County

"LEO CUTTING, Allhallow's Parish, Worcester County

"WILL SMITH, Stepney Parish, Worcester County.

"RALPH HIGINBOTHAM, St Ann's Parish, Ann Arundel County

"EDWARD GANTT, Junior, Christ Church Parish, Calvert County

"HATCH DENT, Trinity Parish, Charles County."

The history of the adoption of the name "Protestant Episcopal," as applied to the American Church, is given by the late Dr. Ethan Allen, historiographer of the Diocese of Maryland, in his "Protestant Episcopal Conventions in Maryland of A.D. 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783," appended to the Convention Journal of 1878. It is as follows:—

"The Convention convened at Chestertown, Kent county, Nov. 9th, 1780.

"There were present, —

"Rev. SAMUEL KEENE, Rector of St. Luke's, Queen Anne's county.

"Rev. WILLIAM SMITH, D.D., Rector of Chester Parish, Kent county.

"Rev. JAMES JONES WILMER, Rector of Shrewsbury Parish, Kent county.

"Col. RICHARD LLOYD, Vestryman of St. Paul's Parish, Kent county.

"Mr. JAMES DUNN, " " " " "

"Mr. JOHN PAGE, Vestryman of St. Paul's Parish, Kent county.

"Mr. RICHARD MILLER, " " " " "

"Mr. SIMON WICKES, " " " " "

"Dr. JOHN SCOTT, Vestryman of Chester Parish, Kent county.

"Mr. JOHN BOLTON, " " " " "

"Mr. J. W. TILDEN, " " " " "

"Mr. ST. LEGER EVERETT, Vestryman of Chester Parish, Kent county.
 "Mr. JAMES WROTH, " " " "
 "Mr. JOHN KENNARD, Church Warden of Chester Parish, Kent county.
 "Mr. STURGESS, " " " "
 "Mr. CHRISTOPHER HALL, Vestryman of Shrewsbury, S. Sassafras, Kent.
 "Mr. GEORGE MOFFETT, " " " "
 "Mr. WILLIAM KEATING, " " " "
 "Mr. C——, Church Warden " " " "
 "Mr. JOHN BROWN, Vestryman of St. Luke's, Queen Anne's county.
 "Mr. DOWNS, " " " "
 "Dr. WILLIAM BORDLY.
 "Dr. VAN DYKE.
 "Col. ISAAC PERKINS.
 "Mr. CHAS. GROOM.
 "Mr. WILLIAM KEENE.
 "Mr. JAMES HACKETT.

"Dr. Smith was appointed President, and Mr. Wilmer, Secretary.

"A petition to the General Assembly of Maryland for the support of public religion was then read and approved, and ordered to be sent to each Vestry in the State; and if by them approved, after obtaining signatures in their respective parishes, it was to be carried up to the legislature.

"On motion of the Secretary, it was proposed that the Church known in the province as Protestant be called 'the Protestant Episcopal Church,' and it was so adopted."

NOTE. — In a letter dated May 6, 1810, from the Rev. James Jones Wilmer to Bishop Claggett, he writes, "I am one of the three who first organized the Episcopal Church during the Revolution, and am consequently one of the primary aids of its consolidation throughout the United States. The Rev. Dr. Smith, Dr. Keene and myself held the *first* convention at Chestertown, and I acted as secretary." He also states in this letter that "he moved that the Church of England as heretofore so known in the province be now called The Protestant Episcopal Church, and it was so adopted." See Md. Archives.

The records of the first meeting in Pennsylvania, at the instance and under the superintendence of Dr. White, are given in full from the original manuscript, in Dr. White's handwriting, in the archives of the General Convention. Another copy, in the same handwriting, is in the possession of the author.

PHILADELPHIA, March 29, 1784,

At y^e House of y^e rev^d D^r White,

Rector of Christ's Church & S^t Peters.

In consequence of Appointments made by y^e Vestry of Christ's Church & S^t Peters and by y^e Vestry of S^t Paul's Church, viz., by y^e Vestry of Christ's Church & S^t Peter's as followeth,

"The Rector mentioned to y^e Vestry that he lately had a Conversation with "y^e rev^d D^r Magaw on y^e Subject of appointing a Committee from y^e Vestries of "their respective Churches to confer with y^e Clergy of y^e said Churches, on y^e "Subject of forming a representative Body of y^e episcopal Churches in this State, " & wished to have y^e Sense of this Vestry thereon. After some consideration y^e "Vestry agreed to appoint Matthew Clarkson & W^m Pollard for Christ's Church and "D^r Clarkson & M^r John Chaloner for S^t Peters."

And by y^e Vestry of S^t Paul's Church as followeth,

"A Copy of y^e Minute of y^e Vestry of y^e United Churches of Christ's Church " & S^t Peters of y^e 13th of Nov^r last was, by y^e rev^d D^r Magaw, laid before this "Vestry & is as follows. (Here followeth y^e Minutes.) The above Minute being "taken into consideration and this Vestry concurring in Opinion thereon, unani- "mously appointed Lambert Wilmer & Plunket Fleeceon Esq^{rs} on y^e part of this "Church, to carry into Execution the good Intentions of y^e aforesaid recited Minute."

The Clergy, together with y^e Gentlemen named in y^e said appointments (except Matthew Clarkson Esq^r & D^r Clarkson, who were detained by Sickness) assembled at y^e time & place above mentioned.

The Body thus assembled, after taking into consideration y^e Necessity of

speedily adopting Measures for y^e forming a Plan of ecclesiastical Government for y^e Episcopal Church, are of Opinion, that a Subject of such Importance ought to be taken up, if possible, with y^e concurrence of y^e Episcopalians generally in y^e U. States. They therefore, resolve to ask a Conference with such Members of y^e episcopal Congregations in y^e Counties of this State as are now in Town; & they authorize y^e Clergymen now present to converse with such Persons as they can find of y^e above Description & to request their meeting this Body at Christ's Church on Wednesday Evening at seven O'Clock.

Adjourned to y^e same Time & Place.

CHRIST'S CHURCH, March 32.

The Clergy & y^e two Committees assembled according to adjournment, (all y^e Members being present except M^r Clarkson Esq^r, detained by sickness), & y^e Body thus assembled elected D^r White their Chairman.

The Clergy reported, that agreeably to y^e appointment of y^e last Meeting, they had spoken to several Gentlemen, who readily consented to y^e proposed Conference.

The Meeting continued some Time; when it was signified to them, that several Gentlemen who had designed to attend were detained by y^e unexpected Sitting of y^e hon^d House of Assembly, they being Members of that House. The hon^d James Read Esq^r attended according to Desire.

After some Conversation on y^e Business of this Meeting, it was resolved, that a circular Letter be addressed to y^e Ch: wardens & Vestrymen of y^e respective episcopal Congregations in y^e State; and that y^e same be as followeth; viz.,

GENTLEMEN, — The episcopal Clergy in this City, together with a Committee appointed by y^e Vestry of Christ's Church & S^t Peters and another Committee appointed by y^e Vestry of S^t Paul's Church in y^e same for y^e purpose of proposing a Plan of ecclesiastical Government, being now assembled, are of Opinion, that a Subject of such Importance ought to be taken up, if possible, with y^e concurrence of y^e Episcopalians generally in y^e U. States. They have therefore resolved as preparatory to a general Consultation, to request y^e Church wardens and Vestrymen of each episcopal Congregation in y^e State to delegate one or more of their Body to assist at a Meeting to be held in this City on Monday y^e 24th day of May next, and such Clergymen as have parochial Cure in y^e said Congregations to attend y^e Meeting; which they hope will contain a full Representation of y^e episcopal Church in this State.

The above Resolve, Gentlemen, the first Step in their Proceedings, they now respectfully and affectionately communicate to you.

Signed, in behalf of y^e Body now assembled,

W. WHITE, Chairman.

Resolved: that a circular Letter be sent to some one Gentleman in each of the said Congregations; and that Copies of y^e same be left with y^e Chairman, y^e respective Directions to be supplied by him after due Enquiry; & that y^e Letter be as followeth; viz.,

SIR, — The Body herein mentioned, being informed that you are a Member of y^e episcopal Church in _____ & always ready to attend to it's concerns, take y^e Liberty of requesting you to deliver y^e enclosed.

Signed in behalf of y^e said Body,

W. WHITE, Chairman.

Resolved: that y^e Letters addressed to y^e Churches formerly included in y^e Mission of Radnor be enclosed under Cover to y^e rev^d W. Currie their former Pastor; & the Clergy are desired to accompany them with a Letter of y^e said rev^d Gentleman requesting his Assistance at y^e proposed Meeting.

Resolved: that as y^e rev^d Joseph Hutchins is y^e Minister of y^e Churches formerly included in y^e Mission of Lancaster, y^e circular Letter be addressed to him & not to y^e Ch: wardens & Vestrymen of y^e said Congregations.

Resolved: that it be recommended to y^e Vestries under whose appointments these Proceedings are made, to cause y^e same to be read to their respective Congregations on Easter Monday at their annual Election of Ch: wardens & Vestrymen.

The Chairman is empowered to call Meetings, at any time previous to Easter.

Adjourned.

At y^e house of D^r White,
April 6th.

The Clergy & y^e Committees met; except Matthew Clarkson Esq^r who was detained by Sickness.

The Chairman reported that he had forwarded Letters to every Church of which he could receive Information; & that there are two small Congregations who were never provided with an Incumbent, of whom he hath not yet been able to ascertain, whether they be in Chester County or in y^e State of Delaware; he is desired to make further Enquiry & in case they shall be found to be in Chester County, to invite them to y^e intended Meeting. The names of y^e gent^l to whom y^e Letters have been addressed, are as follow: those for y^e Late Mission of Radnor to y^e rev^d W^m Currie; those for y^e late Mission of Lancaster to y^e rev^d Joseph Hutchins; that for Oxford to M^r Cotman; that for All-Saints, Pequestan, to M^r Johnston; that for Whitemarsh to M^r Sam^l Wheeler; that for Bristol to W. Coxe Esq^r; that for Reading to Collinson Read Esq^r; that for Morlatton to M^r George Douglass; that for Carlisle to Col. Smith; that for York to Col. Hartley; that for a Church near York to y^e same Gentleman; that for Chester to Edw^d Vernon Esq^r; that for Marcus Hook to M^r Sam^l Armer; and that for Concord to M^r Isaak Bullock.

The foregoing is a true Acc^t of y^e proceedings of y^e episcopal Clergy & Committees from y^e respective Vestries of y^e episcopal Churches at three different Meetings.

Signed in behalf of y^e said Body,

W. WHITE, Chairman.

P.S. It appearing that the Rev^d M^r Iling is y^e Minister of y^e ep^l: Ch: in Caernarvon & Piquea & that y^e rev^d M^r Mitchell had gathered a Congregation at Fort Pitt, y^e Clergy wrote to those Gent^l inviting them to y^e Meeting together with Delegates from their Vestries, the Committees of y^e two Vestries being at this Time dissolved by y^e Elections at Easter.

W. WHITE.

[The original manuscript bears the following endorsement:—]

I deposit this with y^e Committee of y^e General Convention for collecting Journals: it being y^e original Record of y^e first steps taken for y^e organizing of y^e episcopal Church throughout y^e Union.

WM: WHITE.

Oct. 30, 1821.

Endorsed "First Meeting of Conv^{ns} for Organizing y^e Church."

Bishop White begins the concluding paragraph of his "Episcopal Charge on the Subject of Revivals, delivered before the Forty-eighth Convention of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, and addressed to the clerical members of the Convention, Printed by order of the Convention, Philadelphia, 1832," with the following words:—

"Brethren, it is bordering on the half of a century since the date of the incipient measures of your bishop, for the organizing of our church out of the wreck of the Revolution."

On a copy of this charge in possession of Thomas H. Montgomery, esq., of Philadelphia, the bishop has added in the last blank pages, the following note:—

Those Measures began with y^e Author's Pamphlet, entitled "The Case of y^e Episcopal Churches in y^e United States considered."

The Circumstances attached to that Publication are y^e following:

The Congregations of our Communion throughout y^e U. States, were approaching to Annihilation. Altho' within this City, three episcopal Clergymen, including y^e Author, were resident & officiating; y^e church over y^e rest of y^e State, had become deprived of their Clergy during y^e War, either by Death, or by Departure for England. In y^e eastern States, with two or three Exceptions, there was a cessation of y^e Exercises of y^e Pulpit; owing to y^e necessary Disuse of y^e Prayers for y^e former Civil Rulers. In Maryland & in Virginia, where y^e Church had enjoied civil Establishments, on y^e ceasing of these, y^e Incumbents of y^e Parishes, almost without Exception ceased to officiate. Further South, y^e Condition of y^e Church was not better, to say y^e least. At y^e Time in Question, there had occurred some Circumstances, which prompted y^e Hope of a Discontinuance of y^e War: but, that it

would be with y^e Acknowledgement of American Independence, there was little Reason to expect.

On y^e 6th of August 1702, y^e Congress, as noticed on their printed Journal of that Day, received a Communication from Sir Guy Carleton & Admiral Digby, dated y^e 2^d of that Month, which gave y^e first Opening of y^e Prospect of Peace. The Pamphlet had been advertised for Sale in y^e "Pennsylvania Packet" of y^e 6th & some Copies had been previously handed by y^e Author, to a few of his Friends. This suspended y^e intended Proceedings in y^e Business; which, in y^e Opinion of y^e Author, would have been justified by Necessity, & by no other Consideration.

It was an Opinion commonly entertained, that if there should be a Discontinuance of military Operations, it would be without y^e Acknowledgement of Independence as happened after y^e Severance of y^e Netherlands from y^e Crown of Spain. Of y^e like Issue there seemed probable Causes, in y^e Feelings attendant on disappointed Efforts for Conquest; & in y^e Belief cherished, that y^e Successes of y^e former Colonists would be followed by Dissentions, inducing Return to y^e Domination of y^e Mother Country. Had y^e War ended in that way, our obtaining of y^e Succession from England would have been hopeless. The Remnant of y^e Episcopal Church in Scotland, labouring under penal Laws not executed, would hardly have regarded y^e bringing down on themselves of y^e Arm of Government. Fear of y^e like Offence would have operated in any other Quarter to which we might have had Recourse. In such a Case, y^e obtaining of y^e Succession in Time to save from Ruin, would seem to have been impossible.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY CONVENTIONS, NORTH AND SOUTH.

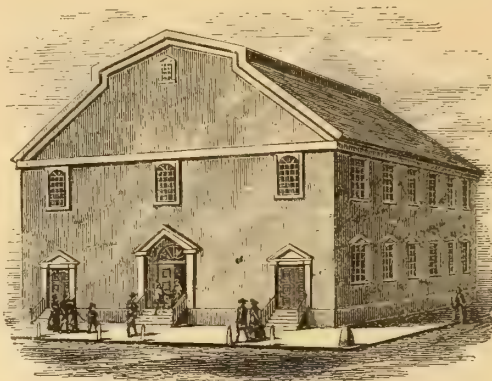
EARLY in October, in the year of grace 1784, there gathered in New York from New England, and all along the seaboard to Virginia, the representatives of our communion, bent on the pious work of reorganizing their torn and shattered Church. From Boston, home of the Puritans, came the courtly Parker, and the well-

powdered wig and ample shovel-hat he wore, crowned a face benignant in its ever-ready smile, and a broad, well-shapen forehead, indic-

Samuel Parker.

ative of intellectual power. He had come to represent the States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, met in convention the month before, and, though, like White, young in years and in the ministry, his prudent patriotism amidst the opening scenes of the Revolution had long since placed him in the rectorship of Trinity, where he had been but an assistant before; and had won for him, besides, the confidence and esteem of his townsmen of all sects and parties. To him, now that the war was over, the Church in New England looked up as to a leading man in her councils, and afterwards, by his active exertions and patient waiting,—for both were required in this delicate and difficult task,—the efforts of White for the healing of the breach between the Church in Connecticut and the Church in the other States were ably furthered, and were brought at length to a successful and most happy issue. Well, then, may Samuel Parker's name stand first among the members of this preliminary gathering for organization.

Connecticut at first had shrunk from what was then a novelty, an ecclesiastical convention of which the representatives of the laity formed a component part. They had, as clergy, met more than a year ago, and their choice for the episcopate had fallen on the earnest and persevering Seabury, who, though they knew it not as yet, was now preparing for his journey northward into Scotland for the imposi-



OLD TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON.

tion of holy hands. But still clinging to the hope and trust that had shone out so bright in them when others doubted of the possibility of the church's full and complete reviving, they waited the result of their application to the mother-land. And now, as their last advices from abroad had hinted at a change of plans, or, rather, at the possibility of a resort to the alternative of Scotland, suggested when the choice of Seabury was made, they were the more inclined to await the perfecting of their Church by the presence of a bishop in their councils, than to engage without one in what seemed to them a premature effort for organization and ecclesiastical reform. Still, after conference with the Rev. Messrs. Abraham Beach, of New Jersey, who first suggested the idea of a general meeting of this nature, and Joshua Bloomer and Benjamin Moore, of New York, who had been deputed to attend their convocation to urge their coöperation and presence, they decided to send a delegation with carefully defined powers, and added their influence to that of the committee in securing a representation from the States further eastward. Consequently, the Rev. John R. Marshall appeared and took his seat as the deputy from the State of Connecticut. Of this gentleman we know but little. His name occurs nowhere else on our journals or published records, and few traces, if any, remain of his life and ministry, save this embalming of his name, for all time, on the rudely printed broadside which contains the doings of this primary convention of our Church.

The patriot Rector of Trinity heads the list of the deputies from the State in which the convention met. We can almost see him, as, dignified in mien even to stateliness and reserve, he moved among his peers as one born to high command. There was something of the soldier in the composition of Provoost, and the Huguenot blood, in its minglings with that of the more phlegmatic Hollanders, had not lost all its fire. Witness his exploit at East Camp, when his farm was ravaged by the British, a story all his biographers delight to detail. But with all the fire and force of his brave ancestry, there was in him that scholarly love of ease and enjoyment of quiet contemplation restraining him, if canon law and church allegiance had not, from the exercise of arms during the long strife of the Revolution. We may indeed lament that, when souls were famishing and perishing for the bread of life, Provoost could find it in his heart to spend his days and years in study, withdrawn from all ministerial duty, at his country seat upon the Hudson; but we are thankful that anything kept him from the field of conflict and the stain of blood.

Just now Provoost was doubtless the most prominent of the clergy of New York, and already was "bishop-designate" by the warm friends among the Episcopalians his consistent patriotism had secured. By virtue of this eminence his name heads the long list of the New York delegation, and with him were Beach, the excellent and pious missionary, who had left his old field of labor in New Jersey for an assistantcy at Trinity, New York; and Moore, no great friend to Provoost, because, like Beach, rather a Tory than a Whig in politics, and yet so mild and saintly as to make all men friends to him; and Joshua Bloomer, a man of mark in the Church; and Cutting, one of the old

clergy, faithful to his king till peace was gained, yet still remaining in his American home, unseduced by larger salaries in the bleak provinces,

or pensions in the mother-land; and Thomas Moore, of Long Island, a friend and partisan of Seabury afterwards, much to the annoyance of the patriot

John Duane & Lay Deputy

Bishop of New York. Of the laity there were the Hon. James Duane, and Marinus Willet, and John Alsop, Esquires, all from Trinity, and old New Yorkers, full of years and honors then, and not forgotten now. New Jersey sent the factious Uzal Ogden, whose struggle for the bishopric of that State forms an

Uzal Ogden.

unpleasant chapter in our ecclesiastical annals, and with him the respected names, yet well remembered there, of John DeHart and John Chetwood, Esquires, and Mr. Samuel Spragg, soon to be ordained by Seabury's hands. Doctorates in divinity were not so common then as now, and only White, who had just been honored thus by the college at Philadelphia, and Magaw, then vice-provost of that institution, of the Pennsylvania list, and the famous Dr. Smith, whose degree came first from Oxford, then from Dublin, and last of all from Aberdeen, in this first convention had this appendage to their names. Of Magaw we need only say that his was an honored name, and his a useful, happy life.

Joseph Hutchins, Rector of St. James's Church, Lancaster.

Joseph Hutchins, of Lancaster, was joined with the two most prominent of the Philadelphia clergy, and was worthy of this honored association.

Samuel Powel

With these gentlemen came Matthew Clarkson, Richard Willing, Samuel Powel, and Richard Peters, Esquires, — men of fame and fortune, whose names will live

in the Church they helped to revive.

Delaware, in its weakness, sent the Rev. Sydenham Thorne and Charles Henry Wharton, a man of singular elegance and accomplishments, a scion of an old Maryland family of the Romish faith, whose life was checkered with varying fortunes, and who found in the church of his adoption an honored name, deserved by learning, purity, and simple piety. We have read many of his letters, some of them playful, some business-like and formal, and others still so full of sweetness and affection that we cannot fail to venerate his memory, and feel that his was

Richard Peter

*Charles Henry Wharton D.D.
Rector of Emanuel Church New-
Castle upon Delaware*

a respected place among those who gathered, in that chill October, to revive the church of

their love. With these two clergymen was added a merchant, Robert Clay, whose interest in the church's work led him, a few years after, to seek the laying on of hands in ordination, and who was spared for a long life of usefulness in the diocese he thus represented at the very start.

Robert Clay

Maryland sent to New York, on this important errand, her most gifted clergyman, William Smith, D.D., the able president of Washington College, at Chestertown, and but a little before holding the position of provost of the college and academy of Philadelphia. Of fine abilities, honored abroad and at home, the most prominent man in learning and reputation of all our clergy, it was at this very convention that he was destined, alas! to make shipwreck of a lifetime's honors, and by a public indulgence—now become, we are forced to believe, habitual—in intemperate habits to close to himself the coveted episcopate none labored more to secure. Soured and saddened by the unlooked-for opposition of his oldest pupils and dearest friends, it is a redeeming trait that Dr. Smith relaxed in no respect his efforts for the church's good, even when there faded out from view life's most longed-for prize; and we trust that in declining years, for it was at this period that his dereliction from duty culminated, the returning Spirit of God brought peace to his stricken soul, with the pardon offered by a merciful Saviour, who willeth not the sinner's death.

These were the delegates; but there is added at the foot of the list, in the unique copy of the proceedings of this convention which Bishop White preserved for after years' inspection, this *Nota Bene*:—

"N.B.—The Rev. Mr. Griffith, from the State of Virginia, was present by permission. The clergy of that State being restricted by

laws yet in force there, were not at liberty to send delegates, or consent to any alterations in the Order, Government, Doctrine, or Worship of the Church."

A letter among the Bishop White correspondence gives us some additional information with reference to the strange proceedings of the

*David Griffith Rector
of Fairfax Parish —*

Virginia clergy in their efforts for reorganization. And this letter, and this mention of a name we cannot fail to read with a respect amounting even to veneration, bring before us one of the best of men, who, from far different reasons than those which withheld this honor from Smith, failed, like him, of the episcopate.

We linger almost lovingly over the folio broadside on which were printed, occupying but a single page, the proceedings of this initial gathering. Turning from it to the huge volume that records the doings of our last triennial, we have at a glance the evidence of the church's growth and power. Let us then strive to follow these worthy men into their gathering-place, and record the proceedings of this meeting so fraught with consequences of good to generations then unborn.

Dr. Smith was chosen president; and the Rev. Benjamin Moore, the secretary, as we have seen, of the informal meeting at New Brunswick, again took up the recording pen. The letters of appointment were read, and then there followed communications from the clergy of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut. From Massachusetts there were sent the Pennsylvania resolutions we have already referred to, with some additions guarding against possible tendencies to radicalism, such as was already rampant in Virginia; expressly adding to the avowal of our independence as a Church the expression of the desire for the episcopal succession from abroad; restricting the laity to an equal representation and an equal vote with that allowed to the clergy, and appointing the Rev. Samuel Parker, of Boston, the Rev. Edward Bass, of Newburyport, and the Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, of Salem, a committee of correspondence "with the clergy of the other Episcopal Churches in America, in Convention, committees, or otherwise." Added to these "fundamental resolutions," printed for the first time in the notes to the reissue of the early convention journals,¹ was a decided vote that a circular letter be written, in the name of this Convention, to the Episcopal clergy in the States of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, urging the necessity of their uniting with us in adopting some speedy measures to procure an American episcopate, "as it is

¹ Vol. I., pp 433-436. In the reprint of the Massachussets journals, issued by the convention of that diocese in 1849, nothing of this nature appears. The originals were subsequently found among the Bishop Parker and Bishop White correspondence.

the unanimous opinion of this Convention, that this is the primary object they ought to have in view, because the very existence of the Church requires some speedy mode of obtaining regular ordination." Thus, at the outset, did Massachusetts and Rhode Island avow their hearty maintenance of the old faith and the old polity. With their resolutions and votes there came a letter from this convention, addressed to the "Reverend and Honored Brethren" of "the Committee of the Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania," urging most strenuously the delay of any efforts for organization or ecclesiastical reform other than those absolutely necessary for the immediate securing of an episcopate, declaring it their unanimous opinion that "it is beginning at the wrong end, to attempt to organize our Church before we have obtained a head," and expressing the belief that "a regular application" made by a "representative body of the Episcopal Churches in America would easily obtain a consecrated head." To these clear and decided views, the Church in Massachusetts, and that in Rhode Island, clung with great tenacity till their reasonable desires were gratified. And it was in direct fulfilment of these principles that there was subsequently shown in Massachusetts that marked conservatism that at length secured the union of all the churches on an equal basis, and in deference to episcopal precedent and authority, by which peace was restored to our American communion. Such then were the views of Massachusetts, and especially of Parker, her delegate to New

York; for the original letter whose synopsis we have just given, is written in his handwriting, and is evidently his composition, though

J. Graves, Mod.

signed by "J. Graves, Moderator." The communication from Connecticut was to this effect, as we learn from Bishop White's *Memoirs*¹ "that the clergy of Connecticut had taken measures for the obtaining of an Episcopate; that until their design in that particular should be accomplished, they could do nothing; but that as soon as they should have succeeded, they would come forward with their Bishop, for the doing of what the general interests of the Church might require."

With these official documents brought by the representatives of the New England States, who, with those from Pennsylvania, were the only regularly accredited deputies present,² the convention proceeded to "essay the fundamental principles of a general Constitution."³ The following gentlemen were appointed on this committee, viz., the Rev. Drs. Smith and White, the Rev. Messrs. Parker and Provoost; and of the laity, Messrs. Clarkson, De Hart, Clay, and Duane. To this committee was also assigned the further duty of framing and proposing

¹ *Memoirs*, 2d ed., p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," III., pp. 4, 5.

"a proper substitute for the State Prayers in the Liturgy, to be used for the sake of uniformity, till a further review shall be undertaken by a general authority and consent of the Church."

On the following day the committee presented their report. It is to be found in full in the preface to Bioren's reprint of the convention journals, edited by Bishop White; in the reissue of the early journals which has appeared under the sanction of the General Convention, and in White's "Memoirs of the Church." It establishes the General Convention, defines the character of its members, gives power for associated action on the part of "Congregations in two or more States," declares the maintenance of the "doctrines of the Gospel now held by the Church of England," and the adherence of the American Church to the "Liturgy of the said Church as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States;" gives to "a Bishop duly consecrated and settled" in any State, *ex-officio* membership of this convention; provides for the equality of the clerical and lay vote, requiring concurrence to secure the passage of any measure; and appoints the first meeting of the General Convention thus established and defined "at Philadelphia, the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael next," expressing the hope that the "Episcopal Churches in the respective States will send their clerical and lay deputies, duly instructed and authorized to proceed in the necessary business herein proposed for their deliberation." Other documents than the printed records lead us to believe that this "essay," as originally presented, was considerably pruned and amended when under the deliberation of the "Committee of the Whole." As appears from the allusions to the whole business, in correspondence still unpublished, between White and Parker, the fifth article, as originally reported, provided for the *presidency* of a bishop, should one be obtained before the meeting of the convention; but this very proper measure, though supported by the New England delegations, and by Dr. White himself, was voted down; a fact we can only explain by the subsequent course of Provoost with reference to Seabury, whose approaching consecration was now confidently expected. The proposition for changing the State prayers, referred to this committee, was only acted upon generally by a declaration of adherence to the English prayer-book. This appears to have been the work of Parker, who complained bitterly when the Philadelphia Convention proceeded ruthlessly, and, as he justly remarked, without any authority, to the complete and thorough revision of the liturgy. The admission of the laity to our councils, White's favorite scheme, prevailed; though in Connecticut the bishop-elect had received none but clerical votes, and the same was the case with Dr. Smith, then bishop-elect of Maryland. It was a wise measure, however, as time has since shown us; and for its adoption White could well afford to sacrifice other and less important propositions. Beyond these measures nothing was done, save a recommendation to the clergy of the respective States to authorize a committee to examine and appoint lay readers for "the present exigency." With this resolution this "primary Convention," as we should call it nowadays, adjourned.

Its members bore away with them mingled memories, good and ill. Wharton had observed, with sadness and shame, the reprehensible conduct of the president, Smith, to which he was afterwards to testify, when, a little later, he, with the rest of the convention at Wilmington, declined to sign the testimonials of that gifted and erring man for consecration. White, noting, we may not doubt, the signs of the coming struggle between Provoost and the Bishop of Connecticut, and disappointed that a measure designed to prevent any ebullition of feeling from an apparent want of respect to the Episcopal office, should have failed, was still grateful to God that so much had been done; while Parker, whose far-seeing mind was equally alive to danger in this quarter, brooded over the prospect of schism, and was soon found pouring out his heart in a long epistle to his Pennsylvania friend and brother, full of warning counsel, coupled with expressions of affectionate personal regard. Griffith, whose family affairs had called him to New York, and thus enabled him to be present at the primary meeting of a body at one of whose sessions he was destined to die, away from family and home, returned to his native State, fired with a desire to share in the pious work of helping on the organization of the Church of which he was so worthy a member; while Smith, foreboding, doubtless, difficulties at home, as well as those he knew were hindering him abroad in his efforts for the mitre, hurried back to his country college, and to his controversies with the Presbyterians, and the prosecution of his schemes of land speculation, in which his ever-active spirit found abundant occupation.

Again did the mail-bags bear their ponderous packets and letters, and the printed sheet of the proceedings was hurried hither and thither, from hand to hand, throughout the land. Again did the trading vessels bear across the ocean the intelligence to waiting, anxious hearts, — the glad intelligence that there was still life in the almost crushed and ruined Church. And, in the midst of all this questioning, and planning, and laboring, when cold November had set in at last, in a little, unnoticed private chapel, in an "upper room" of a house in Aberdeen, there knelt, in deep solemnity, one whose bowed head was not uplifted till, in the solemn act of consecration, he rose the first bishop of the American Church. Thus were the longings, the prayers, and the labors of nearly a century gratified. The Church in America had now a head, vested with the full authority and commission of a bishop in the Church of God.

Friends in Old England sympathized with the churchmen in New England in their dissatisfaction with the proceedings in New York. Duché, immediately on receipt of the news, wrote almost indignantly as follows: —

Your Conclusions at New York, I must tell you plainly, are quite inconsistent with the Discipline of the Church of England, which you profess to make your Model, so far as she may be supposed unconnected with any Civil Power. They are also inconsistent with the Form of Ecclesiastical Discipline which prevailed in the purest period of the Christian Church. They seem to be wholly formed upon y^e Presbyterian Model, and calculated to introduce the same Kind of Government in the Church, that is established in your State. Whereas the State, according to their own acknowledgment, will have nothing to do in Church Matters. You have it

therefore in your [power] to form a Church perfectly primitive, and absolutely uncontroled by any Civil Power, so far as its Laws do not interfere with those of the State.

Judge then with what Astonishment every true Episcopalian must view your Treatment of the Episcopal Order, by declaring, as you have done, that they shall have no distinction at your Conventions, but be only considered as Members, ex-officio. I consider this as fundamentally wrong. An Episcopal Clergyman cannot confound the Orders of Bishop and Priest, and withhold Assent from due Subordination.

These and other Matters, I hope, will be properly cleared up and settled on the Arrival of Bishop Seabury, who sails for New York some time during the present Month. He is a truly primitive Bishop, consecrated by three Bishops in Scotland, where the Apostolical Succession has been inviolably preserved, as appears from the Register he takes with him. He has taken no Oath of any kind to any Power on Earth, and therefore comes to you in "unquestionable Form;" just such a Bishop as you would have wished, and such as you could by no other means

J. Duché

have obtained. Receive him, therefore, I beseech you, with Cordial Affection, and with that Christian Respect which is due to his high and sacred Office. Suffer no Schism in y^e Church. Providence has sent him to accomplish and preserve a compleat Union in your new American Episcopal Church. His Consecration, you know, cannot be approved of here, for Reasons obvious to those who know the Connection of the Church with the State. I, therefore, could not ask him to officiate for me, neither would he for prudential and proper Reasons. He considers himself, and must be considered here, as a foreign Bishop. God grant that you may all be kept in y^e Unity of the Spirit, and y^e Bond of Peace.

And Alexander Murray, himself an aspirant for an American mitre, grumbled at White, in one of his long epistles, in words to this effect:—

Why did not your last Convention at New York, of Clergy and Laity (for whose benefit Episcopacy is chiefly intended), address the Archbishop of Canterbury to lay your case before Parliament? The application of such a public, respectable Body of men would have due weight, after it had been made apparent that your Assemblies could not, consistently with the Constitution of the States, interpose in the matter, so managing it in a public manner as to satisfy Parliament that it would give them no offence, which is carefully avoided here in every instance, that both Powers may live for the future on good terms, without officiously interfering in the administration of the affairs of one another, either in Church or State, considering the Jealousies still entertained on your side of the water.

A Murray

While the bishops of Scotland, alive, now that Seabury had been consecrated by them, to all the ecclesiastical measures set on foot across the water, thus thought and wrote of the New York "fundamental principles":—

I see the difficulties you will have to struggle with from the loose, incoherent notions of Church government which seem to prevail too much even among those of the Episcopal persuasion in some of the Southern States; but the better principles and dutiful support of your own Clergy will enable you to face the Opposition with becoming fortitude and prudence. And may the great and only Head of his Church strengthen you for the great work to which he has appointed you, and

make you the instrument of frustrating the mischievous Devices of the late Convention.

I see their Resolutions printed in some of the London papers exactly as you transcribed them, and whatever Views they may have had of the future Establishment of Episcopacy in America, I think they could not have contrived more effectually for suppressing the influence, and smothering all the benefits of it, than by entering into such Articles of Union as are directly repugnant to its spirit, and subversive of its original Design.¹

Wonderfully did God overrule these threatened dangers, and all the apprehensions of the wisest and truest friends of the Church, at home and abroad, by a train of providences whose unravelling forms a striking chapter in our early ecclesiastical history.

In the meantime there had come, from the Old World to the New, letters denouncing the episcopacy of Seabury, as derived from a source at once invalid and irregular. Strange to say, these letters were addressed to a Baptist preacher of Rhode Island, the president of the college of that denomination lately erected there. One's suspicions might naturally be roused by the novelty of such a channel of communication. An English Episcopalian, grandson of an Archbishop of York, corresponding with a leading Baptist minister of New England, to weaken the influence and lower the official character of the first American bishop! It is but due, however, to the source whence this strange opposition came, to say that it was from no dislike of Seabury personally, and from no disloyalty to the episcopal office, that Granville Sharp, the celebrated philanthropist of England, thus assailed the Scotch succession in his own land and here. Misguided as he appears to have been in this factious attempt, and incorrect, as has subsequently appeared, as were the data on which he proceeded in his uncharitable task, it was simply and solely that the American Church might receive from their English mother the apostolic succession they were seeking. Still, though not only Manning the Baptist, but even Provoost the Episcopalian, were leagued, as of old Pilate and Herod were, against the cause and ambassador of Christ, it was left for White, the patient, loving, trustful one, to clear up the cloud of obloquy this well-intentioned but misguided man had thrown upon the name and character of Seabury, and give to the world a vindication of both the Christian temper and the episcopate of our first presiding bishop.

Granville Sharp

It was with these signs of the coming alienation that there gathered in convention at Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 27th of September, 1785, the clerical and lay deputies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. New England, with its organized dioceses and bishop, though invited, and even urged to attend, stayed at home. Parker writes to Dr. White, at a later date, that the strange inconsistency in refusing in an *Episcopal* convention to give to the episcopate the

¹ Bp. Skinner to Bp. Seabury.

presidency its very nature demanded, was a principal cause of this non-attendance on the part of the North. We cannot wonder at it. There was no assurance, so far as the "fundamental principles" of the body was concerned, that, as had lately been the case, both in

W. White Chairman?

the Virginia and South Carolina State conventions, some laymen might not be placed in the chair of the convention, and his casting vote made use of in determining matters, not alone of discipline and worship, but even of doctrine.

As it was, the choice fell on the worthiest man of all who gathered at this autumnal meeting, and William White was made president of the first convention of our church that can lay any claim on the score of numbers to the title "General." The first business of the meeting was the reading once, and yet again, of the fundamental rules. It is a little suggestive of the uneasy feeling on the part of the chief movers in the plan for a thorough revision of the liturgy that they have, in the printed journal of 1785, entirely omitted to record the resolutions twice referred to of the primary meeting of 1784, defining the powers and marking out the course of business proposed in this first convention. The proceedings of the gathering in New York were only printed on a single broadside sheet, and not in full on that; and this record was, as Bishop White tells us in his memoirs,¹ "in very few hands at the time," and a few years later, as he supposed, "generally destroyed or lost." In fact, these proceedings were never made generally accessible, even in part, till the reprint of the early journals, edited by Bishop White, appeared in 1817; and they were first reprinted in full, *verbatim et literatim*, with added information obtained from the MSS. of the president, Dr. William Smith, in the "Notes and Illustrative Documents," appended to the reissue of the early journals, published under the authority of the General Convention by the writer. A reason for this omission appears

Jacob Read

in the renewal of the effort made, as we suppose, by Dr. Smith at New York, and there defeated, that the committee chosen to adapt the service to the political changes he appointed to report "such further alterations in

the Liturgy as may be advisable for this Committee to recommend to the consideration of the Church here represented." Provoost,

¹ Second edition, p. 80.

of New York; Beach, of New Jersey; White, of Pennsylvania; Wharton, of Delaware; Smith, of Maryland; Griffith, of Virginia, and

*Henry Purcell D. D.
Rector of St. Michael's
Chapelton.*

Purcell, of South Carolina, were the clerical members of this committee, with the Hon. Messrs. Duane, Peters, and Read, Dr. Cradock, and Messrs. Dennis, Sykes, and Page, of the laity.

Little appears in the journal of this convention indicating the important changes their action contemplated. The abolition of two creeds, and the omission of an article in the only creed retained, the rearrangement of the prayers, the reduction of the articles, the expurgation of the imprecatory clauses of the psalms, and the removal of those little archaisms of the English liturgy whose only hold upon the people for years had been their retention in the church's prayers, and the appointment of a committee for the preparation of a new preface and a new calendar, and for the selection of new hymns and the reduction of the metre psalms, were all hurried through from Saturday, October 1, when the committee first reported their "draft of the alterations," to Wednesday evening, October 5, when it was "*Resolved*, That the said alterations be proposed and recommended to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States from which there are deputies to this Convention."

John Page

Of course, in so brief a time attention could not be given to the details of the work. A committee, consisting of Dr. White as president, with Drs. Smith and Wharton, was therefore "appointed to publish the Book of Common Prayer, with the alterations, as well as those now ratified, in order to render the Liturgy consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States, as the alterations and new Offices recommended to this Church; and that the book be accompanied with a proper Preface or Address, setting forth the reason and expediency of the alterations; and that the Committee have the liberty to make verbal and grammatical corrections, but in such manner as that nothing in form or substance be altered." The same committee were further "authorized to publish, with the Book of Common Prayer, such of the reading and singing Psalms, and such a Calendar of proper lessons for the different Sundays and holidays

throughout the year, as they think proper." Thanks were voted by name "to the Rev. Dr. Smith for his exemplary diligence and the great assistance he has rendered this Convention, as Chairman of the Committee, in perfecting the important business in which they have been engaged;" and on Friday, October 7, the day of the adjournment, White read "the Liturgy as altered," and Smith preached a sermon, published in a little pamphlet, now among the rarest of the printed tracts and documents of this interesting period. From its stained, yellow pages we extract the author's summary of the convention's work: —

One part of the service you have just heard, and have devoutly joined in it. Here the alterations are but few, and those, it is hoped, such as tend to render it more solemn, beautiful, and affecting! The chief alterations and amendments are proposed in the various offices — viz., of baptism, etc., as hath been observed to you before; with the addition of some new services or offices — namely, for the 4th day of July, commemorative of the blessings of civil and religious liberty; the first Thursday of November, as a thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth; and an office for the visitation of persons under the sentence of death; of all which you can only form a true judgment when they shall be published and proposed to you in the new Prayer-Book.

Besides the hurrying through of a review of the liturgy, the convention of 1785 proceeded to address the English archbishops and bishops for the episcopal succession. This was done with no general distrust of the Scotch episcopacy, but with the natural preference for that of England, which had led Seabury to wait a year in efforts for the same, ere he reluctantly turned his steps toward Aberdeen. But, as White and others well knew, now that the problem so long in suspense was solved, and the British ministry had seen, in the quiet yet honorable reception of Seabury as an unquestioned bishop, the fullest evidence that the old objections to the introduction of the episcopate in America had lost their force, and with the fires of partisan rancor and denominational hate had at length burned out, the question of an American episcopate was placed on a far different basis from what it was before the Revolution, when dissenters at home and in the colonies clamored unceasingly against it. It was secured, and the further proffer of the boon, if sought, was but a kindly courtesy, the rather likely to oblige than give reason for national or political complications and dislikes. So, from the moment Seabury had been welcomed so heartily by the clergy of Connecticut, with others from the rest of New England and New York, at his first convocation at Middletown, that which had been denied to him was known to be at the call of those who sought it with the like testimonials of character, learning, and piety, and with the approbation of the civil powers besides. The very response made by the Bishop of Connecticut to the letter inviting the presence of himself and clergy at the Philadelphia Convention, "seemed," as Bishop White himself assures us, "to point out a way of obviating the difficulty in the present case." But still it is the testimony of men on both sides of the ocean — men who, from their position in the Church, knew what they affirmed — that, but for Seabury's consecration at Aberdeen, there would have been no proffer

of the English succession to America, at least till in the lapse of years there had been far too many opportunities for the accomplishment, by men of latitudinarian views and laxity of morals, of the doctrinal changes openly advocated in this very convention by the Hon. Mr. Page, of Virginia, and with which it was rumored, with no little show of reason, that Provoost at the North, and Madison, Smith, and Purcell, at the South, were more or less in sympathy. At any rate, the assertion is directly made at a later date, both by Parker,¹ of Boston, and Dr. Peters, of London, the one well acquainted with the facts on both sides of the ocean, and the other all the while cognizant of the views and feelings of the dignitaries of Church and State in England, that the reception of the Scotch episcopacy by Seabury alone secured for White, Provoost, and Madison, the English succession at a later date. Come how it did, we would gratefully thank God who thus renewedly connected our infant Church with the still loved mother, whose "long continuance of nursing care and protection" we even now so willingly acknowledge. To trace the steps that led to its reception, when the saintly White and the accomplished Provoost knelt in the chapel of Lambeth for the imposition of the hands of English prelates, is our next task. We cannot fail to linger lovingly over it, as it reveals to us the excellence, the piety, and the manliness of White, in a most striking light. We are led to dwell upon it all the more as the records of its inception, progress, and success have never before been given to the Church. They are found in torn and tumbled letters, stained and yellow with the lapse of time and the frequent fingerings of those to whom they brought messages of hope, or else recorded impressions of doubt or the misgivings of despair; and they have been rescued, some from garrets, some from cellars, some even from the pile of kindlings ready for the flames; and others, from the first carefully preserved, are from the letter-books of Bishop White himself. They, and they alone, tell the else untold story of our past, and give us, in all their fulness and reality, the every-day impressions, doings, plannings, and results, at this the birth-era of our independent Church.

The address to the English prelates was the composition of White. While the unsparing hands of Smith and his compeers in sub-committee were busied in the elimination of the old Church words, and doctrines, too, it would seem, from creeds, offices, prayers, psalms, and articles alike, White was seeking to carry out the earnest wish of the conservative churchmen of all the scattered churches, in hastening the coming of a bishop in the English line. The address, manly and courteous in its tone, is highly creditable to the head and heart of its author. It called upon the archbishops and

¹ Dr. Parker's words are as follows:—

"I am very sorry to see with what coolness and indifference some of the Gentlemen in your Convention speak of Bishop Seabury, because I foresee that this Conduct must create a Schism in the Church. However eligible it may appear to them to obtain the succession from the English Church, I think there can be no real Objection to Dr. Seabury's Consecration or to the Validity

of orders received from him; and I am firmly of opinion that we should never have obtained the Succession from England, had he or some other not have obtained it first from Scotland."—*Extract from a letter to Dr. White, dated September 15, 1786.*

Vide Perry's "Historical Notes and Documents," appended to the reprint of the *Early Journals*, III., p. 325.

bishops of England, "from a tender regard to the religious interests of thousands in this rising empire, professing the same religious principles with the Church of England," "to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recommended by this Church in the several States here represented, full satisfaction being given of the sufficiency of the persons recommended, and of its being the intention of the general body of the Episcopalians in the said States respectively, to receive them in the quality of Bishops." It alluded to the separation of Church and State, and the consequent inability of our civil rulers to join officially in this application, enclosing extracts from the State constitutions, showing the legality of the request. It added the expression of grateful remembrance of past favors from the English Church, and paid a glowing tribute to the venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. As it told of life, and zeal, and churchly taste and principle, it must have carried to those to whom it was addressed the promise of a bright future for the American Church. One cannot read it, as contained in the rare little pamphlet-journal published at the time, now lying before us, or even as found in later reprints, without admiration of him who thus, at the outset, stamped upon the American Church, at the inception of its plans for organization and perpetuation, the seal of his own high and holy purpose, and his unshaken love for the old Church and the old church's ways.

Smith, hurrying home to Maryland, had hastily convened a convention there, as soon as the "proposed book" was through the press. No

*Wm West, Rector of St Paul's
Baltimore Md.*

records of this meeting exist. Even the "Notices and Journals and

Remains of Journals," gathered from the papers of the secretary of these early Maryland conventions, the Rev. Dr. William West, by the zealous and painstaking Rev. Ethan Allen, D.D., a few years since, give us but the minute of this meeting's action with reference to the liturgy. This silence is ominous. From the private letters of the time, and from the subsequent action of the General Convention at Wilmington, to which allusion is made by Bishop White, we are forced to draw the inference that there now began, in Maryland, that unhappy dissension springing out of the persistent efforts of Dr. Smith for the episcopate, which terminated a year later by the refusal of the convention to renew his election, and the consequent refusal of the General Convention to recommend him to England for consecration. Thus early was the lay element, introduced by the sagacious White, the means of saving the Church from stain; for it was by a small representation of laity, two only in number, that this opposition was inaugurated, and their action was predicated on the report of the doings in New York, to which we have earlier referred.

In New York, Provoost, whose partisan prejudices, if they were not personal, would not suffer him to overlook the former toryism of

the Bishop of Connecticut, annoyed at the presence of Seabury on Long Island, where he admitted to holy orders the first clergyman ordained in New York, wrote acrimonious letters to Dr. White, filled with misstatements as to the bishop's course, and chiefly remarkable from the intense malignity of feeling they displayed with reference to one who had never even indirectly injured him, and whose course, through years of unrelenting opposition from Provoost, was uniformly good-tempered, conciliatory, and forgiving. In a letter from Mr. Provoost, published for the first time in the "Notes" to the late reprint of the early convention journals, there was added to the announcement that the "Address to the Archbishops and Bishops" had been sent by packet, the following characteristic paragraphs:—

"I expect no obstruction to our application but what may arise from the intrigues of the non-juring Bishop of Connecticut, who a few days since paid a visit to this State (notwithstanding he incurred the guilt of misprision of treason, and was liable to confinement for life for doing so), and took shelter at Mr. James Rivington's, where he was seen only by a few of his most intimate friends. Whilst he was there a piece appeared in a newspaper under Rivington's direction, pretending to give an account of the late Convention, but replete with falsehood and prevarication, and evidently intended to excite a prejudice against our transactions, both in England and America.

"On Long Island, Dr. Cebra¹ appeared more openly — preached

¹ This pertinacious misspelling of Bishop Seabury's name, well known to all who are familiar with the manuscript letters of Bishop Provoost, is noticeable as an evidence of the feeling he entertained towards the bishop of Connecticut.

As for the reliability of the statements of this letter, it need only be said that the assertion that the article referred to had appeared "in a newspaper under Rivington's direction," in other words, in the *New York Packet* (No. 5,377) for Monday, October 31, 1785, enables us to test the matter in question. We give it, in connection with the change, as it stands — word for word — in the newspaper referred to. In our judgment, it is a truthful and candid statement of the action of the Philadelphia Convention:—

"We are informed that about twenty of the Episcopal clergy, joined by delegates of lay gentlemen from a number of the congregations in several of the Southern States, lately assembled in Convention at Christ Church, Philadelphia, revised the Liturgy of the Church of England (adapting it to the late revolution), expunged some of the creeds, reduced the Thirty-nine Articles to twenty in number, and agreed on a letter, addressed to the Archbishops and the Spiritual Court in England, desiring they would be pleased to obviate any difficulties that might arise on application to them for consecrating such respectable clergy as should be appointed and sent to London from their body to act as Bishops on the continent of America, where there is, at present, only one Prelate dignified with Episcopal powers — viz., the Right Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, Bishop of the Apostolical Church in the State of Connecticut. Hitherto, Mr. Pitt, the British minister, has vehemently opposed all applications preferred for consecration to sees in America; this discouragement occasioned Bishop Seabury

to secure his consecration from three of the Bishops in Scotland, which proves as perfectly valid and efficient as though obtained from the hands of their Right Reverences of Canterbury, York, and London, and is incontestably proved by a list of the consecration and succession of the Scottish Bishops since the revolution in 1688, under William III."

It must be remembered, in connection with this newspaper notice, that the journal of the Philadelphia Convention had not then been printed, and that all that was known of the proceedings of this meeting were the necessarily vague rumors afloat at the time, coming from the few who participated in its discussions as members, or were present by invitation, and that these reports were liable to exaggeration, as the story passed from mouth to mouth. And yet, as it appears by reference to the journal and liturgy as afterwards published, there is no misrepresentation in the article at all. It, indeed, sets the number of the clergy present in Convention higher than the journal does, but this could only give the impression of greater dignity to the body in question, and the difference between the actual number, sixteen, and the "about twenty" referred to in the "item" published in New York, is too trifling for further comment. The liturgy was "revised" far more than the limiting explanation, "adapting it to the late revolution," gave occasion to expect, though this was the extent of the powers of the Convention; but the full extent of this revision was not known till the book appeared, and could hardly have been anticipated by others than the committee who had it in charge. Two out of the three creeds were "expunged." The English archbishops were addressed and there was then on this continent but "one Prelate dignified with Episcopal powers," and that prelate was Bishop Seabury.

at Hempstead church, and ordained the person from Virginia I formerly mentioned, being assisted by the Rev. Mr. Moore, of Hempstead, and the Rev. Mr. Bloomer, of New Town, Long Island.

"I relate these occurrences, that when you write next to England, our friends there may be guarded against any misrepresentations that may come to them from that quarter."

But to return from this episode. At length, the impatiently awaited answer from England arrived in New York. A copy of it was hurried off by Mr. Provoost, in charge of a Presbyterian minister travelling southward, to Dr. White, who, in turn, informed his brethren in the States more distant. The original of this letter lies open before us. Written in bold, open, clerkly hand, and bearing the autograph signatures of the English prelates, it forms one of the most interesting documents of our Church history. We copy it, *verbatim et literatim*, from the folio sheet preserved in the Bishop White correspondence; and we reprint it the more willingly as it is only accessible in the rare journals of the second convention of the Church in the Middle and Southern States, and in later reprints of these proceedings, or in White's admirable and authoritative Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is as follows:—

LONDON February 20, 1786.

To the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the united States of America.

The Archbishop of Canterbury hath received an address dated in Convention, Christ Church, Philadelphia, October 5, 1785, from the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the united States of America, directed to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, and requesting them to confer the Episcopal Character on such persons as shall be recommended by the Episcopal Church in the several States by them represented.

This brotherly and Christian Address was communicated to the Archbishop of York and to the Bishops with as much dispatch as their separate and distant Situations would permit, and hath been received and considered by them with that true and affectionate regard which they have always shewn towards the Episcopal Brethren in America.

We are now enabled to assure you, that nothing is nearer to our Hearts than the Wish to promote your spiritual Welfare, to be instrumental in procuring for you the complete Exercise of our holy Religion, and the Enjoyment of that Ecclesiastical Constitution, which We believe to be truly Apostolical, and for which you express so unreserved a Veneration.

We are therefore happy to be informed that this pious Design is not likely to receive any Discountenance from the Civil powers under which you live; and We desire you to be persuaded, that We on our parts will use our best Endeavors, which We have good Reason to hope will be successful, to acquire a legal Capacity of complying with the prayer of your Address.

With these Sentiments We are disposed to make every Allowance which Candour can suggest for the Difficulties of your Situation, but at the same time We cannot help being afraid, that, in the proceedings of your Convention, some Alterations may have been adopted or intended, which those Difficulties do not seem to justify.

Those Alterations are not mentioned in your Address; and, as our Knowledge of them is no more than what has reached Us through private and less certain Channels, We hope you will think it just, both to you, and to Ourselves, if We wait for an Explanation.

For while We are anxious to give every proof, not only of our brotherly affection, but of our facility, in forwarding your Wishes, We cannot but be extremely cautious, lest We should be the Instruments of establishing an Ecclesiastical System

which will be called a Branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in Doctrine or in Discipline.

In the meantime We heartily commend you to God's holy Protection and are
Your affectionate Brethren,

<i>J. Rochester</i>	<i>J. Cantuar.</i>
<i>R. Worcester</i>	<i>M. Ebor.</i>
<i>J. Oxford</i>	<i>R. London.</i>
<i>J. Exeter.</i>	<i>W. Chichester</i>
<i>Thos. Lincoln.</i>	<i>C. Bath & Wells</i>
<i>John Bangor</i>	<i>J. St Asaphs</i>
<i>J. Lichfield & Coventry.</i>	<i>J. Sarum</i>
<i>J. Gloucester</i>	<i>Peterborough.</i>
<i>Edw. David's.</i>	<i>James Ely</i>
<i>Chr. Bristol.</i>	

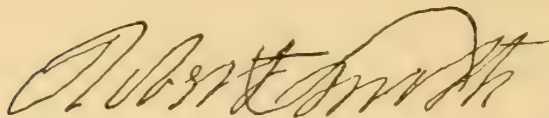
Such was the voice of mingled love and warning heard from across the water, the mother speaking to the daughter-church. Its happy results were at once apparent in retarding the further growth of that love of change which had been developed to such an alarming extent in the Philadelphia Convention, and in inducing a spirit of conciliation and mutual forbearance, indispensable in an effort to unite men of varying shades of opinion and of conflicting prejudices. To this end the gentle spirit and perfect amiability of Dr. White contributed not a little. In fact, to him, under God, more than to any other member of this convention, it was owing that the "strong appearance of a dissolution of the union, in this early stage of it," to which he alludes in his account of the proceedings of the meeting, were skilfully surmounted, and the danger of "falling to pieces" carefully avoided.

These representations of the course and influence of Dr. White are fully borne out by a reference to the journal of this convention. The changes in the proposed constitution, restoring to the Episcopal order its precedency and some of its prerogatives, the silencing of discussion on the "proposed book" by the reference of the "memorials" and "instructions" concerning that short-lived effort for liturgical revision to "the first Convention, which should meet fully authorized to determine on a Book of Common Prayer," and the quiet application of the "previous question" when the attempt was made by Provoost and Robert Smith to commit the convention to an opposition to the Scottish succession — all these measures tending to peace and union

came from the prudent and conciliating White. His, too, was that further measure, — which was, indeed, a seeming concession to the strong prejudices of the rector of Trinity, New York, — the resolution recommending the rejection of candidates for settlement "professing canonical obedience to any Bishop, in any State or country, other

than those bishops who may be duly settled in the States represented in this convention."

But even this motion he was careful not to press



until he had proved, to the satisfaction of all fair-minded members of the convention, by the testimony of a member thereof, that it could have no reference to Bishop Seabury; and he takes pains to record, in his "Memoirs,"¹ "that he never conceived of there having been any ground for it, other than the apprehension which had been expressed" by the opponents of the Bishop of Connecticut. "This temperate guarding against the evil, if it should exist," continues Bishop White, "seemed the best way of obviating measures which might have led to disputes with the Northern clergy." And in succeeding years, when the action of the convention in adopting this resolution, and another offered by the pertinacious Robert Smith, of South Carolina, recommending "to the Conventions of the Church represented in this General Convention not to admit any person as a minister within their respective limits who shall receive ordination from any Bishop residing in America during the application now pending to the English Bishops for Episcopal consecration," was referred to as sustaining the charge that the convention had denied, or questioned, the validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration and orders, White was the first to disavow this imputation, and to appeal to the record to prove that he had never taken part in any measures looking to this end. And it was with his approval, and assistance, too, that the convention of the Church in the Southern and Middle States expressly "voted their opinion in favor of the validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration, in which their President" — Bishop White, himself — "concurred."²

The response to the letter received from the English archbishops and bishops was drafted at the outset by Dr. William Smith. As originally reported to the convention, it was deemed too submissive by the Hon. John Jay, of New York, who made his appearance at its session on the afternoon of Sunday, the day before adjournment, and on being recommitted, with the address, to a committee consisting of Mr. Jay and Francis Hopkinson, Esq., it was, as Bishop White tells us, "considerably altered." It expresses to the "most worthy and venerable Prelates" of the mother-church the "sincere and grateful acknowledgments" of the convention for the "friendly and affectionate letter" of their "lordships." It gives the assurance that the convention "neither have departed, nor propose to depart, from the doctrines of the Church of England." It asserts that "no alterations or omissions

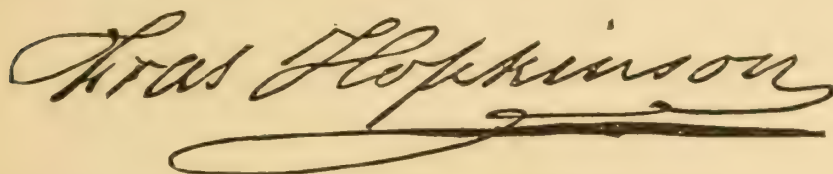
¹ P. 116, 2d edition.

² White's "Memoirs of the Church," p. 29, 2d edition.

in the Book of Common Prayer" have been made, but such as were necessary to render it "consistent with our civil constitutions," or "such as were calculated to remove objections which it appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate than to dispute." It refers to the desire of "many great and known men of the Church of England" "for a revision of the Liturgy;" and adds, "this is with us the proper season for such a revision." "We are now," proceeds the address, "settling and ordering the affairs of our Church; and, if wisely done, we shall have reason to promise ourselves all the advantages that can result from stability and union."

Repeating the request of the former address for the episcopate, and referring to the proposed constitution as revised at this session, and to the "proposed book," which, at the time of their lordships' letter, was not in their hands, for removing their "present hesitation" with reference to communicating to them the succession, and pressing the English prelates for as "speedy an answer to this" "second address" as they "were pleased to give to the former," this interesting document was signed by the twelve clergymen and nine laymen comprising the convention. Among these names were those of Griffith, the president, subsequently the bishop-elect of Virginia; Provoost and Bloomer, of New York; Beach, of New Jersey; White, Magaw, and Blackwell, of Pennsylvania; Wharton, of Delaware; William Smith, bishop-elect of Maryland; and Robert Smith, subsequently first Bishop of South Carolina. John Jay and Francis Hopkinson were, perhaps, the most prominent of the laymen present whose signatures were appended to the address. The convention adjourned to meet at Wilmington at the call of the "Committee of Correspondence," and the members returned to their homes in anxious expectancy of the speedy attainment of their wishes in the full establishment of the Church in the Anglican line in the United States.

The Church in New England felt no little chagrin at the evident attempt of the friends of Provoost, in this convention, to ignore Seabury and his ordinations. The Bishop of Connecticut, all the more

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Francis Hopkinson". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends across the width of the text.

popular at the North because from a church untrammelled by alliance with the State, had, in his progresses throughout New England, been most cordially received; and the constant stream of candidates for holy orders from different sections of the land, including the remote South, proved how satisfactory to the great body of the Church was the presence of a bishop in America, though of Scottish consecration. Already, from the more able and conscientious Methodists, had come William Duke, of Maryland, and Joseph Pilmore, the "evangelical"

Rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia; and besides him, others, recommended by the very men who were concerned in the application to England, were on their way, seeking the imposition of holy hands. The list of Seabury's early ordinations proves that he supplied the Church with clergy from Falmouth, in Maine, to Maryland and Virginia, and, subsequently, to distant Georgia. Some were ordained for every State represented in the conventions that applied to England for bishops, with the exception of South Carolina; and the recognition of their orders, in spite of the factious opposition of men like Provoost and Robert Smith, was attested by their unquestioned reception as clergymen by the various parishes, and by their admission to the State conventions, and their return from time to time to the general conventions, even before the union with the New England Church was accomplished.

Our notice of this first Convention of 1786 would be confessedly imperfect without allusion to the "Memorial" of the New Jersey Convention. This sound and conservative document, prepared by the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey,

is found in full in the appendix to Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church." It is certainly high honor both to the writer and to this

Thomas B. Chandler

production of his pen, that Bishop White, in referring to it, expresses his conviction that this paper "written on the present occasion, was among the causes which prevented the disorganizing of the American Church." It aided in this important work by convincing the convention, as Bishop White further assures us, "that the result of considerable changes would have been the disunion of the Church." And it was this impression thus enforced, proceeds the good bishop, "which contributed to render the proceedings temperate." An examination of this "Memorial," and a remembrance of the source whence it was derived, the bosom-friend of Seabury, and one who had himself declined the first colonial bishopric of the English Church, gives us the fullest statement of the views of the conservative churchmen of the whole land, with reference to the organization of the American Church, as opposed to the radicalism of some of the extreme South, and the violent partisan prejudices of others both at the North and South. It deprecated liturgical alterations and innovations, other than those required by the change in the political relations of the Church, until the completion of the three orders of the ministry. It avows its disapproval of the publication of the "proposed book" by the "late General Convention," "as altered, with the psalms and calendar transposed and changed by their committee, without their revision and express approval;" and it further adds, that "although they may not disapprove of all the alterations made in the said new book, yet they have to regret the unseasonableness and irregularity of them." And it begged the revision of the proposed liturgy, and the removal of "every cause that may have excited any jealousy or fear that the Episcopal Church

in the United States of America have any intention or desire essentially to depart, either in doctrine or discipline from the Church of England." Suggesting a return to the English prayer-book with the simple alterations authorized by the preliminary meeting in New York, and urging the speedy securing of the consecration of bishops in the English line, the memorial closed with the expression of this truly catholic desire: "And that they" (the General Convention) "will use all means in their power to promote and perpetuate harmony and unanimity among ourselves, and with the said Church of England, as a mother or sister Church, and with every Protestant Church in the universe."

Thus with warning words from over the waters, and warning words from home, the Church was, little by little, brought back from the verge of the precipice over which it was tending, and matters were put in train for that return to harmony and unanimity which the best and wisest of fathers labored for and desired from the very first.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

WE append, from the original "Broadside" report and from the MS. minutes preserved in the archives of the Church, the fullest record we have of the preliminary meeting in New York:—

At a Convention of Clergymen and Lay Deputies, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, held in New York, October 6th and 7th, 1784:— Present as follows:—

Rev. SAMUEL PARKER, A.M., Massachusetts and Rhode-Island.

Rev. JOHN R. MARSHALL, A.M., Connecticut.

NEW-YORK.

Rev. SAMUEL PROVOOST, A.M.

Rev. ABRAHAM BEACH, A.M.

Rev. BENJAMIN MOORE, A.M.

Rev. JOSHUA BLOOMER, A.M.

Rev. LEONARD CUTTING, A.M.

Rev. THOMAS MOORE,

Hon. JAMES DUANE,

MARINUS WILLET, } Esquires
JOHN ALSOP,

NEW-JERSEY.

Rev. UZAL OGDEN,

JOHN DE HART, Esquire,

JOHN CHETWOOD, Esquire,

Mr. SAMUEL SPRAGG,

PENNSYLVANIA.

Rev. WILLIAM WHITE, D.D.

Rev. SAMUEL MAGAW, D.D.

Rev. JOSEPH HUTCHINS, A.M.

MATTHEW CLARKSON, Esquire.

RICHARD WILLING, }

SAMUEL POWELL, } Esquires.

RICHARD PETERS, }

DELAWARE STATE.

Rev. SYDENHAM THORN, Rev.

CHARLES WILARTON, Mr. ROBERT

CLAY.

MARYLAND.

Rev. WILLIAM SMITH, D.D.

N. B. The Rev. Mr. GRIFFITH, from the State of Virginia, was present by Permission. The Clergy of that State being restricted by Laws yet in force there, were not at liberty to send Delegates, or consent to any Alterations in the Order, Government, Doctrine, or Worship of the Church.

Oct 6th A.M.

Upon Motion, the Rev^d Dr William Smith was called to the Chair as President of this Convention, & the Rev^d Mr Benjamin Moore was appointed Secretary.

The Letters of appointment & other Documents produced by the several Members above mentioned were read; and also the following Letters from the Clergy of Massachusetts Bay & Connecticut.

Here Insert the Letters. [These are omitted in the original MS. as preserved in the General Convention Archives.]

It being resolved that a Committee of Clerical & Lay-Deputies be appointed to essay the fundamental Principles of a general Constitution for this Church, the following Gentlemen were appointed, viz —

Rev ^d Dr Smith	M ^r Clarkson
Dr White	M ^r De Hart
M ^r Parker	M ^r Clay
M ^r Provoost	M ^r Duane

The same Committee are desired to frame & propose to the Convention a proper Substitute for the State Prayers in the Liturgy to be used for the Sake [of] Uniformity, till a further Review shall be undertaken by general authority & Consent of the Church.

Oct^r. 7th. Present as above.

The Committee appointed Yesterday to essay the fundamental Principles of an ecclesiastical Constitution for this Church, reported an Essay for this Purpose, which being read & duly considered and amended, was adopted as follows, viz. : —

THE Body now assembled, recommend to the Clergy and Congregations of their Communion in the States represented as above, and propose to those of the other States not represented, That as soon as they shall have organized or associated themselves in the States to which they respectively belong, agreeably to such Rules as they shall think proper, they unite in a general ecclesiastical Constitution, on the following fundamental Principles.

- I. That there shall be a general Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.
- II. That the Episcopal Church in each State, send Deputies to the Convention, consisting of Clergy and Laity.
- III. That associated Congregations in two or more States, may send Deputies jointly.
- IV. That the said Church shall maintain the Doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution, and the Constitutions of the respective States.
- V. That in every State where there shall be a Bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a Member of the Convention, ex Officio.
- VI. That the Clergy and Laity assembled in Convention, shall deliberate in one Body, but shall vote separately; and the Concurrence of both shall be necessary to give Validity to every Measure.
- VII. That the first Meeting of the Convention shall be at *Philadelphia*, the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael next; to which it is hoped, and earnestly desired, That the Episcopal Churches in the respective States will send their Clerical and Lay Deputies, duly instructed and authorized to proceed on the necessary Business herein proposed for their Deliberation.

Signed by Order of the Convention,

WILLIAM SMITH, D.D. *President.*

Resolved, that it be recommended to the Clergy in the respective Churches here represented to appoint in each State a Committee of not less than two Clergymen to examine Persons who in the present Exigency are desirous of officiating as Readers, and to direct them to such Duties as they are to perform; and that it be recommended to the Congregations not to suffer any Lay Persons to officiate in their Churches other than such as shall be certified by said Committee to be duly qualified.

[Signed,] W^m. SMITH, *Presid^t.*

CHAPTER III.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE FIRST AMERICAN BISHOPS:
SEABURY AT ABERDEEN, 1784; WHITE AND PROVOOST
AT LAMBETH, 1787.

QUIETLY assembling together in a "Voluntary Convention," at Woodbury, Conn., at the coming of news of peace, — so quietly that no minutes of their meeting are extant, and for



HOUSE AT WOODBURY, CONN., IN WHICH THE CONVOCATION MET.¹

the number composing their convocation, and for the particulars of their proceedings, we are dependent on fragments of contemporary letters,² rescued a few years since by the writer from impending destruction, — on "Lady-day," the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, March 25, 1783, ten of the fourteen remaining clergy-

¹ Now the residence of the Rev. John R. Brooklyn, Conn., to the Rev. Samuel Parker, of Boston, first published in Hawks and Perry's Marshall.

² The Letters of the Rev. Daniel Fogg, of "Connecticut Church Documents."

men of Connecticut gathered in council, and made choice of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., Oxon., missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts at Staten Island, New York, as their bishop. The convocation instructed their choice to seek for consecration in England first of all, and if prevented from obtaining this boon from the prelates of the mother-church, to secure in Scotland, where the bishop-elect had been temporarily resident in his youth, the episcopal power the Connecticut clergy felt indispensable to the proper organization of the American Church.

The hurried letters addressed by the Rev. Daniel Fogg, of Pomfret, to his correspondent at Boston, the Rev. Samuel Parker, evidently written in reply to queries occasioned, it might be, by rumors then rife, afford us the only detailed account of these important proceedings, so far as the choice of the first American bishop is concerned. They graphically depict the fear felt by the clergy lest the old opposition to an American episcopate, so general among the colonists before the Revolution, might again be aroused, and serve to defeat their cherished plans on which, as they rightly believed, the very being of the Church in this land depended.

POMFRET, July 2d, '83.

REV. SIR:—There were ten clergymen met. The Connecticut clergy have done already everything in their power, in the matter you were anxious about. Would send you the particulars if I knew of any safe opportunity of sending this letter; but as I do not, must defer it till I do.

Your sincere friend and brother,

D. FOGG.¹

In less than a fortnight another letter gave more in detail the intelligence so full of interest to Mr. Parker, and to the waiting, wondering churchmen of Massachusetts:—

POMFRET, July 14th, '83.

DEAR SIR:—I wrote you a few lines the 2d inst., by an uncertain conveyance, in which I mentioned that the Connecticut clergy had done all in their power respecting the matter you were anxious about; but they kept it a profound secret, even from their most intimate friends of the laity.

The matter is this: After consulting the clergy in New York² how to keep up the succession, they unanimously agreed to send a person to England to be consecrated Bishop for America, and pitched upon Dr. Seabury as the most proper person

¹ From the original, in the writer's possession.

² Dr. Seabury took with him among his ample testimonials the following letter, still preserved among the family papers of his descendants, which in its language and signatures commands our interest and respect:—

New York, June 3, 1783.

Whereas our well-beloved in Christ, Samuel Seabury, Doctor of Divinity, at the earnest Request of the Episcopal Clergy of Connecticut, hath resolved to embark speedily for England, that he may be admitted to the sacred Office of a Bishop; & afterwards to return to Connecticut, & there exercise the Spiritual Powers peculiar to the Episcopal Office, by superintending the Clergy, ordaining Candidates for Holy Orders, & Confirming such of the Laity as chuse to be confirmed—& having applied to us for Letters Testimonial on the Occasion; We therefore whose Names are underwritten, in Justice to Dr. Sea-

bury's Abilities, Learning & Moral Character, of which we deservedly entertain the highest Opinion, do certify, that we have for many years past been intimately acquainted with the said Dr. Seabury, & that we believe him to be every Way qualified for the Sacred Office of a Bishop. And we cannot but express our earnest Wish that he may succeed in his Application, as many Inconveniences may be thereby prevented, which no after Care can remove, when they have once taken place.

Charles Inglis, D.D.

Rector of Trinity Church in the City of New York.

Jon^{as}. Odell, A. M.

Missionary, Burlington, New Jersey.

Benja Moore, A. M.

Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York.

for this purpose, who sailed for England the beginning of last month, highly recommended by all the clergy in New York and Connecticut, etc. If he succeeds, he is to come out as missionary for New London, or some other vacant mission; and if they will not receive him in Connecticut, or any other of the *States of America*, he is to go to Nova Scotia. Sir Guy (Sir Guy Carleton, Commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's forces in America,) highly approves of the plan, and has used all his influence in favor of it.

The clergy have even gone so far as to instruct Dr. Seabury, if none of the regular Bishops of the Church of England will ordain him, to go down to Scotland and receive ordination from a nonjuring Bishop. Please let me know, by Mr. Grosvenor, how you approved of the plan, and whether you have received any late accounts from England. From your affectionate brother,

D. FOGG.¹

A little later, and evidently in answer to some expressions of doubt as to the wisdom of selecting so avowed a "refugee" as Dr. Seabury for an American episcopate, Mr. Fogg writes as follows:—

DEAR SIR:—I am very glad that the conduct of the Connecticut clergy meets with your approbation in the main. Dr. Seabury's being a refugee was an objection which I made, but was answered, they could not fix on any other person who they thought was so likely to succeed as he was,² and should he succeed, and not be permitted to reside in any of the United States, it would be an easy matter for any other gentleman, who was not obnoxious to the *powers that be*, to be consecrated by him at Halifax. And as to the objection of not consulting the clergy of the other States, the time would not allow of it, and there was nobody to consult in the State of New York, except refugees, and they were consulted. And in the State of Connecticut there are fourteen clergymen. And in your State and New Hampshire, you know how many there are, and you know there is no compulsion in the matter, and you will be left to act as you please, either to be subject to him or not. As to the matter of his support, that must be an after consideration.

Your affectionate friend and brother,

D. FOGG.¹

POMFRET, Aug. 1st, '83.

The eyes of the Connecticut and other New England churchmen were turned anxiously toward England, where Dr. Seabury arrived on the 7th of July. He bore with him abundant testimonials from the clergy of Connecticut and New York that he was "in every way qualified for the Episcopal office, and for the discharge of those duties peculiar

¹ From the originals in the writer's possession.

² The thoughts of the Connecticut clergy in their first castings about for a spiritual head had been turned to one of their own number, the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, a man who, in the language of Jarvis, "by his amiable life and excellent services merited" their "affections, esteem and confidence."¹ But, as we learn from the same authority, "debility and the many bodily infirmities under which he then labored" rendered him, in his own judgment, and in the opinion of others, "altogether unfitted for an enterprise that required great vigor and firmness of mind."¹ These very qualities, Jarvis proceeds, "were conspicuous in Doctor Seabury, who, in every other respect also, was the man to our wishes." Such being the case, it is but natural to suppose that while Leaming may have been the "first choice"¹ of the clergy prior to their meeting, on consultation at Woodbury, Seabury was "pitched upon"—the very phrase used by Leaming, Jarvis, and others of the clergy

in addressing their Bishop elect²—"as the most proper person" to be consecrated Bishop. The testimony of Fogg cannot be reconciled with the notion that Seabury was only an "alternate," a last resort; and the language of the Connecticut clergy, in first formally addressing their spiritual Head as their "elected Bishop" by their "voluntary and united suffrages," "signified" to him "first at New York, in April, 1783,"³ points to nothing short of a "formal election" on the part of a deliberative and unanimous body. The existence of an unused draft of a letter recommending Leaming for consecration proves at the most no more than that the Woodbury convention provided against the contingency which would have arisen had Seabury, the one "pitched upon" as "the most proper person," declined the "appointment."

¹ Jarvis's sermon before the Special Convention at New Haven, May, 1796.

² Hawks and Perry's "Connecticut Church Documents," II., p. 225.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

to it, in the present trying and dangerous times."¹ It is not necessary to give in full the interesting correspondence detailing each step of the unsuccessful application to the English bishops and archbishops. Minute as we would gladly be in detailing each step in the life of the first American bishop, we may safely pass over a period the story of which has been so fully and so frequently told.

Repulsed by the English bishops, who felt hampered by the shackles of their connection with the State, and who well knew that the powers behind the throne, sore at the loss of a western empire, would look but coldly on any measure tending to that new empire's benefit, the indefatigable Seabury turned his steps toward Scotland in search of "a valid and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy." He might have had his Episcopal orders more easily. The sadly dwindled remnant of the non-juring schism which commenced, according to Lathbury, in 1733 or 1743² had now one of its two remaining bishops residing at Shrewsbury, practising as a surgeon. This gentleman, Cartwright by name, willingly offered his services to lay hands upon the American aspirant for consecration. He entered into correspondence with the celebrated Drs. Thos. Bradbury Chandler and Jonathan Boucher — both like Seabury, American refugees, and deeply solicitous for the establishment of the American Church — on the subject of his own consecration, which was derived from the non-juring Thomas Deacon alone; and intimated the concurrence of his coadjutor, Bishop Price, in the proffer of what Seabury desired so much, "a purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy for the Church in Connecticut." But the providence of God had opened another door; and a more desirable and less obscure Episcopacy, was tendered before the negotiations with Bishops Cartwright and Price had been fully entered upon. To the struggling Church in Scotland, the remnant and representative of the old establishment numbering the intrepid Sharp among its martyrs, and the heavenly-minded Leighton among its saints, Seabury bent his steps, assured, ere he started, of a hearty welcome and the desired success. It is a mistake into which our historians and annalists have repeatedly fallen to assert that this resort was first thought of at this time. It is a more unfortunate blunder to give the credit of this idea to the venerable President of Magdalen College, Oxford, the Rev. Dr. Routh, who, in extreme old age, laid claim to its suggestion. All this implies an ignorance of the position, or even of the existence, of the Scottish Episcopal Church, on the part of the Connecticut clergy. This could not have been the case. Years before, the young Seabury, at that time a student of medicine in Edinburgh, had regularly attended the services of the Scottish Church, and knew full well from its very "disabilities," its entire independence of the authority of the State. Besides, in the letter addressed to the Rev. Mr. Parker, of Boston, by the Rev. Daniel Fogg, which we have al-

¹ Printed from the original documents in greater or less fulness in the "Churchman's Magazine" for 1806, and in part in the successive editions of Bishop White's "Memoirs," these interesting papers were woven into a consecutive narrative in the writer's sketch of the organization of the Connecticut Church, contained in Hawks and

Perry's "Connecticut Church Documents," and in the Historical Notes and Illustrations forming the third volume of the author's "Reprint of the Early Journals;" and they have again been reproduced in Dr. Beardsley's "Life of Bishop Seabury."

² History of the Non-jurors, p. 411.

ready given and which was written just after the choice of Seabury was consummated, the alternative of seeking the episcopate in Scotland, in the event of a refusal in England, is distinctly stated as having been decided upon by the Connecticut clergy.

Thus instructed by the body which had designated him for the episcopate, and having the countenance of several of the dignitaries of the English Church, Seabury travelled towards the north. His simple credentials, penned by men living, as were the bishops and clergy of the Church of Scotland, under the apprehension of civil interference, and discountenanced by the great body of their countrymen, opened, at once, the hearts of those to whom they were addressed. The glad consent, which had been earlier promised, was now accorded him without delay, and one dull and damp November day, in the "upper room" of Bishop Skinner's house in Long-Acre, in Aberdeen, used for the services of the Scottish Church, quietly, and in the sight alone of those who were known to be the supporters of this old and persecuted faith, Samuel Seabury was solemnly set apart for the work of a bishop in the Church of God; Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Primus; Arthur Petrie, Bishop of Ross and Moray, and John Skinner, Coadjutor-Bishop of Aberdeen, being the consecrators.¹ Well may we mark that memorable Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity, the 14th day of November, A.D. 1784, in our calendars! It was the natal day of the independent American Church. Nor should it be forgotten that the boon refused

by the Church of England to her children across the ocean was fully, freely bestowed by the suffering and confessing "Catholic remainder of the Church in Scotland," and wherever the story of the American Church is known throughout the world, this act of faith — this great gift of all she had to give, — shall be gratefully remembered and told for a memorial of her.



CONSECRATION HOUSE.²

¹ An interesting letter from the Right Rev. Dr. Alexander Jolly to Bishop Kemp, written November 27, 1826, gives some interesting particulars of this consecration, as follows: —

"Connecticut has been a word of peculiar endearment to me since the happy day when I had the honour & joy of being introduced to the first ever memorable Bishop of that highly favoured See, whose Name ever excites in my heart the warmest Veneration. With a glad & thankful heart I witnessed his Consecration,

held the Book while the solemn words were pronounced, & received his first Episcopal Benediction. . . .

"Your most respectfully devoted humble
Servant,

"ALEXANDER JOLLY."

² Dwelling-house and corner of old St. Andrew's Chapel on Long-acre, Aberdeen, occupying in part the site of Bishop Skinner's house and chapel where Bishop Seabury was consecrated.

In Dei Nomine. Amen.

Omniſibus ubique Catholicis per Preſentes ſubſtat, Nos Robertum Nilgour Miſſionarie Divina
 Episcopum Abendonienſis Aſſiſurum Patre Huiusmodi Pſon. et Straven. et Joannem Skinner Episcopum Co-
 aſſiſurum. Myſterio ſuorum Domini nostri Jeſu Chriſti in Oratoris ſubſtituit. Joannis Skinner aſſiſurum
 celebrant, Divini Nominiſis Præſidio preſentibus tam e Clero quam e Populo Aſſiſurum idem) Samuellem
 Fairbury Doctorem Divinitatis, ſacer. Preſbyterum Ordine jam deſervitum, ac Nobis ſua Vita integritate Morum
 ſubſtituit, et Orthodoxia commendatum, et ad. abſolvendum et regendum epiſcopum et ſacerdotem, ad ſacrum et ſubſtantiam
 Episcopatus Ordinem promoviſſe, et ita ac canonice, ſecundum. Morem et Ritum Eccleſie Scoticane, Conſueſcentie, Die
 Novembriſis Decimo Quarto, Anno ſe. Christiane Miſſionis octingenteſimo octageſimo quinto. In cuius rei
 Teſtamentum, Inſtrumentum huius (Chirographus nostri prius memiſſiſſe, notitiam aſſiſurum mandavimus



Robertus Nilgour Episcopus et Primus

Amicus Patre Episcopus.

Joannes Skinner Episcopus.

On the day following the consecration, Monday, the 15th of November, a "Concordate" between the Episcopal Church in Scotland and that in Connecticut was formed and agreed upon by the bishops of Scotland and Bishop Seabury. This document, meant to be a bond of union between the two churches, first records their agreement "in thankfully receiving and humbly and heartily embracing the whole doctrine of the Gospel, as revealed and set forth in the holy scriptures;" and places on record as the concurrent testimony of both churches, "that it is their earnest and united Desire to maintain the analogy of the Common Faith once delivered to the Saints, and happily preserved in the Church of Christ, thro' his divine power

and protection, who promised that the Gates of Hell should never prevail against it." Secondly, it is asserted that the contracting parties agreed "in believing this Church to be the mystical Body of Christ, of which he alone is the Head, and supreme Governour, and that under him, the chief ministers or Managers of the affairs of this spiritual society, are those called Bishops, whose Exercise of their Sacred Office being independent on all Lay powers, it follows of consequence, that their spiritual Authority and Jurisdiction cannot be affected by any Lay-deprivation." The two churches were further declared to be "in full communion" in the third article, and in the next it was urged that there should be as near a conformity in worship and discipline between the two communions as possible. In this connection it was sagely suggested that "such prudent generality in their public prayers" should be carefully observed, as might enable each

Samuel, by divine permission Bishop of the Episcopal & Church in Connecticut, To all who it may concern, Know Ye, That on the sixteenth day of September One thousand seven hundred and eighty first, We the Bishop afore mentioned solemnly administering Holy Orders under the protection of Almighty God in Trinity Church in the City of New Haven in the State of Connecticut did admit and promote our beloved in Christ Thomas Fitch Oliver A. M. (consecrating whole Moral, Learning, Age and Life we were well satisfied) unto the Holy Order of Priests and him the said Thomas Fitch Oliver &c. did then and there rightly and canonically Ordain Priest: He having first in our presence made and subscribed a declaration of his Assent and Conformity to the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, except in matters affected by the civil Constitution of the American States. In Testimony whereof We have caused our Episcopal Seal to be hereunto affixed the day and year above written, and in the first year of our Consecration.

Samuel

Sp. Ep. Thick
Connect.



"to avoid any bad effects that might otherwise arise from political Differences."

In the fifth article it was provided that "as the Celebration of the holy Eucharist, or the Administration of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal Bond of Union among Christians, as well as the most solemn Act of Worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little variance here as possible," and to this article we owe the primitive character of our eucharistic office.

In the further articles it was provided that "brotherly fellowship" was to be maintained; and the gift of the episcopate to Seabury was proclaimed to have been "made with nothing else in view, but the glory of God and the good of the Church," and to promote "the Cause of Truth and of the Common Salvation."¹

¹ The "Concordate" is as follows:—

In the Name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, One God, blessed for ever. Amen.

The wise and gracious Providence of the merciful God, having put it into the hearts of the Christians of the Episcopal persuasion in Connecticut in North America, to desire that the Blessings of a free, valid and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy, might be communicated to them, and a Church regularly formed in that part of the western world upon the most antient, and primitive Model: And Application having been made for this purpose, by the Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury Presbyterian in Connecticut, to the Right Reverend the Bishops of the Church in Scotland: The said Bishops having taken this proposal into their serious Consideration, most heartily concurred to promote and encourage the same, as far as lay in their power; and accordingly began the pious and good work recommended to them, by complying with the request of the Clergy in Connecticut, and advancing the said Dr. Samuel Seabury to the high Order of the Episcopate; at the same time earnestly praying that this Work of the Lord thus happily begun might prosper in his hands, till it should please the great and glorious Head of the Church, to increase the number of Bishops in America, and send forth more such Labourers into that part of his Harvest.—Animated with this pious hope, and earnestly desirous to establish a Bond of peace, and holy Communion, between the two Churches, the Bishops of the Church in Scotland, whose names are underwritten, having had full and free Conference with Bishop Seabury, after his Consecration and Advancement as aforesaid, agreed with him on the following Articles, which are to serve as a Concordate, or Bond of Union, between the Catholic remainder of the antient Church of Scotland, and the now rising Church in the State of Connecticut.

Art. i. They agree in thankfully receiving, and humbly and heartily embracing the whole Doctrine of the Gospel, as revealed and set forth in the holy Scriptures: and it is their earnest and united Desire to maintain the Analogy of the common Faith once delivered to the Saints, and happily preserved in the Church of Christ, thro his divine power and protection, who promised that the Gates of Hell should never prevail against it.

Art. ii. They agree in believing this Church to be the mystical Body of Christ, of which he

alone is the Head, and supreme Governour, and that under him, the chief Ministers or Managers of the Affairs of this spiritual Society, are those called Bishops, whose Exercise of their sacred Office being independent on all Lay powers, it follows of consequence, that their spiritual Authority, and Jurisdiction cannot be affected by any Lay-Deprivation.

Art. iii. They agree in declaring that the Episcopal Church in Connecticut is to be in full Communion with the Episcopal Church in Scotland; it being their sincere Resolution to put matters on such a footing as that the Members of both Churches may with freedom and safety communicate with either, when their Occasions call them from the one Country to the other: Only taking care when in Scotland not to hold Communion in sacred Offices with those persons, who under pretence of Ordination by an English, or Irish Bishop, do or shall take upon them to officiate as Clergymen in any part of the national church of Scotland, and whom the Scottish Bishops cannot help looking upon, as schismatical Intruders, design'd only to answer worldly purposes, and uncommissioned Disturbers of the poor Remains of that once flourishing Church, which both their predecessors and they, have, under many Difficulties, laboured to preserve pure and uncorrupted to future Ages.

Art. iv. With a view to the salutary purpose mentioned in the preceding Article, they agree in desiring that there may be as near a Conformity in Worship and Discipline established between the two Churches, as is consistent with the different Circumstances and Customs of Nations: and in order to avoid any bad Effects that might otherwise arise from political Differences, they hereby express their earnest Wish and firm Intention to observe such prudent Generality in their public Prayers, with respect to these points, as shall appear most agreeable to Apostolic Rules, and the practice of the primitive Church.—

Art. v. As the Celebration of the holy Eucharist, or the Administration of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal Bond of Union among Christians, as well as the most Solemn Act of Worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little Variance here as possible. And tho' the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their Brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can consistently with peace and prudence, to make

It was thus that "the blessings of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy" were obtained by the Church in America.

The step taken by the bishops in Scotland, in advancing Seabury to the episcopate, was approved as soon as known in England, by the truest friends both of the English and the American Church. That this was the light in which it was regarded by the mother-church is shown by the speedy removal by Parliament of the civil disabilities under which the Scottish Church had labored for nearly a century, — a result directly to be attributed to the good office they had rendered to their brethren of a common faith and order in America.

Meeting, not only his own clergy, but some from the neighboring States, in convocation at Middletown, Seabury began his episcopate by authorizing such changes in the prayer-book and offices of the Church as were rendered necessary by the recognition of American independence. To these alterations a few others, suggested by a committee, of which the amiable Parker, of Boston, and the excellent Benjamin Moore, of New York, were members, were added for consideration; and then, cheered by the addition of the newly ordained to their numbers, the bishop and clergy separated each to their respective work, — the one rejoicing in the success of their efforts for securing the episcopate, and the other gratified and encouraged, as he traversed the country, by the glad reception accorded him, not alone in Connecticut but throughout New England.

Agreeably to the terms of the "Concordat" between the Episcopal Church in Scotland and that in Connecticut, it was incumbent upon

the Celebration of this venerable Mystery conformable to the most primitive Doctrine and practice in that respect: Which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion Office, and which it has been the Wish of some of the most eminent Divines of the Church of England, that she also had more closely followed, than she seems to have done since she gave up her first reformed Liturgy used in the Reign of King Edward VI., between which and the form used in the Church of Scotland there is no Difference in any point, which the primitive Church reckoned essential to the right Ministration of the holy Eucharist. — In this capital Article therefore of the Eucharistic Service, in which the Scottish Bishops so earnestly wish for as much Unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agreed to take a serious View of the Communion Office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine Standards of Antiquity, to give his Sanction to it, and by gentle Methods of Argument and persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice without the Compulsion of Authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former Custom on the other.

Art. VI. It is also hereby agreed and re-

solved upon for the better answering the purposes of this Concordate, that a brotherly fellowship be henceforth maintained between the Episcopal Churches in Scotland and Connecticut, and such a mutual Intercourse of Ecclesiastical Correspondence carried on, when Opportunity offers, or necessity requires as may tend to the Support, and Edification of both Churches. —

Art. VII. The Bishops aforesaid do hereby jointly declare, in the most solemn manner, that in the whole of this Transaction they have nothing else in view, but the Glory of God, and the Good of his Church; And being thus pure and upright in their Intentions, they cannot but hope, that all whom it may concern, will put the most fair and candid Construction on their Conduct, and take no Offence at their feeble but sincere Endeavours to promote what they believe to be the Cause of Truth, and of the common Salvation. —

In Testimony of their Love to which, and in mutual good Faith and Confidence, they have, for themselves, and their Successors in Office, cheerfully put their Names and Seals to these presents at Aberdeen this fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred, and eighty-four.

ROBERT KILGOUR, *Bishop & Primate.* [SEAL.]

ARTHUR PETRIE, *Bishop.* [SEAL.]

JOHN SKINNER, *Bishop.* [SEAL.]

SAMUEL SEABURY, *Bishop.* [SEAL.]

Bishop Seabury to introduce the Scottish Communion office into use in his American diocese. At the first convocation at Middletown, this measure was considered, and postponed, by general consent, till the minds of the people had been gradually prepared for the change. With this view, early the following year, there appeared a thin duodecimo pamphlet of twenty-four pages, containing "The Communion-Office, or Order for Administration of the Holy Eucharist or Supper of the Lord, with Private Devotions, Recommended to the



BISHOP SEABURY'S HOUSE, NEW LONDON, CONN.

Episcopal Congregations in Connecticut, by the Right Rev. Bishop Seabury." This tract, now one of the rarest of our American ecclesiastical antiquities, failed to receive general acceptance; but its direct result, a few years later, was the incorporation of the distinctive features of the Scotch office into our present American Communion service.

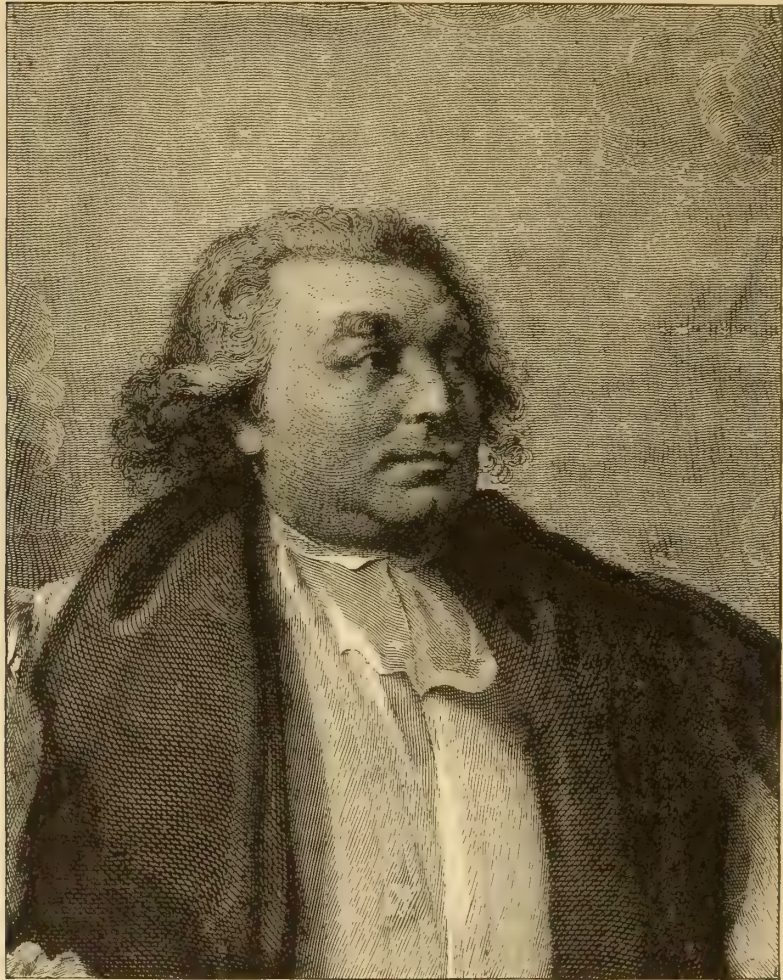
The adjournment of the Convention of 1785 gave to Dr. White and his fellow-committeemen abundant, and, for a time, engrossing labor. Few of the records of this most important epoch are more interesting and instructive than the voluminous correspondence between Drs. White and Smith, with an occasional letter from the amiable Wharton, as published from the original manuscripts in the notes to the reprint of the early journals to which we have already referred. The tracing of each step of the committee's progress; the genial interest and zeal of White, and the indefatigable labor of Smith, the discussion of many a question having its bearing on modern theories

or mooted plans of the present day ; the pleasantries of two old friends busied in a work they fondly dreamed was to be for all time ; all this and more ; the individuality of the writers, and the life-pictures of their times, come out in vivid coloring on the mental canvas, as we read these scrawled and often almost illegible letters, and scraps of notes, and postscripts, and indorsements, carrying us back a century to other days, and to the men and scenes long since passed away.

At length, after a long delay, the book as "proposed" appeared. Read hurriedly over from loose sheets, soiled with corrections for the press, before a little Convention in Maryland, it was met with the proposal of still further changes. Hurried off by post to Parker, in Boston, as folio after folio came, damp from the printer's hands, it met with little favor from the churchmen of the North. Despatched by water through New Jersey to Provoost at New York, after long delays, it received unlooked-for opposition there. In New Jersey, where Chandler's sound conservatism still ruled, the Church definitely, and at once, rejected it. Delaware, in its weakness, held no convention ; and Wharton, whose distance and other duties had given him so small a share in its preparation, seems to have lost his interest in the work of revision he had earlier been so anxious to undertake, as well as his influence in the Church, in whose general councils, after the Wilmington Convention of 1786, he appeared no more for years. Even in Pennsylvania there was dissatisfaction, evidenced in the proposal of amendments to the committee's work. In Virginia, exceptions were taken to one of the rubrics empowering a clergyman "to repel an evil liver from the Communion," and this action tells volumes as to the sad condition of the demoralized and impoverished churches there. Dr. Purcell wrote a long critique upon the committee's changes, questioning their right to do so much with the scanty power intrusted them by the convention ; but still South Carolina accepted the work by formal vote, and then failed to carry out this determination, leaving the copies unsold, and even uninquired for, in the hands of the agents appointed by the Philadelphia committee.

Bishop White, whose history of this movement for liturgical revision forms a most interesting chapter of his work, especially when illustrated by the abundant manuscript authorities he left to sustain his statements, tells us that the "use of the Liturgy, agreeably to the alterations" stipulated by many members of the convention, was never carried into effect by "the greater number," and that the "error" of printing a large edition, "which did not well consist with the principle of mere proposal," and "which seemed a stretch of power designed to effect the introduction of the book to actual use, in order to prevent a discussion of its merits," together with the "other error," the use of it at the close of the convention, and by the Philadelphia clergy subsequently, thus helping "to confirm the opinion of its being to be introduced with a high hand," served to account for "much of the opposition to it." There is also, in the action of the churches of New England and that of New Jersey, as well as in the unpublished letters of men like Parker, Bass, Bela Hubbard, Jarvis, Benjamin Moore, Abraham Beach, William Smith the younger, John Buchanan, and

William West, — men representing every section of the Church from Massachusetts to Virginia, — reason to believe that the unsparing hand with which the liturgic heritage of the Church universal had been assailed, had much to do with the speedy return, in all quarters, to the old book, simply changed as the primary Convention of 1784 had



BISHOP SEABURY.

resolved, to accommodate it to the requirements of our national independence and the constitutions of the respective States.

Besides the hurrying through of a review of the liturgy, the Convention of 1785 proceeded to address the English archbishops and bishops for the episcopal succession. This was done with no general distrust of the Scotch episcopacy, but with the natural preference for that of England, which had led Seabury to wait more than a year in efforts for

the same, ere he reluctantly turned his steps toward Aberdeen. But, as White and others well knew, now that the problem so long in suspense was solved, and the British ministry had seen, in the quiet yet honorable reception of Seabury as an unquestioned bishop, the fullest evidence that the old objections to the introduction of the episcopate in America had lost their force, and with the fires of partisan rancor and denominational hate had at length burned out, the question of an American episcopate was now placed on a far different basis from what it was before the Revolution, when dissenters at home and in the colonies clamored unceasingly against it. It was secured, and the further proffer of the boon, if sought, was but a kindly courtesy, the rather likely to oblige than give reason for national or political complications and dislikes. So from the moment Seabury had been welcomed most heartily by the clergy of Connecticut, with others from the rest of New England and New York, at his first convocation at Middletown, that which had been denied to him was known to be at the call of those who sought it with the like testimonials of character, learning, and piety, and with the approbation of the civil powers. The very response made by the Bishop of Connecticut to the letter inviting the presence of himself and clergy at the Philadelphia Convention, "seemed," as Bishop White himself assures us, "to point out a way of obviating the difficulty in the present case." But still it is the testimony of men on both sides of the ocean—men who, from their position in the church, knew what they affirmed—that but for Seabury's consecration at Aberdeen there would have been no proffer of the English succession to America, at least till in the lapse of years there had been far too many opportunities for the accomplishment, by men of latitudinarian views and laxity of morals, of the doctrinal changes openly advocated in this very convention by the Hon. Mr. Page, of Virginia, and with which it was rumored, with no little show of reason, that Provoost at the North, and Madison, Smith, and Purcell, at the South, were more or less in sympathy. At any rate, the assertion is directly made at a later date, both by Parker, of Boston, and Dr. Peters, of London, the one well acquainted with the facts on both sides of the ocean, and the other thoroughly cognizant of the views and feelings of the dignitaries of Church and State in England, that the reception of the Scotch episcopacy by Seabury alone secured for White, Provoost, and Madison, the English succession at a later date. Come how it did, we would gratefully thank God who thus renewedly connected our infant Church with the still-loved mother, whose "long continuance of nursing care and protection" we even now so willingly acknowledge.

The original of the "Plan for obtaining Consecration" is still extant, preserved among the archives of the General Convention, with the original signatures of the members of the Convention of 1785. We present it in fac-simile as one of the most interesting of our ecclesiastical documents:—

justices, now assembled, be desired to make a respectful Request to the Civil Rulers of the States, in which they respectively reside, to certify That the said Application is not contrary to the Constitution and Laws of the same.

- 6 And whereas the Bishops of this Church will not be intitled to any of such temporal Honors as are due to the Arch. Bishops and Bishops of the Parent Church in Quality of Lords of Parliament, and whereas the Reputation and Usefulness of our Bishops will considerably depend on their assuming no higher Titles or Style than will be due to their spiritual Employments, That it be recommended to this Church, in the States here represented, to provide that each of their respective Bishops may be called the Right Reverend, ^{As B. of C. & A. B. of N. York, & C.} and as Bishops may have no other Title; and may not use any such Title as is usually descriptive of temporal Power and Precedency.

William White, President of the Convention
of Christ Church & St Peter, Philadelphia.
Saml Provost Rector of Trinity Church and Clerical Deputy } for New York.
Jas Duane Esq Deputy
Abraham Beach
Rector of Christ Church
~~St Andrew's~~ Clerical
Deputy. — }
Alfred Ogden
Rector of Christ Church
New Brunswick, Clerical
Deputy }
Patrick Dennis Esq Deputy } for New Jersey

Sam. May Jr. Rector of St Pauls Church

*Rest Blackwell, Asst. Min. of Christ Church
J. St. Peter Philb.
Joseph Hutchins, Rector of St James's
Church, Lancaster*

*John Campbell, Rector
of York and Kingston.
Joseph Smith
Andrew Dorr
Samuel Sewel
~~Samuel Sewel~~
Richard Peter
Carrington
Mr. Ranko
Nicholas Jones
Thos. Spence
Charles Henry Wharton D.D.
Rector of Emanuel Church New-
Castle upon Delaware
Robert Clay
James Tyner*

*Maryland
William Smith D.D. Principal
of Washington College & Rector of
Chester Parish
Samuel Keene D.D. Professor of Logic
& moral Philosophy in Washington
College & Rector of St. Pauls
Baltimore Town.
John Andrews D.D.
Rector of St Thomas's, Baltimore
Delaware Thos. Bradoch Esq. Deputy*

*Virginia
David Griffith Rector
of Fairfax Parish —
John Page Esq. Deputy*

*South Carolina
Henry Enock D.D.
Rector of St. Michaels
Charleston.*

*Jacob Read
Charles Pinckney
Esq. Deputy*

The reply to this address of the convention for the episcopate, which was received in the spring of 1786, was cautious, though friendly. It was evident that apprehension had been excited in the minds of the English prelates that the American churchmen were

tending toward a laxity in belief, as well as displaying a disposition to deprive the episcopate of much of its dignity and precedence. Still, the guarded language of this communication could not fail to inspire hope, and to encourage the conservatism that had survived, or succeeded the radicalism of the leaders of the Convention of 1785.

The Convention of 1786 "assembled," as Bishop White tells us, "under circumstances which bore strong appearances of a dissolution of the union in the early stage of it." The untoward "circumstances" are stated by the bishop as these: "The interfering instructions from the churches in the different States, — the embarrassment that had arisen from the rejection of the proposed book in some of the States, and the use of it in others, — some dissatisfaction on account of the Scottish episcopacy, and, added to these, the demur expressed in the letter from the English bishops."¹ To these, as appears from the correspondence of the period, should be added, dissension arising from the Arian tendencies of some of the leading spirits in the infant church.² It required the singular prudence of White, and the pressure notably arising in view of the English *ultimatum*, to allay "apprehension," and prevent the newly organized church from "falling into pieces."³

The session of June, 1786, was barely opened when the Rev. Robert Smith, afterward the first bishop of South Carolina, offered a resolution evidently intended to raise the question as to the validity of the Scottish episcopacy, and the subject was again introduced at a later stage of the proceedings. But the judicious application of the parliamentary rule of "the previous question" checked the debate, and the convention, by a formal vote, refused to enter upon the discussion of the validity of Bishop Seabury's ordinations.⁴ Still, the "coolness and indifference" ⁵ towards the Bishop of Connecticut displayed by the convention in discouraging the settlement of clergymen who had received holy orders from Dr. Seabury, was regarded at the North as a declaration of war, and as foreboding "a settled and perpetual enmity."⁶ Parker, of Boston, wrote at once to Dr. White "that this conduct must create a schism in the Church." The amiable Benjamin Moore ascribed this action as arising from "old grudges on the score of politics,"⁷ and thought that the opponents to the Bishop of Connecticut would "not be able to affect their purpose to any great degree."⁸ With such disturbing elements, the apprehension of disintegration and destruction was only natural. That this anticipation was not realized was due, under God, to the forbearance of Seabury, and the prudence, amiability, and conciliatory spirit of White.

The communication from England, in response to "the Christian and Brotherly address of the Convention" of 1785, was shortly followed by another from the two archbishops, written after the receipt in England of the "proposed book," and the new ecclesiastical constitution, and received soon after the rising of the June Convention of 1786. This letter, which we append in full, expresses the dissatis-

¹ *Memoirs of the Church*, 2d ed., p. 115.

² Hawks and Perry's "Connecticut Church Documents," II., pp. 298, 299.

³ *Memoirs of the Church*, 2d ed., p. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁵ Hawks and Perry's "Connecticut Church Documents," II., pp. 300, 301.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁸ *Ibid.*

faction felt by the English bishops at the omission of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and the article on the Apostles' Creed relating to the descent into hell. Objection was also made to the provision of the proposed constitution, which seemed to render possible the trial of bishops by the presbyters and laity of their respective Sees. This, however, as Bishop White remarks, "does not seem to have been the meaning of the article alluded to, which expresses no more than that laws for the trial of Bishops should be made, not by the general, but by each state ecclesiastical representation." With these objections there was added the pleasing intelligence that application had been made to parliament for the passage of an act empowering them to consecrate bishops for America. It was expected on their part that "satisfaction should be given in regard to the matter stated" ere the succession was imparted. The letters proceeded to give in detail the particulars with regard to the testimonials that would be required of those seeking at their hands the episcopal office.

To the Committee of the general Convention at Philadelphia, the Rev^d. Dr. White president, the Rev^d. Dr. Smith, the Rev^d. Mr. Provost, the Hon^{ble} James Duane, Samuel Powell and Richard Peters Esq^{rs}.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—Influenced by the same Sentiments of fraternal Regard expressed by the Archbishops and Bishops in their Answer to your Address, We desire you to be persuaded that if We have not yet been able to comply with your Request, the Delay has proceeded from no Tardiness on our part. The only Cause of it has been the Uncertainty in which We were left by receiving your Address unaccompanied by those Communications with regard to your Liturgy, Articles and Ecclesiastical Constitution, without the Knowledge of which we could not presume to apply to the Legislature for such Powers as were necessary to the Completion of your Wishes. The Journal of the Convention, and the first part of your Liturgy, did not reach us 'till more than two Months after our Receipt of your Address; and We were not in possession of the remaining part of it, and of your Articles, 'till the last day of April. The whole of your Communications was then, with as little Delay as possible, taken into Consideration at a Meeting of the Archbishops and Fifteen of the Bishops, being all who were then in London and able to attend; and it was impossible not to observe with Concern, that if the Essential Doctrines of our Common Faith were retained, less Respect however was paid to our Liturgy than it's own Excellence, and your declared Attachment to it, had led us to expect that to mention a Variety of verbal Alterations, of the Necessity or propriety of which We are by no means satisfied, We saw with Grief, that Two of the Confessions of our Christian Faith, respectable for their Antiquity, have been intirely laid aside, and that even in That which is called the Apostles' Creed, an Article is omitted, which was thought necessary to be inserted, with a View to a particular Heresy, in a very early Age of the Church, and has ever since had the venerable Sanction of universal Reception. Nevertheless as a Proof of the sincere Desire which We feel to continue in spiritual Communion with the Members of your Church in America, and to complete the Orders of your Ministry, and trusting that the Communications which We shall make to you, on the subject of these and some other Alterations, will have their desired effect; We have, even under these circumstances, prepared a Bill for conveying to Us the powers necessary for this purpose. It will in a few Days be presented to Parliament, and We have the best Reasons to hope that it will receive the Assent of the Legislature. This Bill will enable the Archbishops and Bishops to give Episcopal Consecration to the persons who shall be recommended, without requiring from them any Oaths or Subscriptions inconsistent with the Situation in which the late Revolution has placed them; upon Condition that the full Satisfaction of the Sufficiency of the Persons recommended, which you offer to Us in your Address, be given to the Archbishops and Bishops. You will doubtless receive it as a Mark both of our friendly Disposition

towards you, and of our Desire to avoid all Delay on this Occasion, that We have taken this earliest Opportunity of conveying to you this Intelligence, and that We proceed (as supposing ourselves invested with that Power which for your Sakes We have requested) to state to you particularly the several Heads, upon which that Satisfaction which you offer, will be accepted, and the Mode in which it may be given. The Anxiety which is shewn by the Church of England to prevent the Intrusion of unqualified persons into even the Inferior Offices of our Ministry, confirms our own Sentiments, and points it out to be our Duty, very earnestly to require the most decisive Proofs of the Qualifications of those who may be offered for Admission to that Order, to which the Superintendence of those Offices is committed. At our several Ordinations of a Deacon and a Priest, the Candidate submits himself to the Examination of the Bishop as to his Proficiency in Learning; he gives the proper Security of his Soundness in the Faith by the Subscriptions which are made previously necessary; He is required to bring Testimonials of his virtuous Conversation during the Three preceding Years; and that no Mode of Inquiry may be omitted, publick Notice of his offering himself to be ordained is given in the parish Church where he resides or ministers, and the people are solemnly called upon to declare, if they know any Impediment for the which he ought not to be admitted. At the Time of Ordination too the same solemn Call is made on the Congregation then present.

Examination, Subscription and Testimonials are not indeed repeated at the Consecration of an English Bishop, because the person to be consecrated has added to the Securities given at his former Ordinations that Sanction, which arises from his having constantly lived and exercised his Ministry under the Eyes and Observation of his Country. But the Objects of our present Consideration are very differently circumstanced; Their Sufficiency in Learning, the Soundness of their Faith and the purity of their Manners, are not Matters of Notoriety here; Means therefore must be found to satisfy the Archbishop who consecrates, and the Bishops who present them; that, in the Words of our Church, "They be apt and meet for their Learning and godly Conversation, to exercise their Ministry duly to the Honour of God, and the edifying of his Church, and to be wholesome Examples and Patterns to the Flock of Christ."

With Regard to the first Qualification, Sufficiency in good Learning, We apprehend that the subjecting a Person, who is to be admitted to the Office of a Bishop in the Church, to that Examination which is required previous to the Ordination of Priests and Deacons, might lessen that reverend Estimation which ought never to be separated from the Episcopal Character: We therefore do not require any farther Satisfaction on this point than will be given to Us by the Forms of Testimonials in the annexed paper; fully trusting that those who sign them will be well aware, how greatly Incompetence in this Respect must lessen the Weight and Authority of the Bishop and affect the Credit of the Episcopal Church.

Under the second Head, that of Subscription, our Desire is to require that Subscription only to be repeated, which you have already been called upon to make by the Tenth Article of your Ecclesiastical Constitution: but We should forget the Duty which We owe to our own Church, and act inconsistently with that sincere Regard which We bear to your's, if We were not explicit in declaring, that, after the Disposition We have shewn to comply with the Prayer of your Address, We think it now incumbent upon you to use your utmost Exertions also for the Removal of any stumbling Block of Offence, which may possibly prove an Obstacle to the Success of it. We therefore most earnestly exhort you, that previously to the Time of your making such Subscription, you restore to it's Integrity the Apostles' Creed, in which you have omitted an Article merely, as it seems, from Misapprehension of the Sense in which it is understood by our Church. Nor can We help adding, that We hope you will think it but a decent proof of the Attachment which you profess to the Services of our Liturgy, to give to the other two Creeds a place in your Book of Common Prayer, even tho' the Use of them should be left discretionary. We should be inexcusable too if at the Time when you are requesting the Establishment of Bishops in your Church; We did not strongly represent to you that the Eighth Article of your Ecclesiastical Constitution appears to Us to be a Degradation of the Clerical, and still more of the Episcopal Character. We persuade ourselves that in your ensuing Convention some Alteration will be thought necessary in this Article, before this reaches you; or, if not, that due Attention will be given to it in consequence of our Representation.

On the Third and last Head, which respects Purity of Manners, the Reputa-

tion of the Church, both in England and America, and the Interest of our common Christianity, is so deeply concern'd in it, that We feel it our indispensable Duty to provide on this Subject, the most effectual Securities. It is presumed that the same previous public Notice of the Intention of the Person to be consecrated will be given in the Church where he resides in America, for the same Reasons, and therefore nearly in the same Town, with That used in England before our Ordinations. The Call upon the Persons present at the Time of Consecration, must be deemed of little Use before a Congregation composed of those to whom the person to be consecrated is unknown. The Testimonials signed by Persons living in England admit of Reference and Examination, and the Characters of those who give them are subject to Scrutiny, and, in Cases of criminal Deceit, to Punishment. In Proportion as these Circumstances are less applicable to Testimonials from America, those Testimonials must be more explicit, and supported by a greater Number of Signatures. We therefore think it necessary that the several Persons Candidates for Episcopal Consecration, should bring to Us both a Testimonial from the general Convention of the Episcopal Church, with as many Signatures as can be obtained, and a more particular one, from the respective Conventions in those States which recommend them. It will appear from the Tenor of the Letters Testimonial used in England a Form of which is annexed that the Ministers who sign them bear Testimony to the Qualifications of the Candidates on their own personal Knowledge. Such a Testimony is not to be expected from the Members of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in America on this Occasion. We think it is sufficient therefore that they declare they know no Impediment but believe the Person to be consecrated is of a virtuous Life and sound Faith. We have sent you such a Form as appears to Us proper to be used for that purpose. More specific Declarations must be made by the Members of the Convention in each State from which the Persons offered for Consecration are respectively recommended, their personal Knowledge of them there can be no Doubt of. We trust therefore they will have no Objection to the Adoption of the Form of a Testimonial which is annexed and drawn upon the same Principles and containing the same Attestations of personal Knowledge with That abovementioned as required previously to our Ordinations. We trust We shall receive these Testimonials signed by such a Majority in each Convention that recommend as to leave no Doubt of the Fitness of the Candidates upon the Minds of those whose Consciences are concerned in the Consecration of them.

Thus much We have thought right to communicate to you without Reserve at present, intending to give you farther Information as soon as We are able. In the mean Time We pray God to direct your Counsels in this very weighty Matter and are Mr. President and Gentlemen

Your affectionate Brethren,

J. Cantuar.
W. P. For

Prior to the receipt of this letter the convention had, in its acknowledgment of the first letter from the English prelates, reaffirmed its "attachment to the system of the Church of England," and renewed its request for the succession. This second application, in which the hand of the Hon. John Jay was evident, modifying the submissiveness of the first draft, prepared by Dr. William Smith, went on its mission with the advantage arising from the adoption by the convention, "without even an opposition," as Bishop White tells us,¹ of the alterations in the constitution desired by the English bishops. Among the influences tending to the adoption of this conservative course was the presentation of a memorial from the Convention of New Jersey,

¹ Memoirs of the Church, 2d ed, p. 117.

which by the freedom of its criticisms on the proceedings in 1785, and by its earnest advocacy of less radical measures, "was among the causes which prevented the disorganizing of the American Church."¹ The author of this memorial was the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D., the friend and correspondent of Seabury, and the first bishop designate of Nova Scotia. It was thus, in the midst of great physical infirmity, and as the end of a most useful and honored life drew nigh, that this truly apostolic man exerted himself for the guidance of the Church he had by his pen defended, and by his piety adorned for years.

Following close upon the adjournment of the convention, and the receipt of the letter we have given, came a communication from the good archbishop, enclosing the long-expected act of parliament authorizing the consecration of bishops for America: —

Canterbury July 4th
1786

Gentlemen,

The enclosed not being now posted, I have the satisfaction of communicating it to you. It is accompanied by a copy of a letter & some *Terms of Testimonials*, which I sent you by the Packet of last month. It is the opinion here, that no more than three Bishops should be consecrated for the United States of America, who may consecrate others at their return, if more be found necessary. But whether we can consecrate any, or not, must yet depend on the answers we may receive to what we have written. I am your humble
 Servant J. Cantuar.

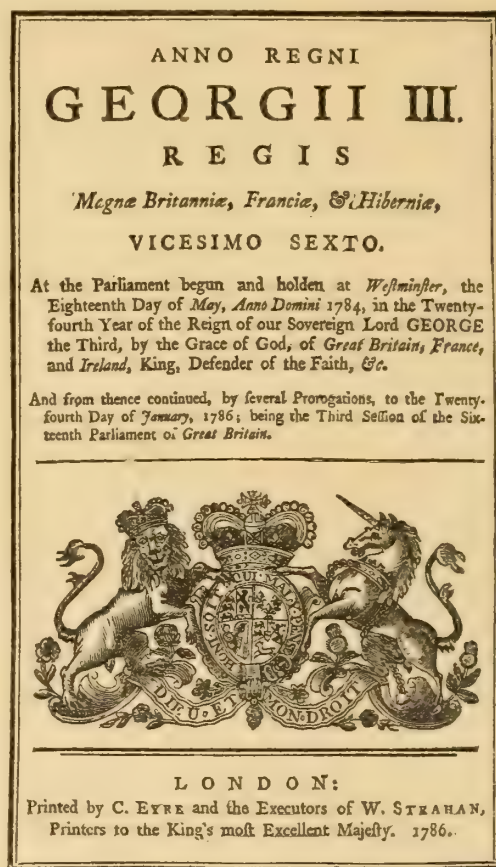
The end desired was now at hand. The convention was reassembled at Wilmington, on the 10th day of October. The presidency of this adjourned session was given to Dr. Provost, the bishop-elect

¹ Memoirs of the Church, 2d ed., p. 117.

of New York. Only New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and South Carolina were represented by both clerical and lay deputies—nine clerical and eleven lay—at this adjourned session. Maryland had only a clerical representative present, the Rev. William Smith, D.D., but his name is found recorded in none of the important votes of the session, and it was at this meeting, although the minutes of the session are silent on the point, that the request of this distinguished man for recommendation to England for consecration was refused. Of the clergy present at this convention which restored the Nicene Creed, and refused to reinstate the Athanasian, and, after a warm debate, restored the article on the descent into hell to the Apostles' Creed, Drs. Provoost and White, and the Rev. Robert Smith, received the episcopate. Uzal Ogden failed of confirmation at the hands of the convention at a later date, and abandoned the Church. Dr. Smith, failing of the coveted episcopate in the Church he had so abundantly served and so abundantly honored, relaxed nothing of his zeal in behalf of the Church, and contributed not a little to the happy realization of the plans he had been so fertile in framing. The papers of Drs. Provoost, White, and Griffith, recommending them to the episcopate respectively of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, were duly signed, and on Thursday, the 2d of November, 1786, the two former "embarked on board the 'Speedy' packet for old England, with the expectation of obtaining consecration from the English bishops."¹ Thus wrote Benjamin Moore to his friend and correspondent, the Rev. Samuel Parker, in Boston. The voyage was "prosperous,"² and London was reached on the 29th of the month. The Hon. John Adams, the minister at the court of St. James from America, who had kindly interested himself in aiding

¹ Hawks and Perry's "Connecticut Church Documents," II., p. 305.

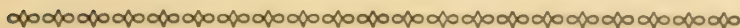
² White's "Memoirs of the Church," 2d ed., p. 125.



[1567]

ANNO VICESIMO SEXTO

Georgii III. Regis.



C A P. LXXXIV.

An Act to empower the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the Archbishop of *York*, for the Time being, to consecrate to the Office of a Bishop, Persons being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions.

Preamble.



WHEREAS, by the Laws of this Realm, no Person can be consecrated to the Office of a Bishop without the King's Licence for his Election to that Office, and the Royal Mandate under the Great Seal for his Confirmation and Consecra-

tion: And whereas every Person who shall be consecrated to the said Office is required to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and also the Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop: And whereas there are divers Persons, Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions, and inhabiting and residing within the said Countries, who profess the Publick Worship of Almighty God, according to the Principles of the Church of England, and who, in order to provide a regular Succession of Ministers for the Service of their Church, are desirous of having certain of the Subjects or Citizens of those Countries consecrated Bishops, according to the Form of Consecration in the Church of England: Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That, from and after the passing of this Act, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the Archbishop of *York*, for the Time being, together with such other Bishops as they shall call to their Assistance,

The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
or *York*,
with such
other Bish-
ops as they
shall think
fit to assist,
may conse-

to consecrate Persons, being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of His Majesty's Dominions, Bishops, for the Purposes aforesaid, without the King's Licence for their Election, or the Royal Mandate, under the Great Seal, for their Confirmation and Consecration, and without requiring them to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Oath of due Obedience to the Archbishop for the Time being.

crate Subjects of foreign States Bishops, without the King's Licence for the Election, or requiring them to take the usual Oaths;

II. Provided always, That no Persons shall be consecrated Bishops in the Manner herein provided, until the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York, for the Time being, shall have first applied for and obtained His Majesty's Licence, by Warrant under His Royal Signet and Sign Manual, authorising and empowering him to perform such Consecration, and expressing the Name or Names of the Persons to be consecrated, nor until the said Archbishop has been fully ascertained of their sufficiency in good Learning, of the Soundness of their Faith, and of the Purity of their Manners.

but not without first obtaining His Majesty's Royal Licence for performing the Consecration, &c.

III. Provided also, and be it hereby declared, That no Person or Persons consecrated to the Office of a Bishop in the Manner aforesaid, nor any Person or Persons deriving their Consecration from or under any Bishop so consecrated, nor any Person or Persons admitted to the Order of Deacon or Priest by any Bishop or Bishops so consecrated, or by the Successor or Successors of any Bishop or Bishops so consecrated, shall be thereby enabled to exercise his or their respective Office or Offices within His Majesty's Dominions.

No Persons so consecrated, &c. thereby enabled to exercise their Offices in His Majesty's Dominions.

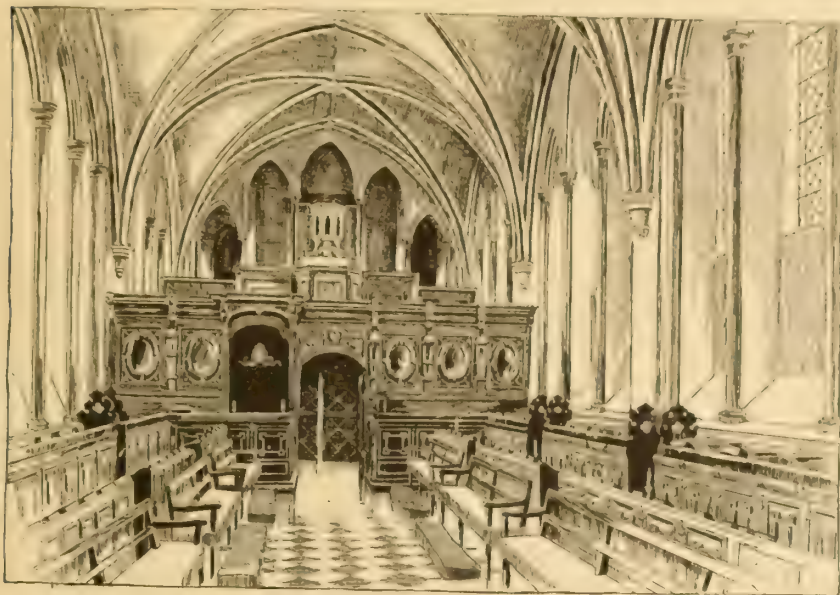
IV. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That a Certificate of such Consecration shall be given under the Hand and Seal of the Archbishop who consecrates, containing the Name of the Person so consecrated, with the Addition, as well of the Country whereof he is a Subject or Citizen, as of the Church in which he is appointed Bishop, and the further Description of his not having taken the said Oaths, being exempted from the Obligation of so doing by virtue of this Act.

Certificate of Consecration to be given by the Archbishop, &c.

FINIS.

the American Church in the accomplishment of its desire for the episcopate, was first called upon, and then the Archbishop of Canterbury. Later, the same courtesy was shown to the Bishop of London, the celebrated Robert Lowth, then drawing near his end. Other prelates were visited, and an audience was granted by the king.

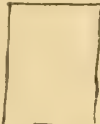
At length the many prescribed formalities were completed, and on Septuagesima, February 4, 1787, at the chapel at Lambeth, the laying on of hands took place. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. John



LAMBETH CHAPEL.

Moore, was the consecrator; the Archbishop of York, Dr. William Markham, was the presenter; and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Charles Moss, and the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. John Hinchcliffe, united in the imposition of hands. The Rev. Dr. Drake, one of

the primate's chaplains, preached from 1 Cor. xiv. 40: "Let all things be done decently, and in order;" and another chaplain read the prayers. The congregation was small; only the family and household of the archbishop, and "very few others," among them the Rev. Jacob Duché, an old friend and fellow-townsmen of the newly made Bishop of Pennsylvania. The solemnity being over, the American bishops

I  *Canter*



dined with the archbishop and bishops, spending the remainder of the day in their company, and on the evening of the following day Bishops White and Provoost left London for Falmouth, which was reached on the 10th. Detained by contrary winds until Quinquagesima Sunday, the 18th, they embarked for New York, reaching port on the afternoon of Easter day, April 8th.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

THE question has been raised with reference to the priority of the laying on of hands upon Drs. White and Provoost. Dr. J. W. Francis, in his interesting and valuable paper on "Old New York," page 168, states his view of the case as follows: "It has been more than once affirmed, and the declaration is in print, that Bishop Provoost, as senior Presbyter, and senior in the ministry, was consecrated first, and Bishop White next, though in the same day and hour, February 4th, 1787. The son-in-law of Provoost, C. D. Colden, a man of veracity, assured me such was the case. If so, Provoost is to be recorded as the Father of the American Episcopate. It is painful to pluck a hair from the venerable head of the Apostolic White, but we are dealing with history." It is probable that Dr. Francis misunderstood the statement of Mr. Colden, for, from a statement made by Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, relative to the consecration of himself and Bishops Hopkins, McIlvaine, and Doane, October 31, 1832, at New York, it appears that just after the consecration service had been performed, Bishop White stated that the bishops at Lambeth, on the occasion of the consecration of himself and Bishop Provoost, had observed that the usual practice in England, where more than one bishop was to be consecrated, of laying hands on the several candidates according to their *seniority as doctors in divinity*.

Now, as the degree of D.D. had been conferred on Bishop White in 1782, and on Bishop Provoost in 1786, Bishop White, was, of course, the senior doctor in divinity.

In the certificate of consecration, Bishop White is named first. After stating the time and place of consecration, and by whom performed, the document says:—

"Consecrated the Rev. William White, Doctor in Divinity, Rector of Christ's Church and St. Peter's, in the city of Philadelphia, a subject or citizen of the United States of North America, and the Rev. Samuel Provoost, Doctor in Divinity, Rector of Trinity Church, in the city of New York, a subject or citizen also of the United States of North America, to the office of a Bishop."¹

In formally mentioning the consecration, on page 28, Bishop White, whose avoidance of egotism was well known, places his own name first.

The following is a copy of Bishop Smith's remarks referred to above:—

"LOUISVILLE, KY., Oct. 23, 1861.

"An incident which occurred in the Vestry room of St. Paul's Church, in New York, on the memorable occasion of the consecration of the four bishops, may, perhaps, interest those who come after us. Before the bishops had disrobed, the venerable Presiding Bishop claimed our attention to a brief statement. He had been censured for giving Bishop Hobart precedence over Bishop Griswold, on the score, as was supposed, of personal and ecclesiastical prepossession. He trusted we all knew him well enough to believe that he was altogether incapable of such an act. The facts were, that on the occasion of his own consecration at the same time with Dr. Provoost, the English mode of determining priority had been adopted, i. e. seniority as Doctors of Divinity. On the first occasion of the consecration of more than one bishop at a time, in the American Church, the same principle had been affirmed, perhaps without due consideration, by the bishops present. On the present occasion, and after more mature reflection, it had been decided that another order

¹ Memoirs of the Prot. Epis. Church. By Bishop White. 2d ed., p. 324.

should hereafter be followed, that of seniority of election. To which the Bishop of Kentucky replied, that as he was the only one affected by the change, he was most happy to say, that it met with his most cordial approbation.

"B. B. SMITH,
"Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky."

Dr. Berrian, in the "History of Trinity Church, N.Y.," page 293, referring to the consecration of Bishops Hobart and Griswold, in May, 1811, says, "According to the usage of the Church of England, Bishop White first laid hands on Mr. Hobart as a Doctor of Divinity, though Mr. Griswold was his senior both in age and the ministry."

An interesting memento of the consecration of Bishop White is still preserved in the archives of the General Convention. It is the bill of expenses incurred in the consecration, and is as follows:—

The Right Rev^d. William White D.D. Bishop of Pennsylvania.

To William Dickes D^r.

1787.		£	s.	d.
Janry. 25.	To Fees paid at the Secretary of State's Office for his Majesty's License authorising the Archb ^p of Canterbury to consecrate	4.	16.	9.
Febry. 4.	To Fees at the Vicar General's Office, D ^m Commons, as by Acc ^t .	6.	6.	4.
	To several Attendances at Lord Sydney's Office, Doctor's Commons &c &c & engrossing Certificate of Consecration & Parchment	2.	2.	0.
	To a Gratuity to the Chapel Clerk at Lambeth Palace	0.	10.	6.
	To Coach hire at sundry Times	0.	7.	6.
		<hr/> £14. 3. 1.		

Consecrated Sunday 4th Feb^r. 1787. } Expences of Consecrating the Rev^d W^m White D.D. to be Bishop of Pennsylvania.

	£	s.	d.
Apparitor's fee	1.	0.	0.
Drawing & Ingrossing the Act of Consecration & Stamp	0.	8.	8.
Register's fee attending the Consecration at Lambeth	1.	6.	8.
Registering the whole proceedings	2.	10.	0.
One half of the Coach hire &c	0.	10.	6.
Registers Clerk	0.	10.	6.
		<hr/> £6. 6. 4.	

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE CHURCHES OF THE NORTHERN, MIDDLE, AND SOUTHERN STATES.

ON the return of the newly-consecrated bishops, Seabury, who had only held aloof from their earlier measures from a consciousness of Provoost's personal hostility, and an unwillingness to submit to the radical notions with reference to the episcopate then too much in vogue at the South, addressed a friendly letter to each, which did credit to his head and heart. If any proof were wanted to convince us of the Christian charity and forbearance of the Bishop of Connecticut, this letter, which we print from the original draft, still preserved in Bishop Seabury's manuscript letter-book, would surely be enough. In reading it, we should remember that it was addressed to a man who had openly and avowedly sought to cast contempt upon the official character and personal reputation of Seabury; and in the convention of his own State, and in the wider assembly of the Middle and Southern States, had introduced resolutions aimed directly, and even by name, against the Bishop of Connecticut, seeking to limit his influence, and reduce him to a position inferior to those who should be consecrated in the English line. This letter is as follows:—

May 1, 1787.

THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP PROVOOST, New York:—

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR,—It is with pleasure I take this opportunity of presenting my congratulations on your safe return to New York, on the success of your application to the English Archbishops, and on your recovery from your late dangerous illness.

You must be equally sensible with me of the present unsettled state of the Church of England in this country, and of the necessity of union and concord among all its members in the United States of America, not only to give stability to it, but to fix it on its true and proper foundation. Possibly nothing will contribute more to this end than uniformity in worship and discipline among the churches of the different States. It will be my happiness to be able to promote so good and necessary a work; and I take the liberty to propose, that, before any decided steps be taken, there may be a meeting of yourself and Bishop White with me at such time and place as shall be most convenient, to try whether some plan cannot be adopted that shall in a quiet and effectual way secure the great object which, I trust, we shall all heartily rejoice to see accomplished. For my own part, I cannot help thinking that the most likely method will be to retain the present Common Prayer-Book, accommodating it to the Civil Constitution of the United States. The government of the church, you know, is already settled; a body of canons will, however, be wanted to give energy to the government, and ascertain its operation.

A stated Convocation of the clergy of this State is now to be held at Stamford on Thursday after Whitsunday. As it is so near to New York, and the journey may contribute to the reëstablishment of your health, I should be much rejoiced to

see you there, more especially as I think it would promote the great object, THE UNION OF ALL THE CHURCHES. May God direct us in all things!

Believe me to be, Rt. Rev. and dear sir, Your affectionate brother and humble servant,

SAMUEL, *Bishop of Connecticut.*¹

In making this proffer for union and uniformity, Bishop Seabury was acting on his own individual responsibility. The convocation of the Connecticut clergy, held at Wallingford the February preceding, indignant at the affronts their bishop had publicly received at the Philadelphia Convention, had determined to send another Presbyterian from their ranks to Scotland, to be consecrated, after the fashion of the Scottish Church, coadjutor to Seabury. Jeremiah Leaming and Richard Mansfield were successively elected to this important office; but age and infirmities induced them to decline, and the choice subsequently fell on Jarvis, who was afterwards to succeed him to whom he was now elected associate. Measures were also put in train to accomplish in Massachusetts the choice of the excellent Samuel Parker, then rector of Trinity, Boston, to the bishopric of that State and New Hampshire, that the episcopal college in the Scottish line might thus be completed, and any necessity of union with the churches at the southward effectually precluded. Had these measures been consummated, as was the ardent wish of the great body of the New England churches, there would have been seen in this country the spectacle of two rival churches differing in origin, in doctrine, in ritual, and antagonistic in principle and practice. Union would soon have been impossible, and the Church, a house divided against herself, could not have failed to have been despoiled and destroyed by foes on every side.

All this was prevented, under God, by the patient forbearance and wise conservatism of Seabury. He might have been the "Primus" of the Church in New England. He chose rather, for the whole church's good, to become one of a house of bishops in which he was to be a hopeless minority. He restrained the ardor of his devoted friends and adherents in and out of Connecticut. He returned again and again to the effort for union and uniformity, and God at length crowned his self-denying, self-forgetting labors and concessions with the desired success, and made him the presiding bishop of a united American Church.

Mysteriously did God, in his wise providence, hedge up the way to the completion of the episcopal college in the English line, till, in his own good time, measures for the union had been inaugurated. The amiable and pious Griffith, chosen Bishop of Virginia, found his journey to England prevented; — the perfect indifference of the parishes to the project leading them to withhold their contributions for accomplishing

¹ A letter in the same words with a few changes in the concluding paragraph was addressed to the Bishop of Pennsylvania. These changes were as follows: —

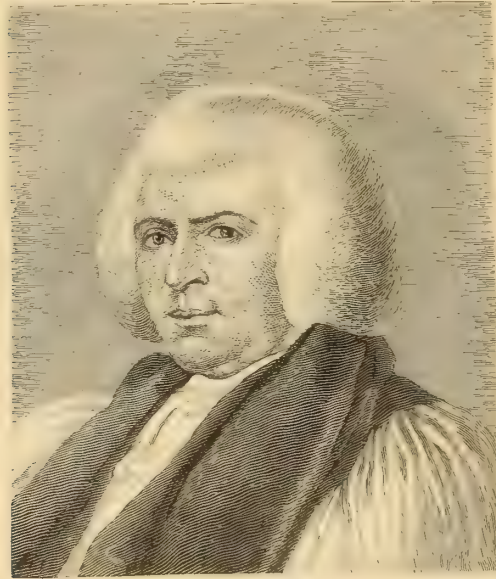
"I have written to Bp. Provost on this subject, & have invited him to visit us at the stated Convocation of our Clergy which is to be held at Stamford Thursday after Whitsunday. I regret that the distance & time will not probably per-

mit you to do us that favour; more especially as I think it would greatly promote so essential an object as the union of all our Churches must be esteemed. May God direct us in all things!

Believe me to be, Right Reverend, & dear Sir,
your affectionate Brother,
& humble Servant,
SAMUEL Bp. Connect.

"Rt. Rev. Bp. White."

it; and when this hindrance was in a fair way of removal, through the proffered kindness of friends at the North, the coldness of the clergy towards their bishop-elect made it apparent that they feared alike his piety and zeal for the Church, should he ever enter upon the limited episcopate to which they had chosen him. Then began a series of petty persecutions, detailed in Dr. Griffith's unpublished letters in language far too mild, when we think that their story was of the conspiracy of ministers and members of the Episcopal Church, aimed at the efficiency, and even existence of the episcopate. These annoyances resulted, finally, in wearing out the patience of Griffith, and in wringing from him a resignation of the office he had never sought, but which he would have highly honored. In Maryland, the Church was still further removed from obtaining the episcopate. The General Convention at Wilmington, after a stormy discussion, had refused to sign the testimonials of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., President of Washington College, and perhaps the foremost man, in point of ability, in the whole American Church, from a conviction that he was far from being "blameless" in life or conversation; and this step effectually precluded any further nominations from that quarter, the Maryland Convention being, at that time, to a certain extent, under the influence of this gifted but erratic man. In New Jersey, personal controversies between the most prominent members of the convention, resulting



RT. REV. SAMUEL PROVOOST, D.D., FIRST
BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

from intrigues on the part of Uzal Ogden, D.D., prevented the choice of the excellent Dr. Beach to the episcopate, and plunged the Church throughout the State into confusion and distress. Delaware had too little life to call to the highest dignity of the Church the distinguished Wharton, whose name appears on our annals as the first convert to the Protestant faith from Romanism, numbered among the ranks of the reorganized American Church. South Carolina had

stipulated, on her admission to the confederacy of churches, that no bishop should be sent to her; and on either side of her there was too little church zeal even to gather a convention, and consequently there was no hope of a popular election of an Episcopal head. At the North,

Massachusetts and New Hampshire were receiving the ministrations of Seabury, and cared not to unite themselves to the churches at the South. In Rhode Island, the Bishop of Connecticut was, from the first, openly acknowledged, and subsequently invested with full Episcopal charge of the State. Vermont presented the anomalous spectacle of an election of a bishop growing out of a gigantic land speculation, and the well-meaning but erratic John Cosens Ogden was duped into giving aid to a project for securing the consecration of Samuel Peters, LL.D., the author of a burlesque history of Connecticut, and then a refugee in London: — an act which, if consummated, would have been a disgrace to the Church never to be wiped out. And so the eyes of all who longed and prayed for unity were turned towards Parker, the rector of Trinity Church, Boston, as the only means of accomplishing this union. Seabury, who had maintained the closest intimacy with him from that convocation of the Connecticut clergy which had been the occasion of their first meeting, hoped to find in him, as a last resort, the *third* bishop of Scottish ordination. White, on the other hand, looked to him to fill the vacancy still existing in the number needed for the canonical transmission of the English succession. He, with characteristic modesty, was deaf to hints, and, while others saw in him the fittest person for the second New England bishopric, quietly planned and secured, by means of his personal influence, the adoption of measures for healing the breach, and bringing back to union and uniformity the churches of all the United States.

To these measures we need not revert in detail. It is enough to state that the application made to the Philadelphia convention of 1789, by the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, nominating the Rev. Edward Bass, of Newburyport, for the episcopate of those States, and requesting the convention to take measures for his consecration by the union of Bishop Seabury with the prelates in the English line, proved the means of union. It came out afterwards, somewhat, we infer, to the surprise of Bishop White,¹ that when this union was effected, and Bishop Seabury received into the house of bishops, and the obnoxious resolutions of earlier date had been either explained away or rescinded, there was no effort made to proceed with Mr. Bass's consecration. The fact was, that it was not the purpose of those who brought his name before the General Convention in this connection, that he should be consecrated. Their object was, by presenting a case in point, to convince the churchmen out of New England, that a further resort to England for bishops was unnecessary; that a full college of consecrators was already on the ground, and that all the American communion now needed, under God, to ensure a successful career, was to be at unity with itself. This done, the consecration of Mr. Bass might well afford to wait, till, in the progress of the Church in New England, there appeared a greater need of Episcopal supervision and advice.

We have already given the noble letter of Seabury to Bishop Provoost, on the latter's return from England after receiving consecration. A similar letter, as we have seen, was addressed by the Bishop

¹ Vide "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church," 2d ed., p. 148.

of Connecticut to Bishop White. To this, the following reply was returned. It is not, we believe, contained among the Bishop White correspondence. At least, we have it only as copied in full, in a letter from Bishop Seabury to Mr. Parker, of Boston, from whose papers we now transcribe it. It is as follows:—

PHILADELPHIA, May 21, 1787.

Bishop White to Bishop Seabury,—There is nothing I have more at heart, than to see y^e members of our communion throughout y^e United States connected in one system of ecclesiastical government; and if my meeting of you in concurrence with Bishop Provoost can do anything towards y^e accomplishment of this great object, my very numerous engagements shall not hinder me from taking a journey for y^e purpose. But I must submit it to your consideration, whether it will not be best previously to understand one another as to y^e views of y^e churches in which we respectively preside.

We have been informed (but perhaps it is a mistake), that y^e Bishop and clergy of Connecticut think our proposed ecclesiastical constitution essentially wrong in y^e leading parts of it. As y^e general principles on which it is founded were maturely considered and compared with y^e maxims which prevail in y^e ecclesiastical system of England; as they have received y^e approbation of all y^e Conventions southward of you, and of one to the northward; as they were not objected to by y^e Archbishops and Bishops of y^e English Church; and as they are generally thought, among us, essential to y^e giving of effect to future ecclesiastical measures; I do not expect to find y^e churches in many of y^e States willing to associate on any plan materially different from this. If our brethren in Connecticut should be of opinion that y^e giving of any share of y^e legislative power of y^e Church to others than those of y^e Episcopal order is inconsistent with Episcopal government; and that y^e requiring of y^e consent of y^e laity to ecclesiastical laws is an invasion of clerical rights; in this case, I see no prospect of doing good in any other way than by contributing all in my power to promote a spirit of love and peace between us; although I shall continue to cultivate y^e hope of our being brought, at some future day, to a happy agreement.

As to y^e Liturgy, if it should be thought advisable by y^e general body of our Church to adhere to y^e English Book of Common Prayer (y^e political parts excepted), I shall be one of y^e first, after y^e appearance of such a disposition, to comply with it most punctually. Further than this, if it should seem y^e most probable way of maintaining an agreement among ourselves, I shall use my best endeavors to effect it. At y^e same time, I must candidly express my opinion, that y^e review of y^e Liturgy would tend very much to y^e satisfaction of most of y^e members of our communion, and to its future success and prosperity. The worst evil which I apprehend from a refusal to review is this, that it will give great advantage to those who wish to carry y^e alteration into essential points of doctrine. Reviewed it will unquestionably be in some places; and y^e only way to prevent its being done by men of y^e above description is, y^e taking it up as a general business. I have been informed that you, sir, and our brethren in Connecticut, think a review expedient, although you wish not to be in haste in y^e matter. Our brethren in Massachusetts have already done it. The Churches in y^e States southward of you have sufficiently declared their sentiments; for even those which have delayed permitting y^e use of y^e new Book, did it merely on y^e principles of y^e want of y^e Episcopal order among them. If, sir, we should be of a different opinion in any matter, I hope we shall be so candid as mutually to think it consistent with y^e best intentions, and a sincere desire to promote y^e interests of our holy religion. This justice you have already received from

Etc., etc.

(Signed) WILLIAM WHITE.

The above, my dear sir, is the whole of a letter from Bishop White, that relates to the subject. It is an answer to one from me to him, in which I proposed a personal interview with him and Bishop Provoost, previously to any decided steps being taken respecting the Liturgy and government of the Church, and mentioned the Liturgy as the most likely bond of union. I send it to you without comment, and shall be glad of your opinion respecting it.

Your affectionate, humble servant,

S., Bishop of Connecticut.

The result of enclosing this letter to Mr. Parker, was one written by him to Bishop White in which he urged, with his characteristic energy, the practicability of union. To this the Bishop of Pennsylvania replied, under date of August 6, 1787. This letter, now in possession of the writer, covers eleven closely written quarto pages, and is a most interesting exposition of the plan and workings of the newly-organized American ecclesiastical system. From that portion of it relating to the matter in question we quote the following : —

I will be very explicit with you on y^e questions you put in regard to an union with Bishop Seabury, and y^e consecration of Dr. Griffith. On y^e one hand, considering it was presumed a third was to go over to England — that y^e institutions of y^e Church of that country require three to join in y^e consecration, and that y^e political situation of y^e English Prelates prevents their official knowledge of Dr. Seabury as a Bishop — I am apprehensive it may seem a breach of faith toward them, if not an intended deception in us, were we to consecrate without y^e usual number, and those all under y^e English succession; although it would not be inconsistent with this idea, that another gentleman, under a different succession, should be joined with us. On y^e other hand, I am most sincerely desirous of seeing our Church throughout these States united in one ecclesiastical legislature; and I think that any difficulties which have hitherto seemed in y^e way, might be removed by mutual forbearance. If there are any further difficulties than those I allude to — of difference of opinion — they do not exist with me; and I shall be always ready to do what lies in my power to bring all to an agreement.

Dating from this kind communication there followed numerous letters, all tending to the removal of prejudices, and the restoration of the kindly feeling between the churches of New England and the Middle and Southern States.

One obstacle to union was with difficulty removed. The irreconcilable Provoost, without the following of his own convention, against the pleadings of the warm-hearted White, sought single-handed to beat back the irresistible tendencies of churchmen, North, South, and East, toward comprehension and charity. Little by little this opposition on the part of the first bishop of New York, which it was hopeless to expect to remove, was rendered inoperative, and the year of grace, 1789, found the longing for union well-nigh universal.

In a hurried note addressed by Bishop Seabury to his friend Parker, the rector of Trinity Church, Boston, he says : —

I believe we shall send two clergymen to the Philadelphia Convention to see whether a union can be effected. If it fail, the point, I believe, will have to be altogether given up.

It was, we may well believe from a comparison of dates, in consequence of this encouragement, that Mr. Parker set on foot, and within the space of a couple of months brought about, the "Act of the Clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire" already cited, the object of which was to bring the question of union in such shape before the "Philadelphia Convention" as to admit of no further evasions or strugglings on the part of those opposed to a recognition of Seabury's orders and Episcopal rights.

In the June following, the Bishop of Connecticut addressed a letter of eight folio pages to his Episcopal brother of Pennsylvania. Our

space forbids the transcription of the whole of this communication, and the ravages of time have mutilated portions of every page; but enough still remains to acquaint us with the style and spirit of this able and well-considered letter:—

NEW LONDON, June 29th, 1789.

RT. REV. AND DEAR SIR:—Your favor of December 9th, 1788, came safely to me, though not till the middle of February. I heartily thank you for it, and for the sentiments of candor and Christian unity it contained; and beg you to believe that nothing on my part shall be wanting to keep up a friendly intercourse with you, and with all the Churches in the United States that our different situations can permit.

That your letter has not been sooner attended to has not been owing to disrespect or negligence. I was unwilling to reply to the great and interesting subject of union between the Church of Connecticut and the Southern Churches, merely on the dictates of my own judgment; and as we are about to call a Convention of lay delegates from our several congregations to provide for the support of their Bishop, and to consider the practicability of instituting an Episcopal Academy in this State, it was thought best that the point of sending lay delegates to the General Convention should come fairly before them. The Annual Convention of our clergy was also to meet in June, and I determined to take their sentiments on the subject of sending some of their body to your Convention.

When the matter was proposed to the Lay Convention, after some conversation, they declined every interference in Church government, or in reformation of Liturgies. They supposed the government of the Church to be fixed, and that they had no right to alter it by introducing a new power into it. They hoped the old Liturgy would be retained with little alteration; and these matters they thought belonged to the Bishop and clergy, and not to them. They, therefore, could send no delegates; though they wished for unity among the Churches, and for uniformity of worship, but could not see why these great objects could not better be secured on the old ground, than on the new ground that had been taken with you.

The clergy supposed that, on your Constitution, any representation from them would be inadmissible without lay delegates; nor could they submit to offer themselves to make part of any meeting where the authority of their Bishop had been disputed by one bishop, and, probably through his influence, by a number of others who were to compose that meeting. They, therefore, must consider themselves as excluded till that point shall be settled to their satisfaction, which they hope will be done by your Convention.

For my own part, gladly would I contribute to the union and uniformity of all our churches. But while Bishop Provoost disputes the validity of my consecration I can take no step toward the accomplishment of so great and desirable objects. This point, I take it, is now in such a state, that it must be settled either by your Convention or by an appeal to the good sense of the Christian world. But as this is a subject in which I am personally concerned, I shall refrain from any remarks on it, hoping that the candor and good sense of your Convention will render the future mention of it altogether unnecessary.

You mention the necessity of having your succession completed from England, both as it is the choice of your churches, and in consequence of implied obligations you are under in England. I have no right to dictate to you on these points. There can, however, be no harm in wishing it were otherwise. Nothing would tend so much to the unity and uniformity of our churches, as the three Bishops now in the States, joining in the consecration of a fourth. I could say much on this subject, but should I do so it might be supposed to proceed from interested views. I shall, therefore, leave it to your own good sense—only hoping that you and the Convention will deliberately consider whether the implied obligations in England, and the wishes of your Churches, be so strong that they must not give way to the prospect of securing the peace and unity of the Church.

Passing in review the arguments urged by the churches at the southward for the introduction of the lay-element into the government of the Church, and examining quite in detail the various alterations comprised in the "proposed book," the bishop thus concludes:—

I shall close this letter with renewing a former proposal for union and uniformity — viz.: That you and Bishop Provoost, with as many Proctors from the clergy as shall be thought necessary, meet me with an equal number of Proctors from Connecticut. We should then be on equal ground — on which ground only, I presume, you would wish to stand — and I doubt not everything might be settled to mutual satisfaction without the preposterous method of ascertaining doctrines, etc., by a majority of votes.

Hoping that all obstructions may be removed by your convention, and beseeching Almighty God to direct us all in the great work of establishing and building up His Church in peace and unity, truth and charity and purity, I remain your affectionate brother, and very humble servant, SAMUEL, Bishop of Connecticut.

A similar letter was addressed to the Rev. Dr. William Smith, now again in Philadelphia. These manly, courteous, and sensible communications were laid before the first convention of 1789, immediately on the presentation before the meeting of the "Act of the Clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire." The reading of these letters was followed by an act of simple justice, which, though it may have been tardy, was now done with a glad alacrity which was at once creditable to the convention, and gave promise of a speedy settlement of the difficulties in the way of union and comprehension. The record reads as follows: —

Upon reading the said letter, it appearing that Bishop Seabury lay under some misapprehensions concerning an entry in the Minutes of a former Convention, as intending some doubt of the validity of his Consecration.

Resolved, unanimously, that it is the opinion of this Convention, that the consecration of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Seabury to the Episcopal Office is valid.¹

¹ Perry's "Reprint of the Journals of the Gen. Conv." I. pp. 70, 71; *vide also*, "Historical Notes and Documents illustrating the organization of the Prot. Epis. Church in the United States," p. 394.

It will serve to show whether or not Bishop Seabury really erred in attaching such importance to the action of the Convention of 1786, as he did, if we cite the opinion of Bishop White with reference to this very matter, written years afterwards, in a calm, dispassionate review of the details of the church's organization: —

"The question of the Scottish Episcopacy gave occasion to some warmth. That matter was struck at by certain motions which appear on its Journals, and which particularly affected two members of the body, one of whom — the Rev. Mr. Pilmore — had been ordained by Bishop Seabury; and the other, the Rev. William Smith, the younger gentleman of the Convention of that name, had been ordained by a Bishop of the Church in which Bishop Seabury had been consecrated. The Convention did not enter into the opposition to the Scottish succession. A motion, as may be seen on the journals, was made to this effect, by the Rev. Mr. Provoost, seconded by the Rev. Robert Smith, of South Carolina, who only of the clergy were of that mind. But the subject was suppressed — as the Journal shows — by the previous question, moved by the Rev. Dr. Smith, and seconded by the author. Nevertheless, as it had been affirmed, that the gentlemen ordained under the Scottish succession, settling in the represented churches, were understood by some to be under canonical subjection

to the Bishop who ordained them; and as this circumstance had been urged in argument, the proposal of rejecting settlements under such subjection was adopted; although Mr. Pilmore denied that any such thing had been exacted of him. As the measure is stated on the Journal to have been carried on the motion of the author, he thinks it proper to mention that he never conceived of there having been any ground for it, other than in the apprehension which had been expressed. This temperate guarding against the evil, if it did exist, seemed the best way of obviating measures which might have led to disputes with the Northern clergy."²

In addition to the above, the Bishop of Pennsylvania further observes: —

"In regard to the Church in Connecticut, it had been all along an object with the author, which he never endeavored to conceal, to bring its Episcopacy within the Union. But as the Scotch succession could not be officially recognized by the English Bishops, he wished to complete the succession from England, before such a comprehension should take place. He knew, indeed, that Bishop Provoost, although he did not appear to be possessed of personal ill-will to Bishop Seabury, was opposed to having anything to do with the Scotch succession, which he did not hesitate to pronounce irregular. Yet he was very little supported in this sentiment; and least of all, by the clergy of his own diocese. It was therefore natural to infer that he would see the expediency of what was the general wish, or at least waive his objection for the sake of peace: as indeed happened."³

¹ Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church," 2d ed. (1836), pp. 115, 116.

² Memoirs, p. 142.

The convention, thus put in full knowledge of the facts of the case, gave to this vexed question a full and patient consideration in the "Committee of the Whole." By this parliamentary expedient, as was doubtless intended, we are unable to trace the progress of the discussion on the pages of the printed journal, itself in its original among the rarest of our conventional publications. The result is spread upon the printed minutes, and is as follows:—

The Committee of the Whole, having had under their deliberate consideration the application of the Clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire for the consecration of the Rev. Edward Bass as their Bishop, do offer to the Convention the following resolves:—



RT. REV. SAMUEL PARKER, D.D., SECOND BISHOP
OF MASSACHUSETTS, FROM A MINIATURE IN THE
POSSESSION OF MISS EDSON, LOWELL, MASS.

1st. *Resolved*, That a complete Order of Bishops, derived as well under the English as the Scots line of Episcopacy, doth now subsist within the United States of America, in the persons of the Right Rev. William White, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania; the Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, D.D., Bishop of the said Church in the State of New York, and the Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., Bishop of the said Church in the State of Connecticut.

2d. *Resolved*, That the three said Bishops are fully competent to every proper act and duty of the Episcopal office and character in these United States, as well in respect to the consecration of other Bishops, and the

ordering of Priests and Deacons, as for the government of the Church according to such rules, Canons, and institutions as now are, or hereafter may be, duly made and ordained by the Church in that case.

3d. *Resolved*, That in Christian charity, as well as of duty, necessity and expediency, the Churches represented in this Convention ought to contribute in every manner in their power, towards supplying the wants and granting every just and reasonable request of their sister Churches in these States; and therefore:

4th. *Resolved*, That the Right Rev. Dr. White and the Right Rev. Dr. Provoost be, and they hereby are, requested to join with the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury, in complying with the prayer of the Clergy of the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, for the consecration of the Rev. Edward Bass, Bishop-elect of the Churches in the said States; but that, before the said Bishops comply with the request aforesaid, it be proposed to the Churches in the New England States, to meet the Churches of these States, with the three said Bishops, in an adjourned Convention, to settle certain articles of union and discipline, among all the Churches, previous to such consecration.

5th. *Resolved*, That if any difficulty or delicacy, in respect to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, shall remain with the Right Rev. Drs. White and Provoost, or either of them, concerning their compliance with the above request, this

Convention will address the Archbishops and Bishops, and hope thereby to remove the difficulty.¹

These resolutions of peace, unanimously agreed upon in the committee of the whole, were unanimously adopted by the convention. In a hurried note addressed to Bishop Seabury, Bishop White communicated, without a moment's loss of time, the result of the action, and the expression of his satisfaction at the prospect of a speedy union on terms such as could not fail to commend themselves to all right-minded men. The address to the archbishops and bishops recited the request of the New England clergy and the resolutions of the convention, and included the extracts from the Rev. Mr. Parker's letter to Bishop White, and one from Bishop Seabury to Dr. William Smith.²

Dr. Smith immediately, on the rising of the convention, sent the following graphic account of the secret history of the session, which we give from the original draft preserved among the Bishop White papers in the writer's hands:—

. . . You will see from our printed Journal, herewith enclosed, that in a Committee of the whole, the business of the Eastern Churches engaged our attention for the first five days of our sitting, and though a desire of union was everywhere evident among the members, yet much difficulty and variety of sentiment and apprehension prevailed as to the means, in-so-far that there appeared more of a probability of coming to no conclusion. In this stage of the business, I requested a postponement for one night, on the promise of proposing something against next morning which might meet the apprehensions of all, as we all had but one great object of union in view; and I shall ever rejoice in it as the happiest incident of my life, and the best service I have ever been able to render to our Church, that the resolves which were offered the next morning were unanimously and almost instantly adopted, as reconciling every sentiment, and removing every difficulty which had before appeared to obstruct a general union.

Bishop White, whom I consulted in framing the Resolves, and Dr. Moore, of New York, and Mr. (now Dr.) Smith of South Carolina, were particularly zealous in whatever tended to promote this good work; and I am well assured that you are in some mistake respecting Bishop White's having declined a "Proposal" for your joining with him and Bishop P. in consecrating a fourth Bishop. He has assured me, and also declared in Convention, that no such proposal was ever made to him; and I believe he has written, or will write to you, on this subject. His whole conduct, whenever your name and Episcopate have been mentioned, does him honor, and is perfectly agreeable to his well-known excellent temper and zeal for the peace and unity of the Church.

The standing committee of the convention also addressed the Bishop of Connecticut, communicating the action respecting the con-

¹ Perry's reprint of the early journals, Vol. 1., pp. 74, 75.

² These extracts were as follows:—"The Clergy of this State (Massachusetts) are very desirous of seeing an union of the whole Episcopal Church in the United States take place; and it will remain with our brethren at the Southward to say whether this shall be the case or not—whether we shall be a united or divided Church. Some little difference in government may exist in different States, without affecting the essential points of union and communion."

In like spirit, the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury, Bishop of the Church in Connecticut, in his letter to the Rev. Dr. Smith, dated July 23d, writes on the subject of union, etc., as follows:—

"The wish of my heart, and the wish of the

Clergy and of the Church people of this State, would certainly have carried me and some of the Clergy to your General Convention, had we conceived we could have attended with propriety. The necessity of an union of all the Churches, and the disadvantages of our present disunion, we feel and lament equally with you; and I agree with you that there may be a strong and efficacious union between Churches, where the usages are different. I see not why it may not be so in the present case, as soon as you have removed those obstructions which, while they remain, must prevent any possibility of uniting. The Church of Connecticut consists, at present, of nineteen clergymen in full orders, and more than twenty thousand people, they suppose, as respectable as the Church has in any State in the Union."

separation of Dr. Bass, and adding the further evidence of their desire for union, in the removal of the constitutional restriction which had seemed to hinder the admission of the Connecticut clergy to the convention.

By the *second* Article of our printed Constitution (as now amended) you will observe that your first and chief difficulty respecting Lay representation is wholly removed, upon the good and wise principles admitted by you as well as by us, viz. : "That there may be a strong and efficacious union between Churches, where the usages are in some respects different. It was long so in the different dioceses of England. By the Article of our Constitution above mentioned, the admission of yours and the other Eastern Churches is provided for upon *your own principles of representation*; while our Churches are not required to make any sacrifice of theirs; it being declared

"That the Church in each State shall be *entitled* to a representation either of Clergy, or Laity, or of both. And in case the Convention (or Church) of any State should neglect or decline to appoint their deputies of either order, or if it should be their rule to appoint only out of one order; or if any of those appointed should neglect to attend, or be prevented by sickness, or any other accident, the Church in such State [district or diocese] shall, nevertheless, be considered as duly represented by such deputy or deputies as may attend of either order."

Here, then, every case is intended to be provided for, and experience will either demonstrate that an *efficacious* union may be had upon these principles; or *mutual* good will, and a further reciprocation of sentiments will eventually lead to a *more perfect uniformity of Discipline as well as Doctrine*.¹

The Bishop of New York, who had been detained from the convention by illness, raised the only protest against these measures for union, but this opposition was of no avail. Bishop Seabury accepted gracefully and without delay the invitation to the adjourned convention in September, and churchmen everywhere seemed gratified at the prospect of the incoming of unity and uniformity.

At length the gathering of bishops, clergy, and laity in a truly *general* convention took place, and among its first results was the reunion of the churches. A dingy, yellow half-sheet of paper carefully preserved among the archives of the General Convention records this act of Church comprehension.

It is this half sheet of paper, soiled and stained with the lapse of nearly a hundred years, which attests the church's return to unity and peace. It was not signed until the constitution had been modified in its third article "so as to declare explicitly the right of the Bishops, when sitting as a separate House, to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the other House of Convention, and to negative such act, proposed by the other House as they may disapprove, *provided they are not adhered to by four-fifths of the other House*." The words we have italicized were not in the change as advocated by Seabury and the New England clergy, but were agreed to as a compromise. A few years later the full Episcopal negative, for which the Bishop of Connecticut contended from the first, was freely accorded by the other house.

The second result of this happy union was the return to uniformity, as shown in the practical though not ostensible return to the English prayer-book as the basis of the revised service-book of the American

¹ Perry's "Hist. Notes and Documents," pp. 406, 407.

church. The "proposed book," at once uncatholic and unchurchly, was thus abandoned. It had never received the approval of the associated churches at the southward, and, in the comprehension of the New England element, its fate was forever sealed.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

THIS "Act of the Clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire," than which few more important documents of our ecclesiastical history exist, was as follows:—

"The good Providence of Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, having lately blessed the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, by supplying it with a complete and entire ministry, and affording to many of her communion the benefit of the labors, advice, and government of the successors of the Apostles:

"We, Presbyters of said Church in the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, deeply impressed with the most lively gratitude to the Supreme Governor of the universe, for his goodness in this respect, and with the most ardent love to his Church, and concern for the interest of her sons, that they may enjoy all the means that Christ, the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, has instituted for leading His followers into the ways of truth and holiness, and preserving His Church in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace; to the end that the people committed to our respective charges may enjoy the benefit and advantage of those offices, the administration of which belongs to the highest order of the Ministry, and to encourage and promote, as far as in us lies, a union of the whole Episcopal Church in these States, and to perfect and compact this mystical body of Christ, do hereby nominate, elect, and appoint, the Rev. Edward Bass, a Presbyter of said Church, and Rector of St. Paul's in Newburyport, to be our Bishop, and we do promise and engage to receive him as such, when canonically consecrated and invested with the apostolic office and powers by the Right Reverend the Bishops hereafter named, and to render him all that canonical obedience and submission, which by the laws of Christ, and the constitution of our Church, is due to so important an office.

"And we now address the Right Reverend the Bishops in the States of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, praying their united assistance in consecrating our said brother, and canonically investing him with the Apostolic office and powers. This request we are induced to make, from a long acquaintance with him, and from a perfect knowledge of his being possessed with that love of God and benevolence to men, that piety, learning, and good morals, that prudence and discretion, requisite to so exalted a station, as well as that personal respect and attachment of the communion at large in these States, which will make him a valuable acquisition to the Order, and, we trust, a rich blessing to the Church.

"Done at a meeting of the Presbyters whose names are underwritten, held in Salem, in the County of Essex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the fourth day of June, Anno Salutis, 1789.

"Samuel Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston; T. Fitch Oliver, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead; John Cousens Ogden, Rector of Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, N.H., William Montague, Minister of Christ Church, Boston; Tillotson Brunson, Assistant Minister of Christ Church, Boston.

"A true copy, Attest:

SAMUEL PARKER."¹

¹ Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," I., pp. 70, 71.

At the same meeting of Presbyters of the Church in Massachusetts and New Hampshire held under the chairmanship of the excellent Bass, whose recommendation to the episcopate was so full and hearty, the leading spirit in the assembly, the Rector of Trinity, Boston, was appointed to attend the Convention in Philadelphia, and "to treat upon any measures that may tend to promote an union of the Episcopal Church throughout the United States of America, or that may prove advantageous to the interests of said Church."



BISHOP PROVOOST'S BOOK-PLATE.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE GENERAL ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION OF 1789.

THE successful issue of the war for independence had confessedly destroyed the sole bond of union existing between the various congregations of the Church of England in America. That sole bond of union was, as Bishop White tells us, "the result of the connection which they in common had with the Bishop of London."¹ In the words of the celebrated Dr. Francis Lister Hawks, "while the States were colonies, all were alike subject in ecclesiastical matters to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London."² They were consequently one, and but one, in the particular of Episcopal authority."³ In this authority they had owed a common allegiance. In the colonies where the Church had been established, this authority had been practically shown in the attempted exercise of the judicial authority of the episcopate over the clergy, in giving or refusing induction to benefices, and the uniform practice of issuing and in revoking for cause, licences to missions or parishes, as the case might be. The annals of the older colonies afford abundant evidences of the struggle between the colonial assemblies and governors on the one hand, and the commissaries of the bishops, or, as in some cases, the bishops of London themselves, for the exercise of that branch of the judicial authority of the episcopate which relates to the induction of the clergy into benefices. In all cases the bishops claimed the right of licensing the clergy, and, in general, this right of the ordinary was respected.⁴ In the colonies, where the Church was not established, this license was an indispensable prerequisite to admission to either a parish or a mission. Besides this exercise of power by letters missive, the bishops, as we have seen from time to time, appointed commissaries, who as acknowledged representatives of the bishops, respectively, from whom they derived their power, and acting in their name, and with their authority, held formal visitations of the clergy and wardens, instituted investigations as to the morals of the clergy, adjudged cases under the ecclesiastical canons, and in various ways, and in spite of bitter opposition, made the authority of the ordinary a "terror to evil-doers." It was this common dependence upon the See of London, shared alike by the churches throughout the thirteen colonies, that was destroyed by

¹ *Memoirs of the Church*, 2d ed., p. 98.

² The subject of the Bishop of London's authority over the churches and clergy of the colonies is ably treated by Hugh Davey Evans, in his "Essay on the Episcopate of the American Church," pp. 108-119.

³ *Constitution and Canons*, p. 2.

⁴ The "Instructions" to the royal governors

especially provided that no minister should be preferred to a benefice "without he has a certificate from the Bishop of London of his being conformable to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, and of a good life and conversation." *Vide*, among other references, Onderdonk's "Antiquities of the Parish Church, Jamaica, L.I.," p. 13.

the successful issue of the struggle for civil independence. With the birth of the nation there was felt and confessed to be the birth of a national church. The language of the preface of our American prayer-book correctly expresses the fact: "When in the course of Divine Providence these American States became independent with respect to civil government, their ecclesiastical independence was necessarily included."

The unity of the faith had not been affected by this civil change: in doctrine, in discipline, in worship, save in so far as the altered political relations required slight modifications of language in the parts of the service referring to those in authority, there had been no change. The American churchman was still baptized into one body, — the church catholic of Christ. At the holy table he knelt to feed in his heart by faith with thanksgiving upon the same body broken, and to drink the same blood shed for him and for his salvation. Political convulsions could not change the truth or destroy the Church of the living God. The unity then existing between the American churches and the Church of England, and between both alike and the catholic Church of Christ was not, and could not be, affected by the war of independence.

But not only was the bond of union existing between the churches in the colonies and the Bishop of London, as their ordinary, dissolved; the union among themselves was also destroyed. It could not be otherwise since this connection with the See of London was the only bond uniting them, — the bond of a common episcopal jurisdiction, and the exercise of the same ecclesiastical laws.

We have seen in what attitude the churches in the several States regarded themselves and each other. In the language of Dr. Hawks: "The testimony would seem to leave no doubt that in each State the Church considered itself an integral part of the Church of Christ, perfectly independent, in its government, of any and every branch of the Church in Christendom. Such an opinion would the more readily be adopted, from the fact that the several States considered themselves in their civil relations, as independent sovereignties, and as such, sought to find a bond of union, first in the articles of confederation, and afterwards in the federal Constitution. Many of those who were employed in laying the foundations of our civil polity were also aiding by their councils in the establishment of our ecclesiastical system; and hence it is not surprising that there should be found not a few resemblances between them."¹ Even in Connecticut this view of the situation evidently obtained. The Connecticut clergy, at the very outset, while acknowledging the severance of the former ties — "that the chain which connected this with the mother-church is broken; that the American Church is now left to stand in its own strength,"² and the necessity of seeking "to form a new union in the American Church, under proper superiors, since its union is now broken with such superiors in the British Church," felt itself capable of reorganization,

¹ Constitution and Canons, p. 4.

White's Memoirs of the Church, 2d ed., pp.

² Letter from the Connecticut clergy to the
Rev. William White, March 25, 1783. — *Bishop*
282-286.

and only proposed to defer the business of union and full reconstruction till the episcopate was obtained. In short, the action contemplated and proposed in the fundamental principles of 1784, and the measures preceding this meeting, and out of which the meeting itself was alone made possible, prove conclusively that the Church in each independent State of the federal union, when organized agreeably to its own pleasure, deemed itself, and was regarded by each other church respectively, as an independent branch of the catholic Church of Christ, lacking, indeed, a perfect organization until the episcopate was secured, but competent to seek that perfecting order, and to organize for this purpose, and for such other purposes as the present need seemed to require.

The Convention of 1785 comprised clerical and lay representatives from the churches which had organized in seven States. It met in Philadelphia on the 27th of September and continued in session until the 7th of October. Its first resolution provided "that each State should have one vote," and throughout the session, in the appointment of committees, in the adoption of all measures for organization and for securing the episcopate, and in the consideration of the proposed changes in the liturgy, "the Church in each State,"¹ for such is the unmistakable language of the official record, is recognized. With the important measures adopted or proposed by this "representative body of the greater number of the Episcopalians in these States,"² we have at present nothing to do, save only in so far as they relate to the adoption of a constitution — not of "the Church in each State," but of "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

This constitution was drafted by the Rev. Dr. White.³ It was the outgrowth of the "Fundamental Principles" of 1784, which, as adopted by this Convention, "became a bond of union; and, indeed, the only one acted under until the year 1789."⁴

At the Convention of June, 1786, "the proposed constitution was taken up for a second reading, and debated by paragraph."⁵ The preamble remained unaltered. In the first section of the constitution the time of meeting was changed from June to July. In the second section after the words "of each order" the words "chosen by the Convention of each State" were inserted. Sections third and fourth were agreed to as they stood. In section fifth, the word "general" was omitted before the words "Ecclesiastical Constitution" and inserted before the word "Convention," and after the words *ex-officio*, the words "and a Bishop shall always preside in the General Convention, if any of the Episcopal order be present," were added. Section sixth was amended by omitting the words "by the respective Conventions" and inserting instead "by the Convention of that State."

After the words "to ordain or confirm" the words "or perform any other act of the Episcopal office" were inserted. The seventh section was agreed to without change. In the eighth, after the words "equitable mode of trial" there were added "and at every trial of a

¹ Journal of Convention, 1785, p. 6.

² Letter to the English Archbishops and Bishops. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church," 2d ed., p. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵ Journal, p. 9.

Bishop, there shall be one or more of the Episcopal Order present: and none but a Bishop shall pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry on any Clergyman, whether Bishop, or Presbyter or Deacon." In section ninth the word "general" was inserted before the word "desire." In place of that part of the section following the words "therefore the" there was inserted as follows: "Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, as revised and proposed to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at a Convention of the said Church, in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, may be used by this Church in such of the States as have adopted, or may adopt, the same in their particular Conventions, till further provision is made in this case, by the first General Convention which shall assemble with sufficient power to ratify a Book of Common Prayer for the Church in these states." In place of the tenth section the following was inserted: "No person shall be ordained until due examination had by the Bishop and two Presbyters, and exhibiting testimonials of his moral conduct for three years past, signed by the minister and a majority of the vestry of the Church where he has last resided: or permitted to officiate as a minister in this Church until he has exhibited his letters of ordination, and subscribed the following declaration: 'I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States.'" In place of section eleventh the following was adopted: "This Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, when ratified by the Church in a majority of States, assembled in General Convention, with sufficient power for the purpose of such ratification, shall be unalterable by the Convention of any particular State, which hath been represented at the time of said ratification."

From the title of the Constitution the word "Ecclesiastical" was omitted.

In the important change in section fifth there was a return to the provision as originally drafted by Dr. White. This draft, which, as we learn from the "Memoirs of the Church," "provided that a bishop, if any were present should preside," was opposed by one of the laity, during the consideration of the draft in sub-committee. The objection was overruled, but, on discussion in open convention, the debate "produced more heat than anything else that happened during the session."¹ With a view to conciliation, "the article passed, with silence as to the point in question." "It was considered," proceeds Bishop White, in his narrative of the proceedings of this session, "that practice might settle what had better be provided for by law; and that even such provision might be the result of a more mature consideration of the subject. The latter expectation was justified by the event."²

¹ Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church," 2d ed., p. 97.

² "Your ecclesiastical Constitution is much mended, but I think not yet quite right. A

Bishop amenable to Laymen was not, I believe, the custom in the primitive Church."—*Rev. S. Parker to Rev. Dr. White, Sept. 15, 1786.*

The addition to section eight met in a measure, and in advance, the objection of the English archbishops, that it was "a degradation of the clerical, and much more of the Episcopal character." As the section originally stood, it was, as Bishop White confesses, "certainly exceptionable."¹ But a change of temper had begun to show itself. "In the preceding year," to quote our best informed authority, Bishop White, "the points alluded to were determined on with too much warmth, and without investigation proportioned to the importance of the subjects. The decisions of that day were now reversed, — not to say without a division, but without even an opposition."²

At the adjourned meeting of this Convention, held at Wilmington, Delaware, in October, of the same year, the eighth article of the constitution, as amended at the meeting in June, was unanimously affirmed, and action was taken with respect to the important matter of "subscription," providing an alternate form, so as to meet the case of those seeking ordination or consecration from States where the "proposed" Book of Common Prayer was not adopted. This measure was adopted to meet the case of the bishop-elect of New York, Dr. Provoost, since, as the State convention had not accepted the "proposed" liturgy, and the articles of religion, "the faith and worship recognized by the convention," were not yet adopted by the Church in New York. The alternative form of subscription bound the subscriber "to the use of the English Book of Common Prayer, except so far as it had been altered in consequence of the civil revolution, until the Proposed Book should be ratified."³

In the interval between the meetings of the Convention at Philadelphia and Wilmington, and the assembling of the convention of July and August, 1789, the episcopate in the English line had been obtained. The Church was now fully organized in the Middle States, as well as in New England, and the minds of churchmen were turned towards the adoption of measures for union. The "Act of the Clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, recommending the Rev. Edward Bass, for consecration," was laid before the Convention, but not until a "Committee, consisting of one deputy from each State," was appointed to take into consideration the proposed constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and to recommend such alterations, additions, and amendments as they shall think necessary and proper.⁴ After two days' deliberation, this committee, through the Rev. Dr. William Smith, "reported a Constitution."⁵ After a first and second reading, the proposed constitution was "debated by paragraphs," and it was then "*Resolved*, that the first, second, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth articles be adopted, and stand in this order: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; that they be a rule of conduct for this convention; and that the remaining articles be postponed for the future consideration of this convention."⁵

At the close of a week, during which action had been taken providing for the healing of differences and the bringing together of long-

¹ Perry's "Historical Notes and Documents," p. 325.

² *Memoirs of the Church*, 2d ed., p. 117.

³ Bishop White's "Memoirs," 2d ed., p. 123.

⁴ Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," I., pp. 69, 70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

parted men, "the Convention took into consideration the two Articles of the Constitution which had been postponed, and which they amended and agreed to. The Constitution was then ordered to be engrossed, and on the following day it was signed by Bishop White and the deputies, both clerical and lay, from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina." The constitution was as follows:—

A GENERAL CONSTITUTION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ARTICLE 1. There shall be a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America on the first Tuesday of August, in the year of our Lord, 1792, and on the first Tuesday of August in every third year afterwards, in such place as shall be determined by the Convention; and special meetings may be called at other times, in the manner hereafter to be provided for; and this Church, in a majority of States which shall have adopted this Constitution, shall be represented, before they shall proceed to business, except that the representation from two States shall be sufficient to adjourn; and in all business of the Convention freedom of debate shall be allowed.

ART. 2. The Church in each State shall be entitled to a representation of both the Clergy and Laity, which representation shall consist of one or more Deputies, not exceeding four of each Order, chosen by the Convention of the State; and on all questions, when required by the Clerical or Lay representation from any State, each Order shall have one vote; and the majority of suffrages by States shall be conclusive in each Order, provided such majority comprehend a majority of the States represented in that Order. The concurrence of both Orders shall be necessary to constitute a vote of the Convention. If the Convention of any State should neglect or decline to appoint Clerical Deputies, or if they should neglect or decline to appoint Lay Deputies, or if any of those of either Order appointed should neglect to attend, or be prevented by sickness or any other accident, such State shall nevertheless be considered as duly represented by such Deputy or Deputies as may attend, whether Lay or Clerical. And if, through the neglect of the Convention of any of the Churches which shall have adopted or may hereafter adopt this Constitution, no Deputies, either Lay or Clerical, should attend at any General Convention, the Church in such State shall nevertheless be bound by the acts of such Convention.

ART. 3. The Bishops of this Church, when there shall be three or more, shall, whenever General Conventions are held, form a House of revision; and when any proposed act shall have passed in the General Convention, the same shall be transmitted to the House of revision for their concurrence. And if the same shall be sent back to the Convention, with the negative or non-concurrence of the House of revision, it shall be again considered in the General Convention, and if the Convention shall adhere to the said act by a majority of three-fifths of their body, it shall become a law to all intents and purposes, notwithstanding the non-concurrence of the House of revision; and all acts of the Convention shall be authenticated by both Houses. And in all cases the House of Bishops shall signify to the Convention their approbation or disapprobation, the latter with their reasons in writing, within two days after the proposed act shall have been reported to them for concurrence; and in failure thereof, it shall have the operation of a law. But until there shall be three or more Bishops, as aforesaid, any Bishop attending a General Convention shall be a member *ex officio*, and shall vote with the Clerical Deputies of the State to which he belongs. And a Bishop shall then preside.

ART. 4. The Bishop or Bishops in every State shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the Convention of that State. And every Bishop of this Church shall confine the exercise of his Episcopal Office to his proper Diocese or District, unless requested to ordain or confirm, or perform any other act of the Episcopal Office, by any Church destitute of a Bishop.

ART. 5. A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States, not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be admitted on acceding to this Constitution.

ART. 6. In every State, the mode of trying Clergymen shall be instituted by the Convention of the Church therein. At every trial of a Bishop there shall be

one or more of the Episcopal Order present; and none but a Bishop shall pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the Ministry on any Clergyman, whether Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon.

ART. 7. No person shall be admitted to Holy Orders until he shall have been examined by the Bishop, and by two Presbyters, and shall have exhibited such testimonials and other requisites as the Canons, in that case provided, may direct. Nor shall any person be ordained until he shall have subscribed the following declaration:—

I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the Doctrines and Worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States.

No person ordained by a foreign Bishop shall be permitted to officiate as a Minister of this Church until he shall have complied with the Canon or Canons in that case provided, and have also subscribed the aforesaid Declaration.

ART. 8. A Book of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, Articles of Religion, and a Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, when established by this or a future General Convention, shall be used in the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States which shall have adopted this Constitution.

ART. 9. This Constitution shall be unalterable, unless in General Convention, by the Church, in a majority of the States which may have adopted the same; and all alterations shall be first proposed in one General Convention, and made known to the several State Conventions, before they shall be finally agreed to, or ratified, in the ensuing General Convention.

In General Convention, in Christ Church, Philadelphia, August the 8th, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

Bishop White places on record an acknowledgment of the "conviction," as "generally prevailing, that the formerly proposed Constitution was inadequate to the situation" of the Church. That no episcopal pressure was brought to bear upon the committee or the Convention in inducing the changes which appear, is evident from the bishop's own statement. "On this business the President of the Convention met the committee but once, and interested himself very little; being desirous that whatever additional powers it might be thought necessary to assign to the bishops, such powers should not be under the reproach of having been pressed for by one of their number, but be the result of due deliberation, and the free choice of all orders of persons within the Church, and given with a view to her good government."¹

At the adjourned Convention, which met on the 29th of September, and continued in session until the 16th of October, Bishop Seabury, with clerical deputies representing Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, were in attendance. The Convention of July and August had appointed a committee to notify the Bishop of Connecticut, and "the Eastern and other Churches not included in this union," of the time and place of the adjourned session, and "to request their attendance at the same, for the good purposes of union and general government." This committee, consisting of the Bishop of Pennsylvania, the Rev. Drs. William Smith and Samuel Magaw, and Messrs. Francis Hopkinson and Tench Coxe, in their letter of invitation, assured Bishop Seabury "that nothing hath been left unattempted"

¹ *Memoirs of the Church*, 2d ed., p. 144.

which was deemed "conducive, either towards the basis or superstructure of an union, so seemly and needful in itself, and so ardently desired by all." The letter proceeded as follows:—

By the *second* Article of our printed Constitution (as now amended), you will observe that your first and chief difficulty respecting Lay representation is wholly removed, upon the good and wise principles admitted by you as well as by us, viz.: "That there may be a strong and efficacious union betwixt Churches, where the usages are in some respects different. It was long so in the different dioceses of England."

By the Article of our Constitution above mentioned, the admission of yours and the other Eastern Churches is provided for upon *your own principles of representation*; while our Churches are not required to make any sacrifice of theirs; it being declared

That the Church in each State shall be *entitled* to a representation either of Clergy or Laity, or of both. And in case the Convention [or Church] of any State should neglect or decline to appoint their deputies of either order, or if it should be their rule to appoint only out of one order; or if any of those appointed should neglect to attend, or be prevented by sickness, or any other accident, the Church in such State (district or diocese) shall, nevertheless, be considered as duly represented by such deputy or deputies as may attend, of either order.

Here, then, every case is intended to be provided for, and experience will either demonstrate that an *efficacious union* may be had upon these principles, or mutual good-will, and a further reciprocation of sentiments will eventually lead to a more perfect uniformity of discipline as well as of doctrine.

(The representation in those States where the church appoints clerical deputies only, or chooses to be wholly represented by its bishop, will be considered as complete; and as it cannot be supposed that the clergy will ever neglect to avail themselves of their voice and negative, in every ecclesiastical decision, so neither can the laity complain in those States where they claim no representation, and still less where they are declared to have a voice, and claim a representation, but neglect to avail themselves of their claim; which latter is too likely to be the case in some of the States within our present union, where it is difficult to procure any lay representation, although earnestly solicited by some of the clergy, who are fully sensible of the advantages derived to our former conventions, from the wise and temperate counsels, and the respectable countenance and assistance of our lay-members.)¹

It was with these views and this understanding that the churches of New England were represented at the adjourned Convention of 1789. The Convention listened to the reading of Bishop Seabury's "Letters of Consecration to the holy office of a Bishop in this Church,"² and immediately in a committee of the whole considered the subject of the proposed union. The Bishop of Connecticut and deputies from New England stipulated that the third article of the constitution should be "so modified as to declare explicitly the right of the Bishops when sitting as a separate House, to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the other House of Convention, and to negative such acts proposed by the other House as they may disapprove." The committee of conference with the eastern deputies, under the chairmanship of Dr. William Smith, reported that the proposed alteration was "desirable in itself," and after consideration the third article was modified as follows:—

ART. 3.—The Bishops of this Church, when there shall be three or more, shall, whenever General Conventions are held, form a separate House, with a right

¹ From the original draft in Perry's "Historical Notes and Documents," pp. 405, 406.

² This is the language of the official journal

of the convention. — *Vide* Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," Vol. I., p. 93.

to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the House of Deputies, composed of Clergy and Laity; and when any proposed act shall have passed the House of Deputies, the same shall be transmitted to the House of Bishops, who shall have

*We do hereby agree to the Constitution
of the Church as modified this day
in the Convention - 2^d ~~September~~ ^{October} 1789*

*Samuel Seabury D. D. Bp.
Epl. Conn. Connect.*

per nunciat—

*Abraham Jarvis A. M.
Rector of Christ Church
Middletown—*

*Bela Hubbard A. M.
Rector of Trinity Church
New Haven—*

*Samuel Parker D. D.
Rector Trinity Church Boston
Massachusetts & clerical
Deputy for Massachusetts &
New Hampshire—*

FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURES OF BISHOP SEABURY AND THE NEW ENGLAND
DEPUTIES, TO THE AMENDED CONSTITUTION OF 1789.

a negative thereupon, unless adhered to by four-fifths of the other House: and all acts of the Convention shall be authenticated by both Houses. And in all cases the House of Bishops shall signify to the Convention their approbation or disapprobation, the latter with their reasons in writing, within three days after the proposed act shall have been reported to them for concurrence; and in failure thereof, it shall

have the operation of a law. But until there shall be three or more Bishops, as aforesaid, any Bishop attending a General Convention shall be a member *ex-officio*, and shall vote with the Clerical Deputies of the Diocese to which he belongs; and a Bishop shall then preside.

It was further "*Resolved*, that it be made known to the several State conventions, that it is proposed to consider and determine, in the next general convention, on the propriety of investing the house of bishops with a full negative upon the proceedings of the other house."

This done, the "General Constitution of the Church, as now altered and amended," was "laid before the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury, and the Deputies from the Churches in the Eastern States, for their approbation and assent."¹

This assent was given. The House of Bishops was at once constituted; Bishop Seabury being the first "Presiding Bishop" thereof and of the American Church.

Bishop White informs us "that from the sentiments expressed in the debate, there is reason to believe that the full negative would have been allowed, had not Mr. Andrews,² from Virginia, very seriously, and doubtless very sincerely, expressed his apprehension, that it was so far beyond what was expected by the Church in his State, as would cause the measure to be there disowned."³ In the compromise the deputies from New England "acquiesced but reluctantly." The truth was, as Bishop White informs us, that "they thought that the form of ecclesiastical Government could hardly be called Episcopal while such a matter was held out as speculatively possible."⁴ In 1808 the words "unless adhered to by four-fifths of the other House" were stricken out. Thus the episcopal veto was secured. In the language of Dr. Hawks, "to Bishop Seabury belongs the merit of having made the Bishops an equal and coördinate power in the work of our ecclesiastical legislation. Instead of a mere council of revision, he made the bishops a senate, or upper house, holding their places for life; thus most effectually upholding, as was proper, the dignity and respectability of the Bishops, giving more stability to the legislation of the great council of the Church and guarding against the dangers of enactments, made hastily under temporary excitement."⁵

¹ Perry's "Historical Notes and Documents," p. 415. fessor in the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Va.

² Mr. Robert Andrews, recorded as a lay deputy to the Convention of 1789, was a secularized priest of the Church, who, on discontinuing the ministry, had pursued the vocation of a Pro-

³ Memoirs of the Church, p. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Constitution and Canons, p. 24.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

THE constitution of 1785, which we give as a part of the history of our organization, "stood on recommendation only," and reads as follows:—

A General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Protestant Epis^l Church in the U^d States of America.

Whereas in the course of Divine Providence, the Protestant Epis^l Church in the United States of America, is become independent of all foreign Authority civil & ecclesiastical:

And whereas, at a meeting of Clerical & Lay Deputies of the s^d Church in sundry of the said States; viz., in the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, N. York, N. Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware & Maryland, held in the City of N. York on the 6 & 7th days of October in the year of our Lord 1784, it was recommended to this Church in y^e s^d States, represented as afores^d, & propos^d to this Church in y^e States not represented, that they should send Deputies to a Convention to be held in the City of Philadelphia on the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael in this present year, in order to unite in a constitution of Ecclesiastical Government, agreeably to certain fundamental Principles, expressed in the s^d recommendation & proposal.

And whereas in consequence of the s^d recommendation & proposal, Clerical & Lay Deputies have been duly appointed from y^e said Church in y^e States of N. York, N. Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia & S. Carolina:

The said Deputies being now assembled, taking into Consideration y^e importance of maintaining uniformity in Doctrine, Discipline & worship in y^e s^d Church do hereby determine and declare:

1st. That there shall be a general Convention of the Protestant Ep^l Church in y^e U^d States of America; which shall be held in y^e City of Philadelphia on y^e 3^d Tuesday in June in y^e year of our Lord 1786, & for ever after once in Three years on the 3^d Tuesday of June in such Place as shall be determined by s^d Convention, And special Meetings may be held at such other times and in such place as will be hereafter provided for; and y^e Church in a Majority of y^e States aforesaid shall be represented, before they proceed to Business; except that y^e representation of this Church from 2 States shall be sufficient to adjourn; and in all business of the Convention freedom of debate shall be allowed.

2^d. There shall be a representation of both Clergy & Laity of y^e Church in each State, which shall consist of One or more Deputies not exceeding 4 of each Order, and in all questions y^e said Church in each State shall have one Vote, & a majority of Suffrages shall be conclusive.

3^d. The Book of common prayer & administration of y^e Sacraments, & other Rites & Ceremonies of y^e Church, according to the use of y^e Church of England shall be continued to be used by this Church, as y^e same is altered by this Convention, in a certain instrument of writing passed by this authority, intitled "Alterations of y^e Liturgy of y^e P. E. C. in y^e U. S. of America: in order to render the same conformable to y^e A^d Revolⁿ & y^e Constⁿ of y^e respective States."

4th. In every State where there shall be a Bp duly consecrated, and settled; and who shall have acceded to y^e Articles of this general Ecclesiastical Constitution, He shall be considered as a Member of y^e Convention ex officio.

5th. The Bp or Bps in every State shall be chosen agreeably to such Rules, as shall be fixed by the respective Conventions: and every Bp of this Church shall confine y^e exercise of his Epis^l Office to his proper Jurisdiction; unless requested to ordain or confirm by any Church destitute of a Bishop.

6th. Any Pro^l Episc^l Church in any of y^e United States not now represented, may at any time hereafter be admitted, on acceding to y^e Articles of this Union.

7th. Every Clergyman, whether Bp, Presb^r or Dⁿ shall be amenable to y^e authority of y^e Convention in y^e State to which he belongs, so far as relates to suspension or removal from Office; and y^e Convention in each State shall institute rules for their conduct & an equitable mode of trial.

8th. In y^e said Church in every State represented in this Convention, there shall be a Convention consisting of y^e Clergy & Lay Deputies of y^e Congregations.

9th. And whereas it is represented to this Convention to be y^e choice of y^e Prot^l Ep^l Church in these States; that there may be further Alterations of the Liturgy,

than such as are made necessary by y^e American Revolution: therefore the Book of common Prayer & Administration of the Sacraments, and the Rites & Ceremonies of y^e Church, according to y^e use of the Church of England, as altered by an Instrument of writing, pass^d under y^e Authority of this Convention, intitled Alterations in y^e Book of C. P & Admⁿ of y^e Sac^mt & other R. & C. of y^e Ch. according to y^e use of y^e Ch. of E. proposed & recommended to y^e P. E. C. in y^e U. S. of A. shall be used in this Church; when y^e same shall have been ratified by y^e Conventions, which have respectively sent Deputies to this General Convention.

10th. No person shall be ordained, or permitted to officiate as a Minister in this Church, until He shall have subscribed the following declaration: "I do believe the Holy Scriptures of y^e Old & New Testament to be the word of God and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the Doctrines & worship of the Protest^t Episc^l Church as settled & determined in the Book of Common Prayer and administration of y^e Sacraments set forth by the General Convention of the Prot^t Episc^l Church in these United States."¹

11th. This General Ecclesiastical Constitution, when ratified by y^e Church in y^e Different States, shall be considered as fundamental & unalterable by y^e Convention of y^e Church in any State.

¹ From the original MS. preserved among the archives of the General Convention.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRAYER-BOOK AS "PROPOSED" AND FINALLY PRESCRIBED.

AT the opening of the war for American independence the clergy of the Church of England, who sympathized with the popular cause, readily conformed to the requirements of the provincial assemblies,¹ or the recommendations of their own vestries,² and omitted from the service all mention of the temporal authority of the motherland. The further prosecution of the struggle drove the clergy, who found compliance with the acts of Congress and the State legislatures incompatible with their convictions of duty, within the British lines, leaving their parishes destitute of clerical ministrations, and exposing their churches to the outrages of those who failed to distinguish between the English Church and the obnoxious measures of the crown. The issue of the war, involving, as it did, the independence of the Colonial Church,³ gave opportunity for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer; changes in which were now necessary, in consequence of the altered relations of Church and State.

Slowly, and with evident reluctance, did the ministers and members of the Church betake themselves, on the return of peace, to the task thus imposed upon them. At the North, the clergy of Connecticut had bent their energies, from the moment that the issue of the strife was no longer doubtful, towards securing the episcopate. Until they had a bishop, they deemed themselves incompetent to effect an ecclesiastical organization, or to attempt a revision of the liturgy.⁴ In this unwillingness to enter upon the discussion of these matters, the clergy throughout New England,⁵ and not a few in New York,⁶ and New Jersey,⁷ sympathized. Even at the South this feeling obtained at the first. In Virginia, on the day following the Declaration of Independence, the State Convention "altered the Book of Common Prayer to accommodate it to the change in affairs,"⁸ and by subsequent legislative enactments restrained the clergy from consenting directly or in-

¹ Bishop White earnestly advocated this course. — *Memoirs of the Prot. Ep. Church*, 2d ed., pp. 76, 77.

² Parker, afterwards Bishop of Massachusetts, sought the advice of his vestry, and acted in accordance with their recommendation. — *Historical Notes appended to Perry's Reprint of the Early Journals of General Convention*, 1785-1835, Vol. III., pp. 101, 103.

³ "When, in the course of Divine Providence, these American States became independent with respect to civil government, their ecclesiastical independence was necessarily included." — *Preface to the American Book of Common Prayer*.

⁴ Hawks and Perry's "Documentary History of the Church in Connecticut," Vol. II., p. 272.

⁵ Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," Vol. III., pp. 64-66, 105.

⁶ Unpublished correspondence of the time in the possession of the writer.

⁷ Bishop White's *Memoirs*, 2d ed., p. 299.

⁸ Reprint of the Early Journals, Vol. III., pp. 103, 104; Hawks' "Ecclesiastical Contributions," Vol. I., "Virginia," p. 238. Hoffman, in his "Treatise on the Law of the Prot. Ep. Ch. in the U. S.," p. 31, gives the particulars of these changes.

directly to any alterations in the order, government, doctrine, or worship of the Church.¹ Maryland pursued the same conservative course,² and it was not till later in the progress of the war that the State, not the clergy, attempted by civil legislation to effect the organization of the Church and the appointment of persons to exercise episcopal functions.³ To such an extent did these scruples obtain, that at the informal Convention of 1784, in which the churches in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were respectively represented, it was recommended as a "fundamental principle" of organization for the "Episcopal Church in the United States of America"—

That the said Church shall maintain the doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution, and the constitutions of the respective States.⁴

The May following, the Convention of Virginia, untrammelled by the "fundamental principles" of this preliminary gathering, in which it was not officially represented, gave but a limited sanction to a review of the Prayer-book in its instructions to its delegates to the General Convention of 1785;⁵ and accompanied this resolution with a requirement of the use, until further order, of the Liturgy of the Church of England, "with such alterations as the American Revolution has rendered necessary."⁶

Bishop White assures us, with reference to the Convention of 1785, that "when the members first came together, very few—or rather, it is believed, none of them—entertained thoughts of altering the Liturgy any further than to accommodate it to the Revolution."⁷ It would appear, however, from an examination of the manuscript authorities of this period,⁸ that as the time for the assembling of this Convention drew near, the minds of prominent clergymen and laymen of the Church in the Middle and Southern States turned gradually in favor of a thorough revision of the Prayer-book; and thus occasioned that unanimity of sentiment and rapidity of action so noticeable in the preparation and acceptance of the alterations proposed at this session.

Measures had transpired since the informal meeting in New York that, doubtless, had an influence in bringing about this change of

¹ Folio "Broadside" Proceedings of the Preliminary Convention of Clergymen and Lay Deputies of the Prot. Ep. Ch. in the U. S. of America, held in New York, October 6th and 7th, 1784. But one or two copies of this document still exist. It was reprinted from an original copy preserved among the archives of the General Convention among the notes appended to Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," Vol. III., pp. 3-5; and in "A Handbook of the General Convention," 1785-1880, by the same author. A *fac-simile* has been issued among the papers of "The Historical Club," 1874-1879.

² Hawks' "Ecclesiastical Contributions," Vol. II., "Maryland," p. 284.

³ White's "Memoirs of the Prot. Ep. Ch.," 2d ed., p. 92. Hawks' "Ecclesiastical Contributions," Vol. II., "Maryland," p. 290.

⁴ "Broadside" Proceedings. This was the fourth "fundamental principle."

⁵ The language of this "instruction" is as follows: "Should a change in the liturgy be proposed, let it be made with caution. And in that case let the alterations be few, and the style of prayer continue as agreeable as may be to the essential characteristics of our persuasion." In common with the churches of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, the Convention expressed itself not anxious to retain any other than that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed.—*Journal of a Convention of the Clergy and Laity of the Prot. Ep. Ch. of Virginia*, May, 1785, p. 14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷ *Memoirs of the Church*, 2d ed., p. 102.

⁸ Reprint of the Early Journals, Vol. III., pp. 105-109.

views. Connecticut had succeeded in her effort for the episcopate, and Samuel Seabury, D.D., the first American bishop, had been joyfully welcomed by the clergy of that State, and was already received in his episcopal character throughout New England. At the first convocation of his clergy, held at Middletown, August 3d and 4th, 1785, the bishop, together with the Rev. Samuel Parker, afterwards second Bishop of Massachusetts, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, afterwards second Bishop of New York, and the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, afterwards second Bishop of Connecticut, gave careful attention to this subject of alterations;¹ but their action was confined to the changes necessary to accommodate the Liturgy to the civil constitution of the State. "Should more be done," writes Bishop Seabury to Dr. White, in reviewing the action of the convocation, "it must be a work of time, and great deliberation."² At a convention of the churches of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, held the following month, the omissions and alterations agreed upon at Middletown were recommended to the churches in these States, and further changes were proposed, the use of which was postponed till there should be definite action on the subject at the Connecticut convocation, appointed to meet at New Haven, and the General Convention in Philadelphia.³ These proposed changes,⁴ many of which were finally incorporated into the American Book of Common Prayer, were received with disfavor by Bishop Seabury and his clergy,⁵ and were never formally adopted by the churches to which they were recommended. In Connecticut it was found that the laity were averse to any alterations, and though in accordance with the terms of the "Concordate" entered into with the bishops of the Scottish Church at the time of his consecration, Bishop Seabury published an edition of the Scottish Communion Office, and recommended it to the churches of Connecticut, it was not deemed wise to enforce its use,⁶ and by general consent the whole subject was suffered to wait a more fitting time.

In the midst of these discussions the first American Liturgy appeared, the production of no Convention, clerical or lay, but issued

¹ Documentary History, "Connecticut," II., p. 263.—*Notes to Reprint of Early Journals*, III., p. 248.

² Documentary History, "Connecticut," II., p. 282.

³ Journals of the Conventions of the Prot. Epis. Ch. in the Diocese of Massachusetts, 1784-1828, pp. 8-15. *Vide, also*, Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," III., p. 295.

⁴ These changes, in most respects identical with those subsequently contained in the "Proposed Book," comprise an alteration of the *Te Deum*; the omission of the descent into hell in the Apostles' Creed; the disuse of the Athanasian Creed, and the discretionary use of the Nicene; the omission of the "Shorter Litany," and the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of the Communion Service; the use of the *Gloria Patri* only at the end of the Psalms; the admission of parents as sponsors; the omission of the sign of the Cross in Baptism when desired; changes in the Burial and Marriage Services; and a number of verbal alterations of less moment.—*Journals*

of Conventions, Mass., 1784-1828, pp. 10-14. *Reprint of the Early Journals*, III., pp. 90, 93-98.

⁵ Documentary History of Connecticut, II., pp. 287-288.

⁶ The title of this rare tract is as follows: "The Communion-Office, or Order for the Administration of the Holy Eucharist or Supper of the Lord. With Private Devotions. Recommended to the Episcopal Congregations in Connecticut, by the Right Reverend Bishop Seabury. New London: Printed by T. Green, M DCC LXXXVI." 12mo. 23 pp."

A reprint of this tract is appended to Perry's "Historical Notes and Documents illustrating the organization of the Prot. Epis. Church;" the concluding volume of the reprinted journals, III., pp. 437-447. A *fac-simile* reprint, with an historical Sketch and Notes, was issued by Professor Samuel Hart, of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., in 1874, and is an exhaustive treatment of the subject. A second edition of this valuable reprint has subsequently appeared.

"for the use of the first episcopal church in Boston."¹ This book, publicly denounced by Parker, and the other Massachusetts clergy, as heretical,² was the result of the loss of the churchly element from the parish by the withdrawal of the loyalist proprietors from Boston, and the substitution in their place, during the war, and while the chapel was in other hands, of men of unsound views and unepiscopal training. The defection of this parish, if such it can be considered, had no imitators. The Prayer-book, thus "Socinianized," only served to strengthen the prejudice at the North against hasty alterations and innovations.

The Convention of 1785, at the very outset, assigned to the committee appointed to report the alterations contemplated by the fourth "fundamental principle," the consideration of "such further alterations in the Liturgy as it may be advisable for this Convention to recommend to the consideration of the Church here represented."³ This committee consisted of the Rev. Samuel Provoost, subsequently bishop, and the Hon. James Duane, of New York; the Rev. Abraham Beach, and Patrick Dennis, Esq., of New Jersey; the Rev. William White, D.D., afterwards bishop, and Richard Peters, Esq., of Pennsylvania; the Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, D.D., and James Sykes, Esq., of Delaware; the Rev. William Smith, D.D., bishop-elect, and Dr. Thomas Craddock, of Maryland; the Rev. David Griffith, subsequently bishop-elect, and John Page, Esq., of Virginia; the Rev. Henry Purcell, D.D., and the Hon. Jacob Read, of South Carolina.⁴ Little appears on the pages of the journal of this Convention to mark the progress of the discussions with reference to these alterations; and the story of their preparation and adoption can only be gathered from the brief recollections of Bishop White,⁵ and incidental allusions occurring in the unpublished correspondence of the time. As the result of the action of the Convention, certain alterations, rendered necessary by the issue of the war, were "approved of and ratified."⁶ Further changes, comprising a thorough review of the Liturgy and Articles of Religion were "proposed and recom-

¹ Procter's "History of the Book of Common Prayer," p. 164. The heretical nature of this Liturgy may be inferred from the following extracts from the Preface: "The Liturgy, contained in this volume, is such, that no Christian, it is supposed, can take offence at, or find his conscience wounded in repeating. The Trinitarian, the Unitarian, the Calvinist, the Arminian, will read nothing in it which can give him any reasonable umbrage. GOD is the sole object of worship in these prayers; and as no man can come to GOD, but by the one Mediator, JESUS CHRIST, every petition is here offered in his name, in obedience to his positive command. The *Gloria Patri*, made and introduced into the Liturgy of the Church of Rome, by the decree of Pope Damasus, toward the latter part of the fourth century, and adopted into the Book of Common Prayer, is not in this Liturgy. Instead of that doxology, doxologies from the pure Word of GOD are introduced. It is not our wish to make proselytes to any particular system or opinions of any particular sect of Christians. Our earnest desire is to live in brotherly love and peace with all men, and especially with

those who call themselves the disciples of JESUS CHRIST.

"In compiling this Liturgy great assistance hath been derived from the judicious corrections of the Reverend Mr. Lindsey; who hath reformed the Book of Common Prayer according to the plan of the truly pious and justly celebrated Doctor Samuel Clarke. Several of Mr. Lindsey's amendments are adopted entire. The alterations which are taken from him, and the others which are made, excepting the prayers for Congress and the General Court, are none of them novelties; for they have been proposed and justified by some of the first divines of the Church of England."

² Greenwood's "History of King's Chapel," pp. 197, 198.

³ Journal of a Convention, etc., 1785, p. 6. *Vide, also*, Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," I., p. 18.

⁴ Journal of a Convention, etc., 1785, p. 6. — Perry's Reprint, I., p. 18.

⁵ Memoirs, pp. 102-107.

⁶ Journal of a Convention, etc., 1785, p. 12. — Perry's Reprint, I., p. 23.

mended"¹ for adoption at a subsequent Convention. These alterations, prepared by a subdivision of the committee on the changes in the Prayer-book, were presented to the Convention without reconsideration by the whole committee; and even in Convention "there were but few points canvassed with any material difference of opinion."² They were mainly the work of the Rev. Dr. William Smith,³ who received the thanks of the Convention for the assistance he had rendered in perfecting the business before them, and to whom, with the Rev. Drs. White and Wharton, the duty of publishing the "Proposed Book" was assigned. At the close of the session Dr. Smith preached by request a sermon suited to the occasion of the introduction of the new service, in which he alludes to the work of the Convention as that

"Of taking up our Liturgy or Public Service where our former venerable Reformers had been obliged to leave it; and of *proposing* to the church at large, such further alterations and improvements as the length of time, the progress in manners and civilization, the increase and diffusion of charity and toleration among all Christian denominations, and other circumstances (some of them peculiar to our situation among the highways and hedges of this new world) seem to have rendered absolutely necessary."⁴

Authority was given to the committee of publication to prepare "a proper preface or address, setting forth the reason and expediency of the alterations."⁵ Liberty was granted them "to make verbal and grammatical corrections; but in such manner, that nothing in form or substance be altered,"⁶ and they were further "authorized to publish, with the Book of Common Prayer, such of the reading and singing psalms, and such a Kalendar of proper lessons for the different Sundays and Holydays throughout the year as they 'should think proper.'"⁷

With these powers the committee set about their work. Dr. White, the chairman at Philadelphia, Dr. Smith at his college and parish in Maryland, and Dr. Wharton by an occasional communication and by visit, now and then, to his colleagues, were all engaged and interested in the task. The result of their labors appeared the following spring, and has always been known as the "Proposed Book," published in Philadelphia in 1786. It was reprinted in London in 1789, and subsequently formed a volume of the "Reliquiæ Liturgicæ," edited by the Rev. Peter Hall, M.A. From its rarity and the circumstances of its preparation, exhibiting, as it does, the peculiar views of those who were among the foremost of our clergy and laity at the period of the church's organization, and presented by them to the archbishops and bishops of the mother-church in connection with the request for the

¹ Journal, etc., pp. 12, 13. — *Perry's Reprint*, I., p. 24.

² Bishop White's Memoirs, 2d ed., p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106.

⁴ A Sermon preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on Friday, October 7th, 1785, before the General Convention of the Prot. Epis. Ch., in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina. On occasion of the first In-

troduction of the Liturgy and Public Service of the said Church, as *altered* and recommended to future Use, by the Convention. By William Smith, D.D., Principal of Washington College, and Rector of Chester Parish, in the State of Maryland, p. 25.

⁵ Journal, 1785, p. 17. — *Perry's Reprint*, I., p. 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

episcopal succession, it cannot fail to receive attentive study as a most important document of our ecclesiastical history, both in respect to liturgies and doctrines. We give from the original manuscripts, still preserved among the archives of the General Convention and in the keeping of the writer, these important alterations, noting the further changes made in the work of the committee of the Convention by the committee of publication in their revision of the same:—

Alterations agreed upon and confirmed in Convention for rendering the Liturgy conformable to the Principles of the American Revolution, and the Constitutions of the several States.

1. That in the suffrages after the Creed, instead of *O Lord, save the King*, be said, *O Lord, bless and preserve these United States*.

2. That the Prayer for the Royal Family in Morning and Evening Service be omitted.

3. That, in the Litany, the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th petitions be omitted, and that instead of the 20th and 21st petitions, be substituted the following: *That it may please thee to endue the Congress of these United States, and all others in authority, legislative, executive, and judicial, with grace, wisdom, and understanding to execute justice and to maintain truth.*

4. That when the Litany is not said, the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament be thus altered: *Most Gracious God, we humbly beseech thee, as for these United States in general, so especially for their Delegates in Congress, that thou wouldest be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations to the advancement of thy glory, the good of thy Church, the safety, honour and welfare of thy people, that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavors, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations, &c. to the end.* And the Prayer for the King's Majesty altered as follows, viz.: A Prayer for our Civil Rulers. *O Lord, our heavenly Father, the high and mighty Ruler of the Universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold all in authority, legislative, executive and judicial, in these United States; and so replenish them with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way: Endue them plentifully with heavenly gifts; grant them in health and wealth long to live, and that, after this life, they may attain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.*

5. That the first Collect for the King in the Communion Service be omitted, and that the second be altered as follows: instead of *the hearts of Kings are in thy rule and governance*, be said *that the hearts of all Rulers are in thy governance, &c.*; and instead of the words, *heart of George thy servant*, insert *so to direct the rulers of these States, that in all their thoughts, &c.*, changing the singular pronouns to the plural.

7.¹ That in the answer in the Catechism to the question *What is thy duty towards thy Neighbour?* for *to honour and obey the King*, be substituted *to honour and obey my Civil Rulers, to submit myself, &c.*

8. That instead of the observation of the 5th of November, the 30th of January, the 29th of May, and the 25th of October, the following service be used on the 4th of July, being the Anniversary of Independence.

9. That in the Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea, in the prayer *O Eternal God, &c.*, instead of these words, *unto our most gracious Sovereign Lord, King George, and his Kingdoms*, be inserted the words *to the United States of America*; and that instead of the word *Island* be inserted the word *Country*; and in the Collect *O Almighty God, the Sovereign Commander*, be omitted the words *the honour of our Sovereign*, and the words *the honour of our Country* inserted.

Service for Fourth of July,² With the Sentences before Morning and Evening Prayer.

The Lord hath been mindful of us, and he shall bless us; he shall bless them

¹No sixth paragraph appears in the manuscript, or in the printed copy appended to Bishop White's Memoirs, 2d ed., pp. 362-377.

²This simple title was amplified by the committee of publication to the following:—
"A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to

that fear him, both small and great.¹ O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that he doeth for the children of men!²

Hymn instead of the Venite.

My song shall be alway of the loving-kindness of the Lord: with my mouth will I ever be showing forth³ his truth from one generation to another.⁴

The merciful and gracious Lord hath so done his marvellous works: that they ought to be had in remembrance.⁵

Who can express the noble acts of the Lord: or shew forth all his praise?⁶

The works of the Lord are great: sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.⁷

For he will not alway be chiding: neither keepeth he his anger forever.⁸

He hath not dealt with us after our sins: nor rewarded us according to our wickedness.⁹

For look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth: so great is his mercy toward them that fear him.¹⁰

Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children: even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him.¹¹

Thou, O God, hast proved us: Thou also hast tried us, even¹² as silver is tried.¹³

Thou didst remember us in our low estate, and redeem us from our enemies: for thy mercy endureth forever.¹⁴

Proper Psalm,¹⁵ cxviii, except vs. 10, 11, 12, 13, 22, 23, to conclude with v. 24. First Lesson, Deut. viii. Second Lesson, Thess. v., verses 12-23, both inclusive.

Collect for the Day.

Almighty God, who hast in all ages shewed forth thy power and mercy in the wonderful preservation of thy Church, and in the protection of every nation and people professing thy holy and eternal truth, and putting their sure trust in thee; We yield thee our unfeigned thanks and praise for all thy public mercies, and more especially for that signal and wonderful manifestation of thy providence which we commemorate this day. Wherefore not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be ascribed all honour and glory, in all churches of the saints, from generation to generation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Thanksgiving for the Day, to be said after the General Thanksgiving.

O God, whose name is excellent in all the earth, and thy glory above the heavens, who as on this day didst inspire and direct the hearts of our Delegates in Congress to lay the perpetual foundations of peace, liberty, and safety; We bless and adore thy Glorious Majesty for this thy loving-kindness and providence. And we humbly pray that the devout sense of this signal mercy may renew and increase in us a spirit of love and thankfulness to thee, its only Author, a spirit of peaceful submission to the laws and government of our country, and a spirit of fervent zeal for our holy religion, which thou hast preserved and secured to us and our posterity. May we improve these inestimable blessings for the further¹⁶ advancement of

Almighty God, for the inestimable Blessing of Religious and Civil Liberty; to be used yearly on the Fourth day of July, unless it happens to be on *Sunday*, and then on the day following."

In the MS. the first sentence is stricken out. It was as follows:—

"Ye shall hallow the year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof. It shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man unto his possessions, and ye shall return every man unto his family."

The committee added three sentences (Deut. xxxiii. 27, 28, 29), restricted their use to Morning Prayer, and supplied an Epistle (Philip. iv. 4-8) and Gospel (St. John viii. 31-36). This office, Bishop White tells us, was "Principally arranged, and the prayer 'composed' by the Rev. Dr. Smith." The Bishop also informs us that he "kept the day from respect to the requisition of the Convention; but could never hear of its being kept in above two or three places besides Philadelphia."—*Memirs*, 2d ed., p. 105.

¹ Ps. cxv. 12, 13. For "him" Bishop White gives "the Lord." *Memirs*, 2d ed., p. 364.

² Ps. cxvii. 21. The references are added in the "Proposed Book."

³ The word "forth" omitted by the committee.

⁴ Ps. lxxvix. 1.

⁵ Ps. cxi. 4.

⁶ Ps. cxv. 2.

⁷ Ps. cxi. 2.

⁸ Ps. cxiii. 9.

⁹ Verse 10.

¹⁰ Verse 11.

¹¹ Verse 13.

¹² "Like" substituted for "even" in the "Proposed Book."

¹³ Ps. lxxvi. 9.

¹⁴ Ps. cxxxvi. 23, 24.

¹⁵ In the "Proposed Book" the proper Psalm is cxviii. except vv. 7, 10, 11, 12.

¹⁶ "Further" omitted in the "Proposed Book."

religion, liberty, and science throughout this land, till the wilderness and solitary place be made¹ glad through us, and the desert to² rejoice and blossom as the rose. This we beg, &c.

Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England, proposed and recommended to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The Order for Morning Service daily throughout the Year.

1. The following sentences of Scripture are ordered to be prefixed to the usual sentences, viz. :—

“The Lord is in his holy temple: let all the earth keep silence before him.”

Hab. ii. 10.³

“From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts.” Malachi.⁴

[Bishop White, in his printed list of the alterations appended to the “Memoirs,” gives a third additional sentence—“Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be always acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer.” Psalm xix. 14; but no trace of this appears in the manuscript or in the “Proposed Book.” This sentence was thus placed in the Prayer-book of 1789, but must have been first adopted at that time.]

“Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.” St. Matthew.

“The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit,” &c., with one or two more of the other sentences. But this to stand next after the sentence “where two or three.”

2. That the rubric preceding the Absolution be altered thus:—*A Declaration to be made by the Minister alone, standing, concerning the forgiveness of sins.*⁵

3. That in the Lord's Prayer, the word *who* be substituted in lieu of *which*, and that *those who trespass* stand next instead of *them that trespass*.

4. That the Gloria Patri be omitted after the *O come, let us sing*, and in every other place, where by the present rubric it is ordered to be inserted, to the end of the reading Psalms, when shall be said or sung Gloria Patri, &c., or *Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men*, at the discretion of the Minister.

5. That in the Te Deum, instead of *honourable*, it be *adorable, true, and only Son*; and instead of *didst not abhor the Virgin's womb, didst humble thyself to be born of a pure Virgin*.

6. That until a proper selection of Psalms be made, each Minister be allowed to use such as he may choose.

7. That the same liberty be allowed respecting the Lessons.

8. That the article in the Apostles' Creed, *He descended into hell*, be omitted.

9. That the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds be entirely omitted.

10. That after the response, *And with thy spirit*, all be omitted to the words *O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us*, which the Minister shall pronounce, still kneeling.

11. That in the suffrage, *Make thy chosen people joyful*, the word *chosen* be omitted; and also the following suffrages to *O God, make clean our hearts within us*.

12. That the rubric after these words, *And take not thy Holy Spirit from us*, be omitted. Then the two Collects to be said. In the Collect for Grace, the words *be ordered* to be omitted, and the word *be* inserted instead of *to do alway that is*.

13. In the Collect for the Clergy and People, read *Almighty and Everlasting God, send down upon all Bishops and other Pastors, and the Congregations committed, &c.* to the end.

¹ “Made” omitted.

² “To” omitted.

³ The “Proposed Book” has the number of the verse correctly, “20.” In the original MS., at the close of this introductory sentence, the following words are added, with a line drawn through them: “N.B. A solemn pause here.”

⁴ In the “Proposed Book” the reference is Mal. i. 11.

⁵ In the “Proposed Book” this rubric is transposed thus:—*A Declaration concerning the Forgiveness of Sins, to be made by the Minister alone, standing, the people still kneeling.*

14. That after all the reading Psalms and not at the end of each, *Gloria Patri* or the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* shall be used at discretion of the minister.¹

15. That the Lord's Prayer, after the Litany, and the subsequent rubric be omitted.

16. That the Short Litany be read as follows: — *Son of God, we beseech thee to hear us. Son of God, we beseech thee to hear us. O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world. Grant us thy peace. O Christ, hear us. O Christ, hear us. Lord, have mercy upon us, and deal not with us according to our sins; neither reward us according to our iniquities.* After which, omit the words *Let us pray.*

17. That the Gloria Patri after *O Lord, arise, &c.* be omitted, as also the *Let us pray* after *We put our trust in thee.*

18. That in the following prayer, instead of *righteously have deserved*, it be *justly have deserved.*

19. That in the First Warning for Communion, the word *damnation* following these words, *increase your, &c.* be read *condemnation*; and the two paragraphs after these words, *or else come not to that holy table*, be omitted, and the following one be read, *and if there be any of you who by these means cannot quiet their conscience, &c.* The words *learned and discreet*, epithets given to the ministers, to be also omitted.

20. In the Exhortation to the Communion, let it run thus: — *For as the benefit is great, &c., to drink his blood, so is the danger great if we receive the same unworthily. Judge, therefore, yourselves, &c.*

21. That, in the rubric preceding the Absolution, instead of *pronounce this Absolution*, it be *Then shall the Minister stand up, and turning himself to the people, say.*

22. That in the Baptism of Infants, parents may be admitted as sponsors.

23. That the Minister, in speaking to the sponsors, after these words, *Vouchsafe to release him*, say *release him from sin*; and in the second prayer, instead of *remission of his sins*, read *remission of sin.*

24. That the questions addressed to the sponsors, and answers, instead of the present form, be as follow: —

25. *Dost thou believe the Articles of the Christian faith, as contained in the Apostles' Creed, and wilt thou endeavour to have this child instructed accordingly?*

Answer. *I do believe them, and, by God's help, will endeavour so to do.*

Wilt thou endeavour to have him brought up in the fear of God, and to obey God's holy will and commandments?

Answer. *I will, by God's assistance.*

26. That the sign of the cross may be omitted, if particularly desired by the sponsors or parents, and the prayer to be thus altered (by the direction of a short rubric): — *We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and pray that hereafter he may never be ashamed, &c., to the end.*

27. That the address, *Seeing now, dearly beloved, &c.,* be omitted.

28. That the prayer after the Lord's Prayer be thus changed, *We yield thee hearty thanks, &c., to receive this infant as thine own child by baptism, and to incorporate him, &c.*

29. That in the following exhortation the words *to renounce the devil and all his works*, and in the charge to the sponsors, the words *vulgar tongue* be omitted.

30. That the forms of Private Baptism and of Confirmation be made conformable to these alterations.

31. That in the exhortation before Matrimony, all between these words, *holy matrimony and therefore, if any man, &c.,* be omitted.

32. That the words *I plight thee my troth* be omitted in both places, and also the words *with my body I thee worship*, and also *pledged their troth either to other.*

33. That all after the Blessing be omitted.

34. In the Burial Service, instead of the two Psalms, take the following verses of both, viz.: Ps. xxxix. verses 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, and Ps. xc. to verse 13. In the rubric, that the words *unbaptized or* be omitted.

For the declaration and form of interment, beginning *Forasmuch as, &c.,* insert the following, viz.: *Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, in his wise*

¹ This is a repetition in part of the fourth alteration. In Bishop White's Memoirs the following statement is made: "14th. [Here is an erasure from the manuscript: the article being found a repetition of part of the thirteenth.]" This is an error. The Bishop inadvertently wrote "thirteenth" for "fourth."

providence, to take out of this world the soul of our deceased brother [sister] lying now before us; we, therefore, commit his [her] body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust (thus at sea — to the deep to be turned into corruption), looking for the general resurrection in the last day, and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ, at whose second coming, in glorious majesty, to judge the world, the earth and the sea shall give up their dead; and the corruptible bodies of those who sleep in him shall be changed, and made like unto his own glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.

In the sentence, *I heard a voice, &c*, insert *who* for *which*.

The prayer following the Lord's Prayer to be omitted. In the next Collect, leave out the words, *as our hope is this our brother doth*. For *them* that insert *those who*.

35. In the Visitation of the Sick, instead of the absolution as it now stands, insert the declaration of forgiveness which is appointed for the Communion Service, or either of the two collects which are taken from the Communion Office and appropriated to Ash Wednesday may be used.

In the Psalm, omit the 3d, 6th, 8th, 9th, and 11th verses. In the Commendatory Prayer, for *miserable* and *naughty*, say *vain* and *miserable*. Strike out the word *purg'd*.

In the prayer, "for persons troubled in mind," omit all that stands between the words *afflicted servant* and *his soul is full*, &c., and instead thereof say *afflicted servant, whose soul is full of trouble*; and strike out the particle *but* and proceed, *O merciful God, &c*.

36. A form of prayer and visitation of prisoners for notorious crimes, and especially persons under sentence of death, being much wanted, the form entitled "Prayers for Persons under Sentence of Death, agreed upon in a Synod of the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, at Dublin, in the year 1711," as it now stands in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of Ireland, is agreed upon, and ordered to be adopted, with the following alterations, viz.:—

For the absolution, take the same declaration of forgiveness, or either of the collects above directed for the Visitation of the Sick. The short collect *O Saviour of the world* to be left out, and for the word *frailness* say *frailly*.

37. In the Catechism, besides the alteration respecting the civil powers, alter as follows, viz.:—

What is your name? — N. M.

When did you receive this name? — I received it in Baptism, whereby I became a Member of the Christian Church.

What was promised for you in Baptism? — That I should be instructed to believe the Articles of the Christian faith, as contained in the Apostles' Creed, and to obey God's holy will and keep his commandments.

Dost thou think thou art bound to believe all the Articles of the Christian faith, as contained in this Creed, and to obey God's holy will and to keep his commandments? — Yes, verily, &c.

Instead of the words *verily* and *indeed* taken, say *spiritually* taken. Answer to question *How many sacraments? — Two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.*

38. Instead of a particular Service for the Churching of Women, and Psalms, the following special prayer is to be introduced after the General Thanksgiving, viz.— This to be said when any woman desires to return thanks, &c.

"O Almighty God, we give thee most humble and hearty thanks for that thou hast been graciously pleased to preserve this woman, thy servant, through the great pains and perils of childbirth. Incline her, we beseech thee, to shew forth her thankfulness for this thy great mercy, not only with her lips, but by a holy and virtuous life. Be pleased, O God, so to establish her health, that she may lead the remainder of her days to thy honour and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

39. The Communion Office on Ash-Wednesday to be discontinued; and therefore the three collects, the first beginning.

1. O Lord, we beseech thee,

2. O most mighty God,

3. Turn thou us, O good Lord,

shall be continued among the Occasional Prayers, and used after the Collect on Ash-Wednesday, and on such other occasions as the Minister shall think fit.

*Articles of Religion.***1. *Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.***

There is but one living, true, and eternal God, the Father Almighty; without body, parts or passions; of infinite power, wisdom and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible; and Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God; begotten of the Father before all worlds, very and true God; who came down from heaven, took man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin of her substance, and was God and man in one person, whereof is one Christ, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice for the sins of all men. He rose again from death, ascended into heaven, and there sitteth until he shall return to judge the world at the last day; and one Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, of the same divine nature with the Father and the Son.

2. *Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.*

[Article VI. of the English Prayer-book, unchanged.]

3. *Of the Old and New Testament.*

There is a perfect harmony and agreement between the Old Testament and the New; for in both, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man; being both God and man: and although the law given by Moses, as to ceremonies and the civil precepts of it, doth not bind Christians, yet all such are obliged to observe the moral commandments which he delivered.

4. *Of Creeds.*

The creed, commonly called the *Apostles' Creed*, ought to be received and believed, because it may be proved by the Holy Scripture.

5. *Of Original Sin.*

By the fall of Adam, the nature of man is become so corrupt as to be greatly depraved, having departed from its primitive innocence, and that original righteousness in which it was at first created by God. For we are now so naturally inclined to do evil, that the flesh is continually striving to act contrary to the Spirit of God, which corrupt inclination still remains even in the regenerate. But though there is no man living who sinneth not, yet we must use our sincere endeavours to keep the whole law of God, so far as we possibly can.

6. *Of Free-Will.*

[The Tenth English Article, with the words "Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will," simplified to "Christ giving us a good will."]

7. *Of the Justification of Man.*

[The same as the Eleventh English Article, with the omission of the last clause, — "as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification."]

8. *Of Good Works.*

[The same as the Twelfth English Article.]

9. *Of Christ alone without Sin.*

Christ, by taking human nature on him, was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted. He was a Lamb without spot, and by the sacrifice of himself, once offered, made atonement and propitiation for the sins of the world; and sin was not in him. But all mankind besides, though baptized and born again in Christ, do offend in many things. For if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

10. *Of Sin after Baptism.*

They who fall into sin after baptism may be renewed by repentance; for though after we have received God's grace, we may depart from it by falling into sin, yet through the assistance of his Holy Spirit, we may by repentance and the amendment of our lives, be restored again to his favour. God will not deny remission of sins to those who truly repent, and do that which is lawful and right; but all such, through his mercy in Christ Jesus, shall save their souls alive.

11. *Of Predestination.*

Predestination to life, with respect to every man's salvation, is the everlasting purpose of God, secret to us: and the right knowledge of what is revealed concerning it, is full of comfort to such truly religious Christians as feel in themselves the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of their flesh and their earthly affections, and raising their minds to heavenly things. But we must receive God's promises as they be generally declared in Holy Scripture, and do his will, as therein is expressly directed; for without holiness of life, no man shall be saved.

12. *Of obtaining Eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ.*

They are to be counted presumptuous, who say that, &c. [as in the Eighteenth English Article.]

13. *Of the Church, and its Authority.*

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, wherein the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all things necessary and requisite. And every Church hath power to ordain, change and abolish rites and ceremonies for the more decent order and good government thereof, so that all things be done to edifying. But it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything contrary to God's word; nor so to expound the Scripture as to make one part seem repugnant to another; nor to decree or enforce anything to be believed, as necessary to salvation, that is contrary to God's holy word. General Councils and Churches are liable to err, and have erred, even in matters of faith and doctrine, as well as in their ceremonies.

14. *Of Ministering in the Congregation.*

[Same as the Twenty-third English Article.]

15. *Of the Sacraments.*

[Same as the Twenty-fifth English Article, with the omission of the last two paragraphs.]

16. *Of Baptism.*

[Same as the Twenty-seventh English Article, with two verbal changes. — *Grafted into the Church, for grafted in the Church, and the forgiveness of sin for forgiveness of sin.*]

17. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

[Same as the Twenty-Eighth English Article, with the omission of the last paragraph.]

18. *Of the one Oblation of Christ upon the Cross.*

[Same as the first sentence of the Thirty-first English Article.]

19. *Of Bishops and Ministers.*

The Book of Consecration of Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, excepting such part as requires any oaths or subscriptions inconsistent with the American Revolution, is to be adopted as containing all things necessary to such consecration and ordering.

20. *Of a Christian Man's Oath.*

The Christian religion doth not prohibit any man from taking an oath, when required by the magistrate, in testimony of truth. But all vain and rash swearing is forbidden by the Holy Scriptures.

Table of Holy Days.

The following days are to be kept holy by this Church, viz.: — All the Sundays in the year, in the order enumerated in the Table of Proper Lessons, with their respective services; Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany; Easter Day, Monday and Tuesday; Ascension Day; Whitsunday, Monday and Tuesday.

The following days are to be observed as Days of Fasting, viz. — Good Friday and Ash-Wednesday.

The following days are to be observed as Days of Thanksgiving, viz. — the Fourth of July, in commemoration of American Independence and the first Thursday in November, as a day of General Thanksgiving.

The "Proposed Book" was hardly out of the printer's hands before it was evident, to quote the language of Bishop White, "that, in regard to the Liturgy, the labours of the Convention had not reached their object."¹ Even the committee intrusted with the preparation of the volume for the press felt the imperfection of their work. "We can only in the different States," writes Dr. William Smith to the Rev. Dr. Parker of Massachusetts, under date of April 17, 1786, "receive the book for temporary use, till our churches are organized, and the book comes again under review of Conventions having their Bishops, etc., as the primitive Rules of Episcopacy require."² South Caro-

¹ Memoirs, 2d ed., p. 112.

² Perry's "Reprint of the Early Journals," III., p. 200

lina,¹ Virginia,² Maryland,³ and Pennsylvania,⁴ proposed amendments. No Convention met in Delaware. New Jersey rejected the book, and memorialized the General Convention as to "the unseasonableness and irregularity" of the alterations made by the committee without the "revision and express approbation of the convention itself."⁵ New York postponed the question of its ratification, "out of respect to the English Bishops, and because the minds of the people are not yet sufficiently informed."⁶ The prospect of the speedy success of the efforts for the Episcopal Succession in the English line, served to hinder the ratification and use of the "Proposed Book." Objections made by Bishop Seabury and the New England churchmen, as well as by the English archbishops and bishops, to the mutilation of the Apostles' Creed, and the omission of the Nicene, were obviated by the action of the General Convention at Wilmington, Delaware, in October, 1786. The clause, "He descended into hell," was restored, and the Nicene Creed inserted after the Apostles' Creed, prefaced by the rubric [*or this*].

This measure having removed the still remaining hindrances to the consecration of bishops for America, by the English archbishops and bishops, the "Proposed Book" was gradually laid aside, as having failed to commend itself to the church's acceptance. At the meeting of the General Convention of 1789, the question of union between the churches of New England, with Seabury as their episcopal head, and those of the Middle and Southern States, offered a topic of absorbing interest. When this measure was effected at the adjourned meeting of the same year, and the Church was at unity with herself, the preparation of a liturgy became the first duty. The New England deputies, under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Parker, "proposed that the English Book should be the ground of the proceedings held, without any reference to that set out and proposed in 1785."⁷

Others contended that a liturgy should be framed *de novo*, "without any reference to any existing book, although with liberty to take from any, whatever the Convention should think fit."⁸ The result of the discussion so far as the House of Deputies was concerned⁹ appears

¹ Bishop White tells us in his *Memoirs* (2d ed., p. 112) that "in South Carolina the book was received without limitation." A reference to the *Journal of the Convention of that State for 1786*, as reprinted in Daleho's "Hist. of the Church in South Carolina," pp. 471-3, gives evidence to the contrary. The changes adopted by this Convention embraced not only matters of punctuation, but comprised important alterations and omissions in almost every part of the service.

² In Virginia the chief exception taken to the book was the "rubric before the Communion Service."—*Journal of Va. Conv.* 1786, p. 11. *Hawks' Eccl. Contributions*, Vol. I., p. 16, Appendix. Certain alterations were proposed in the Articles, and the use of the English Psalter was permitted "until a sufficient number of the new books can be procured." The "rubric held to be intolerable in Virginia, was that allowing the Minister to repel an evil liver from the Communion."—*Bishop White's Memoirs*, 2d ed., p. 112.

³ Maryland required the restoration of the Nicene Creed, and the addition of an Invocation to the Consecration Prayer in the Communion

Office, from the Scotch Office, with certain changes which were afterwards incorporated into the service as adopted in 1789. — *Perry's Reprint of the Journals*, Vol. III, pp. 179, 190, 191, 199, 200.

⁴ Pennsylvania added to the Maryland amendments a new question and answer in the Baptismal Services, and changes in the Burial Service and the Articles.

⁵ Proceedings of the Convention of the Prot. Epis. Church in the State of New Jersey; including the three first meetings, 1787, pp. 6, 7, 14.

⁶ Proceedings of the Convention of the Prot. Epis. Church in the State of New York, 1786, p. 6.

⁷ Bishop White's *Memoirs*, 2d ed., p. 147.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ "They would not allow that there was any book of authority in existence: a mode of proceeding in which they have acted differently from the Conventions before and after them: who have recognised the contrary principle when any matter occurred to which it was applicable." — *Bishop White's Memoirs*, 2d ed., p. 143.

in "the wording of the resolves, as they stand in the journal, in which the different committees are appointed, to prepare a Morning and Evening Prayer — to prepare a Litany — to prepare a Communion Service," and the same in regard to the other portions of the Liturgy. In 1785 the phraseology was to *alter* the said services. The latitude of change this action of the lower house of convention might have justified, was lessened by the general disposition of the members to vary the new book as little as possible from the English model, and the fact that the other house "adopted a contrary course."¹ The alterations, other than those of a political nature, were mainly verbal, together with the omission of repetitions. There was also the addition to the number of the Occasional Prayers; of Selections of Psalms; of an Office for the Visitation of Prisoners from the Irish Prayer-book; of a Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth, etc.; and of Forms of Prayer to be used in Families. Besides these, Bishop Seabury² secured the restoration to the Consecration Prayer of the Oblation and Invocation found in King Edward VI.'s First Book, and retained in the Scotch Office in the order in which they appear in the ancient Liturgies, and with the change of a single sentence only.³ In this he effected for the American Church a closer conformity in her eucharistic office to the primitive models, and fully answered the requirement of the "Concordate" he had signed on his consecration.

A misunderstanding between the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, with respect to the printing of the controverted clause in the Apostles' Creed concerning the descent into hell, gave occasion for uneasiness among the clergy at the North; but at the next General Convention, in 1792, the matter was definitely settled, as the House of Bishops originally intended, and as it now stands.⁴

The Athanasian Creed was finally rejected at this review of the Prayer-book, although its discretionary use was agreed to by the House of Bishops. The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies negatived this proposition, and, even after conference with the bishops, "would not allow of the Creed in any shape."⁵

In this connection we append from the original manuscript the opinion of the Bishop of Connecticut, concerning this creed. It is a portion of a letter to his friend, Dr. Parker, afterwards Bishop of Massachusetts, and bears the date of December 29, 1790:—

With regard to the propriety of reading the Athanasian Creed in Church, I never was fully convinced. With regard to the impropriety of banishing it out of

¹ *Vide* Bishop White's discussions of this subject in his "Memoirs of the Church," pp. 179, 180.

² *Vide* Prof. Hart's Historical Sketch appended to his "Reprint of Bp. Seabury's Communion Office," pp. 37-42.

³ *Vide ante*.

⁴ Allusion to this misunderstanding appears in Bishop White's Memoirs, 2d ed., pp. 150-152, 155-160, where its bearing on the question earlier brought before this Convention—as to the binding authority of the English Liturgy until altered—is fully discussed. The unpublished correspondence of Bishop White and Bishop Seabury,

preserved among the archives of the General Convention, and now in the keeping of the writer, contains original letters that passed on this subject, giving fully the views of these distinguished men on a matter so fraught with interest and importance.

⁵ White's Memoirs, 2d ed., p. 150. In this chapter, as elsewhere, the references to Bishop White's Memoirs have been made to the second edition of this invaluable work, which was prepared for the press by the author shortly before his decease, and had the further advantage of the careful revision of the late Rev. Dr. Francis Lister Hawks.

the Prayer-book I am clear; and I look upon it, that those gentlemen who rigidly insisted upon its being read as usual, and those who insisted on its being thrown out, both acted from the same uncanonid, uncompromising temper. They seem to me to have aimed at forcing their own opinion on their brethren. And I do hope, though possibly I hope in vain, that Christian charity and love of union will some time bring that Creed into this book, were it only to stand as articles of faith stand; and to show that we do not renounce the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the Western Church.¹

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

FROM page 85 of "The Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates held at the Capitol, in the City of Williamsburg, in the Colony of Virginia, On Monday, the 6th of May, 1776. Reprinted by a Resolution of the House of Delegates, of the 24th February, 1816. Richmond: Ritche, Truheart & Du-Val, Printers. 1816. 4^o," we append the action of the Virginia Convention of Delegates at the opening of the struggle for independence with reference to the Prayer-book services:—

"FRIDAY, July 5, 1776.

"Resolved, That the following sentences in the morning and evening service shall be omitted: *O Lord, save the King. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.*

"That the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th sentences in the litany, for the King's majesty, and the royal family, &c., shall be omitted.

"That the prayers in the communion service which acknowledge the authority of the King, and so much of the prayer for the church militant as declares the same authority, shall be omitted, and this alteration made in one of the above prayers in the communion service: *Almighty and Everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy word that the hearts of all rulers are in thy governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom, we humbly beseech thee so to dispose and govern the hearts of all the magistrates of this Commonwealth, that in all their thoughts, words, and works, they may evermore seek thy honour and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to their charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness. Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.*

"That the following prayer shall be used, instead of the prayer for the King's majesty, in the morning and evening service: *O Lord, our heavenly father, high and mighty, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the only ruler of the universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold the magistrates of this commonwealth, and so replenish them with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way; endue them plentifully with thy heavenly gifts; strengthen them, that they may vanquish and overcome all their enemies, and finally, after this life, they may obtain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.*

"In the 20th sentence of the litany use these words: *That it may please thee to bless and keep them, giving them grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth.*

"Let every other sentence of the litany be retained, without any alteration, except the above sentences recited."

We append, as a valuable addition to this chapter, an unpublished letter on the alterations of the Prayer-book of 1789, written by Bishop White to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Brownell, Bishop of Connecticut, at the time of the preparation of "The Churchman's Family Prayer-book" by the latter: This letter is from the valuable collection of episcopal autographs and MSS., belonging to Mr. Rollinson Colburn, of Washington, D.C., by whose kind permission we are permitted to print it:—

Ph^a. Feb. 8. 1822.

R^t Rev^d & dear Sir.

The Time is expiring, within which I was to furnish you with any Facts which may be in my Memory, tending to throw Light on y^e Alterations in y^e Liturgy, in 1789; & yet, I perceive scarcely any thing, but what is contained in my printed

¹ In the collection of the author.

Memoirs. The few additional Particulars, shall be given as they occur. But there will be no Notice of Alterations merely verbal; y^e Reasons for which will be obvious. The Order in y^e english Book will be followed.

Morning Prayer.

The two Texts placed in front of y^e other initiatory Sentences, were designed to give Solemnity to y^e Opening of y^e Service; & yet, I do not know whether they may not have had an unfavourable Consequence, not foreseen. The Compilers evidently designed to begin with Penitence & Confession; but we have lived to witness an increasing Propensity to begin with a Psalm, without a special Reference to those Subjects. Such a Thing never happened within my Knowledge, before y^e said Date: but whether it was y^e Result of introducing the two Texts, otherwise so very proper, I will not determine. Perhaps it would have been better to have placed them after y^e other Texts.

The introducing in this Place of y^e 2^d Absolution, y^e same as in y^e Communion Service, has been objected to on a Ground not foreseen. My View of y^e Subject & I suppose that of others, was as follows. The Words of y^e 1st Absolution fall short of y^e precatory Form which prevailed in y^e Primitive Church, & indeed, seems below it's Name: for altho' it affirms a certain Authority in y^e Speaker, he is not made to exercise y^e Authority on those before him, however possessed of y^e necessary Requisites. The other Form in y^e Communion Service properly discarded from ours, is in a Tone not warranted by Ancient Usage. The unforeseen Objection, has been grounded on a Wish to restrict y^e precatory Form to y^e Time & to y^e Recipients of y^e Communion. I fear, that this countenances y^e Delusion of Recourse to y^e holy Ordinance, as a periodical Sponge. Perhaps, a similar Abuse may be incidental to M^r Wheatley's Notion of y^e Minister's reading of y^e Absolution in y^e Service. The correct Doctrine as apparent to me, is, that y^e Truth in y^e Form applies at any Time, & by whomsoever said, the proper Conditions being found & that y^e only Difference between it's being declared by a proper Minister, or by another Person, is, that y^e former is acting under a Commission: a Circumstance y^e most likely to wing what he says with Comfort.

We left out y^e latter Part of y^e "Venite," as being limited to y^e Condition of y^e Jews; but I wish we had ended with y^e 7th Verse; as there is now an awkward Repetition of y^e two added Verses, in y^e 19th Day of y^e Month.

The "Gloria in Excelsis" was introduced under y^e Notion, that y^e singing of it would add to y^e Beauty of y^e Service. I wish we had left it, in its Restriction to y^e End of y^e Communion Service. It adds to y^e length of y^e other Service, confessedly rendered too long, by y^e Junction of Services intended to have been distinct.

The Subject of y^e Psalms, has been spoken of at considerable Length in y^e Memoirs.

There being in y^e english Book, select Lessons from y^e O. Testament for Sundays, was thought useful; and y^e Reason for it seemed to justify y^e taking of select Lessons from y^e new. Whether it has been done with Judgement & whether y^e same may be said of y^e moderate Changes made in y^e Column of Lessons from y^e old, must be left to every Man's Opinion.

The Omission from y^e "Benedictus" was on y^e same Principle with that from y^e "Venite:" but I wish it had ended with y^e 3^d Verse.

Of y^e Creeds, I have spoken in the Memoirs.

The Omission of y^e succeeding Lord's Prayer, y^e Abbreviation of what is alternately said by y^e Priest & y^e People, & y^e Conditional dispensing with y^e Collect for y^e Day, rest on Grounds which must be Obvious.

Concerning y^e Prayers for civil Rulers, there is little to be said. It may be questioned, whether, in a Government which gives no Power commensurate with Life, it be congruous to pray for y^e long Life & Prosperity of y^e first Magistrate: but it is contemptible to cavil at y^e Title of "God's Servant," as applied to an unbelieving President; when every one, who understands Greek, knows that he is so called in Rom. 13. 4.

Evening Prayer.

Much of what is said above, applies here.

Whether y^e Changes in y^e Psalms & y^e Hymns after y^e Lessons, be Improvements, must be left to y^e Decision of Taste.

There occurred some Difficulty, in altering y^e "Collect for Aid against Perils." The play on y^e Words "Light" & "Darkness," was considered as not of a Piece

with y^e general Purity of y^e Service: but I wish there had been enclosed in Hooks between "this" & "Day" — "or y^e preceeding" and between "this" & "Night" — "or y^e succeeding."

The Litany.

All y^e Alterations may be considered as verbal, except, that y^e civil Rulers prayed for, are christian Rulers only: evidently because we are praying for y^e Church Universal. In England, y^e Rulers are a Part of y^e Church; but it may happen otherwise with us.

The permitted Abbreviation of y^e Litany, was for y^e shortning of y^e Service, & y^e avoiding of Repetition.

Prayers & Thanksgivings, &c.

The Prayer "for all Conditions of Men," & y^e "General Thanksgiving," are transferred to y^e Morning & to y^e Evening Prayer. Their Stations in y^e English Book must have been owing to their having been of later Origin than y^e Compilation. This did not apply to a new arranging of y^e Service.

It was not from Accident but from Design, that y^e Prayer for Congress was directed to be used, like y^e other Prayers with which it stands, before y^e two final Prayers of y^e Morning & y^e Evening Service. What tho' they come after y^e Genl: Thanksgiving: y^e two Species of Devotion are not kept so entirely separate in other Places, as to make this a Consideration. In many Churches, y^e Practice is anti-rubrical in this Particular.

It is to be hoped, that we added some useful Prayers & Thanksgivings. They were selected from Bp: Taylor.

The Prayer "in Time of War & Tumults," was thought improved by y^e Omission of some rough Expressions.

The concluding Prayer in this Department was omitted, as being too much a Play on Words from which y^e Service in General is so free.

In y^e english Book, to y^e "Prayer for all Conditions," & to "y^e General Thanksgiving," there is attached a small Compartment, containing an Application to y^e Case of any Person to be prayed for, or who should desire to return Thanks. Our added Prayers, were suppose to supersede y^e Use of these. But Cases occur, not provided for: & therefore I wish, that there had been a Rubric to y^e Purpose of y^e said Compartments.

Collects, Gospels & Epistles, &c.

I do not recollect, that there are other than verbal Alterations.

Holy Communion.

The Reason of omitting y^e Lord's Prayer, & of y^e Creed, if used before, was to avoid Repetition.

What is added after y^e Commandments, was to give y^e Weight of Moses, y^e greater Authority of our Saviour.

The Change in y^e Consecration Prayer, is spoken of fully in y^e Memoirs. The Reasons of y^e other Alterations must be suggested by a comparing of y^e two Books; unless there be an Exception as to y^e Meaning given of y^e Posture of Kneeling. And if there had been a Dispensation from it in Case of Scruple, as of y^e Cross in Baptism, I think Matters would not have been y^e worse. As in y^e one Case, so in y^e other, y^e Licence would have been seldom used.

Offices for Baptism.

The Alterations are few, & y^e Reasons of them will probably be evident.

Catechism.

On y^e Answer concerning y^e Lords Supper, "verily & indeed," is changed to "spiritually:" which is more definite, & therefore better suited to y^e Doctrine of our Church on y^e Subject.

Confirmation — requires Nothing.

Matrimony — The Reasons will occur.

Visitation of y^e sick. One of y^e Forms of Absolution was omitted from y^e Persuasion, that it is not agreeable to y^e Practice of y^e Church in y^e best Ages. Ps. 71. was thought advantageously changed for Ps. 130. Some Prayers were added from Bp: Taylor — it is to be hoped with Profit.

Burial of y^e dead. Whether y^e two Psalms had better stood entire, or Parts of them joined as at present, is probably a Point on which there were different Senti-

ments. There was Unanimity, in clearing y^e Service of all Reference in y^e Character of y^e deceased, which, often, ill suited with y^e Words.

Commination. There is not recollected any Objection to y^e Omission of it as a distinct Service: but Parts of it are properly introduced, with y^e Collect, Gospel & Epistle for Ash-Wednesday.

Form for Sea. It must have been from Oversight, that y^e Word "Minister" designating y^e Person who is to pronounce y^e Absolution, which had been used here & elsewhere in y^e Proposed Book was not changed to "Priest."

Our added Services, are, "For y^e Visitation of Prisoners" — "For y^e Fruits of y^e Earth", & "Family Prayers."

The first was taken from y^e then Irish Book of Common Prayer; & now, makes a Part of y^e Book of y^e United Kingdom. The second, had been prepared in 1785, & printed in y^e Proposed Book. The 3^d is substantially from Bp: Gibson.

I hope, that in y^e above, I have done something, altho' but little, towards your Object. It is probable that I have overlooked several Particulars, concerning which you may wish to be informed. If so, & you will address Queries to me, I will satisfy you to y^e best in my Power.

In y^e mean Time I remain
Your aff^l Brother

WM: WHITE.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ADJUSTMENT OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND PRINCIPLES IN THE CHURCH.

IN the separation of the Convention into two houses, on the adoption of the amended constitution by the representatives of the Eastern churches, Bishops Seabury and White were, in the absence of the Bishop of New York, whose opposition to the union had continued to the latest moment, brought into the closest relationship. The result was mutual esteem and respect. Bishop White, towards the close of his long and honored life, placed on record the statement that he still "recollected with satisfaction the hours which were spent with Bishop Seabury on the important subjects which came before them; and especially the Christian temper which he manifested all along."¹

The views of the churchmen at the North had been, from the first, more pronounced than those of their brethren in the Middle and Southern States. In New England the clergy and the Church people were mainly converts to the Church from the dissenters around them. Their allegiance had been secured by conviction. They had been led to leave the sects in which they had been brought up, and had been induced to unite with the Church by the force of a relentless logic; and their views were such as would naturally result from mental processes of this nature. It was at no little cost and sacrifice that they had become members or ministers of the Church which they believed had been founded by apostles and martyrs, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. To these churchly views and principles was added a natural drawing towards the sentiments in vogue in the Scottish communion, from which the Church in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and, in fact, throughout New England, had received the episcopate. The fears excited by the circulation of the "Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered," that the churchmen at the southward were leaning towards Presbyterianism; the consciousness that there was a wide-spread doctrinal laxity among some of the leaders in the movement for organization, and the securing of the episcopate, among these churchmen, and the dislike not only of the sweeping and ill-judged alterations contained in the "Proposed Book," but also of the presence of the laity in the councils of the Church, and their claim as coördinate with the clergy to sit in judgment on matters of doctrine, discipline, and worship, added to the gulf which had opened between the Northern churches and those to the south of New England. The dislike of Seabury by Provoost, arising from personal and political causes, and shown not

¹ Memoirs of the Church, 2d ed., p. 149.

only in public measures, as in the resolutions in the State and General Conventions, intended to cast a doubt on the validity of the Scottish succession, but extending to private life, and finding expression in conversation and correspondence, threatened to widen the breach and to perpetuate a division in the American Church. It was in the adjustment of these differences, in the wise and wide tolerance of opposing views, and in the unfailing exercise of charity towards all, that the character of William White appears in a most attractive light. Strikingly is this seen to be the case in an incident recorded in Bishop White's Memoirs, and giving a vivid picture of the difficulties in the way of union overcome through the astuteness and conciliatory spirit of the bishop himself. The time of the occurrence was at the opening of the adjourned Convention of 1789.

But a danger arose from an unexpected question, on the very day of the arrival of these gentlemen. The danger was on the score of politics. Some lay members of the Convention—two of them were known, and perhaps there were more—having obtained information that Bishop Seabury, who had been chaplain to a British regiment during the war, was now in receipt of half-pay, entertained scruples in regard to the propriety of admitting him as a member of the Convention. One of the gentlemen took the author aside, at a gentleman's house, where several of the Convention were dining, and stated to him this difficulty. His opinion—it is hoped the right one—was, that an ecclesiastical body needed not to be over righteous, or more so than civil bodies, on such a point—that he knew of no law of the land, which the circumstance relative to a former chaplaincy contradicted—that, indeed, there was an article in the confederation, then the bond of union of the States, providing that no citizen of theirs should receive any title of nobility from a foreign power; a provision not extending to the receipt of money which seemed impliedly allowed, indeed, in the guard provided against the other—that Bishop Seabury's half-pay was a compensation for former services, and not for any now expected of him—that it did not prevent his being a citizen, with all the rights attached to the character, in Connecticut—and that should he or any person in the like circumstance be returned a member of Congress from that State, he must necessarily be admitted of their body. The gentleman to whom the reasoning was addressed, seemed satisfied, and either from this or from some other cause, the objection was not brought forward.¹

It was thus with difficulties environing every step of the progress towards comprehension and unity that the Convention opened. Even the formal acceptance of the amended constitution, on the part of the Eastern deputies, and their reception on the floor of the Convention, failed wholly to remove these differences, or to harmonize or adjust the opposing interests of the two sections of the now united Church. The Convention had no sooner resolved itself, after the union had been consummated, into its two co-ordinate houses, than an incident occurred that brought out these differences, and, in the language of Bishop White, who was a witness of the discussion, had "an unpropitious influence on all that followed."²

In the consideration of the Book of Common Prayer which claimed the attention of the House of Deputies, at the very first, the Rev. Dr. Parker, acting indirectly in behalf of the New England deputies, proposed that the Prayer-book of the Church of England should be considered as the basis of proceeding, rather than the "Pro-

¹ Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church," 2d ed., 1836, p. 145.

² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

posed Book" set forth by the Convention prior to the union. There were but few to advocate the "Proposed Book," which had so signally failed of acceptance, but there were those "who contended that a Liturgy ought to be formed without reference to any existing book, although with liberty to take from any whatever the convention should think fit." The result of the discussion was that a committee was "appointed to prepare a calendar and table of lessons for morning and evening prayer throughout the year; also collects, epistles, and gospels." To a second committee was assigned the duty of preparing "a Morning and Evening Service for the use of the Church." A third committee was charged with the preparation of a "Litany, with occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings;" and a fourth committee was appointed "to prepare an order for the Administration of the Holy Communion." The influence of the New England element may be inferred from the fact that the chairmanship of these four committees was given respectively to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker, of Massachusetts; the Rev. Bela Hubbard, of Connecticut; the Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach, of New York; and the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, of Pennsylvania, who had been ordained by Seabury. The committees reported in accordance with the terms of their appointment, producing a "Morning Service," an "Evening Service," a "Litany," a "Catechism," etc. It is evident both from the language of Bishop White, and that of the minutes of the Convention, that the purpose of this action was not to imply that the English book was not of obligation till another had taken its place by due process of law, but to avoid any recognition of the "Proposed Book," which was especially distasteful to the Connecticut churchmen. Certainly, neither in New England, nor in the Middle nor Southern States, had the clergy acted on the principle thus avowed, and the inconsistency of the House of Deputies in refusing to "allow that there was any book of authority in existence" is clearly pointed out by Bishop White in his references to this action of the Convention. In fact, the clergy and members of the Church, everywhere, while recognizing the necessity of such liturgical changes as were required by the change in civil relations had, with few exceptions, regarded it as their duty to adhere to the rest of the service "on the ground of antecedent obligation." The exceptions to this adherence to the English service-book were in the few cases where, as in Dr. Parker's own church in Massachusetts, in a few churches in New York and Philadelphia, and at a few places at the southward, the "Proposed Book" was tentatively used in the expectation of its adoption after further revision.

Two other points of difference between the two houses arose in connection with the discussion relating to the retention of the Athanasian Creed, and the article of the Apostles' Creed respecting the descent into hell. Nothing can add to the narrative of Bishop White on these points:—

On the former subject, the author consented to the proposal of Bishop Seabury, of making it an amendment to the draft sent by the other House: to be inserted with a rubric permitting the use of it. This, however, was declared to be on the principle of accommodation to the many who were reported to desire it, especially in Connecticut, where, it was said, the omitting of it would hazard the reception

of the book. It was the author's intention never to read the Creed himself, and he declared his mind to that effect. Bishop Seabury, on the contrary, thought that without it, there would be a difficulty in keeping out of the church the errors to which it stands opposed. In answer to this, there were urged the instances of several churches, as the Lutheran and others, in this country and Europe, and above all, the instance of the widely extended Greek Church, confessedly tenacious of the doctrine of the "Nicene" Creed, and yet not possessed of the Athanasian in any liturgy, or even of an acknowledgment of it in any confession of faith. Of the last-mentioned instance Bishop Seabury entertained a doubt, but the fact is certainly so, as is attested by the Rev. John Smith, an English divine held in estimation, who wrote "An Account of the Greek Church," with the advantage of having resided in Constantinople. He says (p. 196) after mention of the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene — "as to that of St. Athanasius they are wholly strangers to it." However, the Creed was inserted by way of amendment, to be used or omitted at discretion. But the amendment was negatived by the other House, and when the subject afterwards came up in conference, they would not allow of the Creed in any shape, which was thought intolerant by the gentlemen from New England, who, with Bishop Seabury, gave it up with great reluctance.

The other subject — the descent of Christ into hell — was left in a situation which afterwards not a little embarrassed the committee who had the charge of printing the book. The amendments of the Bishops, whether verbal or other, to the services sent to the other House had all been numbered. The president of the House, as afterwards appeared on unquestionable verbal testimony, accidentally omitted the reading of the article in its full force, with its explanatory rubric. The meaning of the article in that place was declared to be the state of the dead generally; and this was proposed instead of the form in which the other House had presented it, in italics and between hooks, with a rubric permitting the use of the words — "He went into the place of departed spirits." The paper of the House, in return to that of the Bishops, said nothing on this head, and therefore, their acquiescence was presumed. This might have been the easier supposed, as there were some, who, while they thought but little of the importance of inserting such an article, were yet of opinion that the Convention stood pledged, on the present subject, to the English Bishops, it being the only one on which they had laid much stress, in stating the terms on which they were willing to consecrate for our Church, and we, having complied with their wishes in that respect. This would seem very unsuitably followed by a repetition of the offensive measure, or something very like it, in the first Convention held after the consecration had been obtained. Thus, the matter passed without further notice. But Bishop Seabury, before he left the city, conceived a suspicion that there had been a misunderstanding. For, on the evening before his departure, he took the author aside from company and mentioned his apprehension, which was treated as groundless, on the full belief that it was so. It was a point which Bishop Seabury had much at heart, from an opinion that the article was put into the Creed in opposition to the Apollinarian heresy, and that, therefore, the withdrawing of it was an indirect encouragement of the same. The author saw no such inference; but wished to retain the article, on the ground that the doing so would tend to peace; that it would be acting consistently toward the English Church, and that a latitude would be left by the proposed rubric, for the understanding of the article as referring to the state of departed spirits, generally. It is curious to remark, by the way, that when the book came out, Bishop Provoost disliked the form in which this part of it appeared, more than either the article as it stood originally, or the omitting of it altogether, on the principle that it exacted a belief of the existence of departed spirits between death and the resurrection. So easy it is, in extending latitude of sentiment on one side, to limit it on another.

However, when the Committee assembled to prepare the book for the press, great was their surprise and that of the author to find that the two Houses had misunderstood one another altogether. The question was, what was to be done? And here the different principles on which the business had been conducted had their respective operation. The Committee contended that the amendment made by the Bishops to the service as proposed by their house, not appearing to have been presented, the service must stand as proposed by them, with the words "He descended into hell," printed in italics and between hooks, and with the rubric permissory of the use of the words, "He went into the place of departed spirits." On the contrary, it was thought a duty to maintain the principle that the Creed, as in the English book, must be considered as the Creed of the Church, until altered by the consent

of both Houses, which was not yet done. Accordingly remonstrance was made against the printing of the article of the descent into hell, in the manner in which it appeared in the books published at that time.¹

In the introduction of the "Selections of Psalms," now prefixed to the Psalter, after stating that "the House of Bishops did not approve of the expedient of the other House, in relation to the selections as they now stand," Bishop White proceeds to state: "But Bishop Seabury interested himself in the subject the less; as knowing that neither himself nor any of his clergy would make use of the alternative, but that they would adhere to the old practice."²

One other extract from the invaluable memoirs of Bishop White will complete our record of the adjustment of differences and the harmonizing of conflicting prejudices and opinions that made the adjourned Convention of 1789 memorable:—

In the Service for the Administration of the Communion, it may, perhaps, be expected that the great change made in restoring to the consecration prayer the oblation words, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, left out in King Edward's reign, must at least have produced an opposition. But no such thing happened to any considerable extent; or, at least, the author did not hear of any in the other House, further than a disposition to the effect in a few gentlemen, which was counteracted by some pertinent remarks of the President. In that of the Bishops, it lay very near to the heart of Bishop Seabury. As for the other Bishop, without conceiving with some, that the service as it stood was essentially defective, he always thought there was a beauty in those ancient forms, and can discover no superstition in them.

* * * * The restoring of those parts of the service by the American Church, has been since objected to by some few among us. To show that a superstitious sense must have been intended, they have laid great stress on the printing of the words "which we now offer unto thee," in a different character, from the rest of the prayers. But this was mere accident. The Bishops, being possessed of the form used in the Scotch Episcopal Church, which they had altered in some respects, referred to it, to save the trouble of copying. But the reference was not intended to establish any particular manner of printing; and accordingly in all the editions of the Prayer-book, since the first, the aforesaid words have been printed in the same character with the rest of the prayer, without any deviation from the original appointment. Bishop Seabury's attachment to these changes may be learned from the following incident. On the morning of the Sunday which occurred during the session of the Convention, the author wished him to consecrate the elements. This he declined. On the offer being again made at the time when the service was to begin, he still declined; and, smiling, added: "To confess the truth, I hardly consider the form to be used as strictly amounting to a consecration." The form was, of course, that used heretofore; the changes not having taken effect. These sentiments he had adopted in his visit to the Bishops from whom he received his Episcopacy.³

We have thus given in detail the steps leading to the comprehension of the disunited churches of the Northern, Middle, and Southern States, in one "American Church." It is a portion of our annals but little known in these days, and doubtless of but little interest to others than those who, in learning of the past, seek to draw lessons of wisdom for the present. There was one result of this union which should not be forgotten. By the rules of the House of Bishops proposed by Bishop White, with that graceful spirit of conciliation which was part of his very nature, Bishop Seabury became, in virtue of his seniority of consecration, the presiding bishop of the House of Bishops—the first

¹ Memoirs of the Church, 2d ed., pp. 149-152.

² Bishop White's Memoirs, 2d ed., p. 152.
³ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

in the line of venerable men comprising, besides Seabury, — *clarum et venerabile nomen*, — the well-remembered names of White, Provoost, Griswold, Chase, Brownell, Hopkins, Bosworth Smith, and closing — long may it so remain — with the present incumbent of this primacy among brethren — the venerable Alfred Lee. This presidency lasted only till the next Convention. Willingly conceded by the excellent White, this simple act of justice gave offence to Bishop Provoost, who required, at the next meeting of the General Convention, in 1792, the adoption of such a rule as should give to himself this coveted honor. It was surrendered by the Bishop of Connecticut as meekly as it had been assumed. His private memorandum on this requirement was simply this characteristic sentence: "I cheerfully acquiesced in the arrangement, *having no wish to dispute who should be first in the kingdom of heaven.*"¹

Nor was this prompt relinquishment of the position, to which he was entitled by priority of consecration, the only concession made by Seabury in favor of conciliation and union. The Convention met in New York, and, agreeably to appointment, Bishop Seabury preached the opening sermon. The Bishop of Connecticut, though justly aggrieved at the open and continued slights cast upon his episcopal character by Bishop Provoost, consented, in the interest of peace, to call on the Bishop of New York, who received the courtesy kindly, and "from that time," as Bishop White informs us, "nothing was perceived in either of them which seemed to show that the former distance was the result of anything else but difference of opinion."

Prior to this meeting in Convention the succession in the English line had been completed. The excellent Griffith had resigned the appointment as Bishop of Virginia, and after his decease, while in

¹ Bishop White's recital of this matter is of interest and value: "An unpropitious circumstance attended the opening of this Convention, but was happily removed before proceeding to business. Bishop Seabury and Bishop Provoost had never, when the former had been in New York at different times since his consecration, exchanged visits. Although the author knows of no personal offence, that had ever passed from either of them to the other, and, indeed, was assured of the contrary by them both; yet the notoriety that Bishop Provoost had denied the validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration, accounted, at least, for the omission of the attentions of a visit on either side. This very thing had not been without its consequences on the proceeding of the Conventions; which is here stated, as a caution against such partial considerations, acted on without due deliberation, and producing inconsistencies of conduct. For in the Convention of June, 1786, on the question of denying the validity of Bishop Seabury's ordinations, the vote of New York is 'Aye,' although it was well known that two of the three clergymen from that State had paid attentions to Dr. Seabury as a Bishop; and that he stood high in their esteem. But they acted under instructions from the Church in their State, when the Convention of it was of a complexion corresponding with that vote. Afterwards, in the General Convention of 1789, the

Convention of New York having been, at its preceding meeting, composed principally of gentlemen of an opposite sentiment on this subject, the deputies from that State were among the foremost in producing the resolution then come into, of recognizing Bishop Seabury's episcopal character.

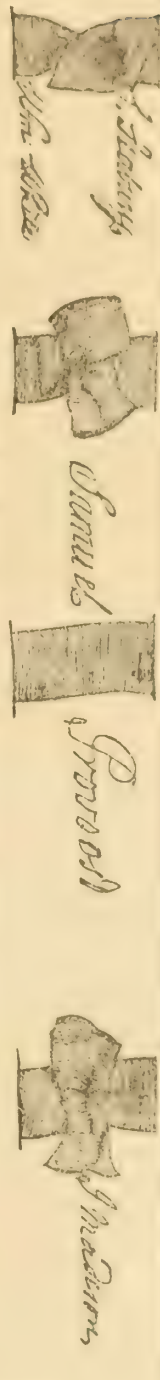
"But to return to the narrative. The prejudices in the minds of the two Bishops were such as threatened a distance between them; which would give an unfavorable appearance to themselves, and to the whole body, and might, perhaps, have an evil influence on their deliberations. But it happened otherwise. On a proposal being made to them by common friends, and through the medium of the present author, on the suggestion of Dr. Smith, they consented without the least hesitation, Bishop Seabury to pay and Bishop Provoost to receive the visit, which etiquette enjoined on the former to the latter, and was as readily accepted by the one as it had been proffered by the other. The author was present when it took place. Bishop Provoost asked his visitant to dine with him on the same day, in company of the author and others. The invitation was accepted, and from that time nothing was perceived in either of them, that served to show that the former distance was the result of anything else but difference of opinion."¹

¹ Memoirs of the Church, 2d ed., pp. 161, 162.

attendance upon the first Convention of 1789, the Rev. James Madison, D.D., President of the College of William and Mary, was chosen to the same office and administration, and on the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, the 19th of September, 1790, was consecrated at Lambeth, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. John Moore; the Bishop of London, Dr. Beilby Porteus; and the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. John Thomas. It was at this Convention in New York that the first American consecration took place. The Rev. Dr. Thomas John Claggett had been elected to the episcopate of Maryland, and on Monday, September 17, 1790, he received consecration in Trinity Church, at the hands of "Samuel Provoost, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, presiding bishop, Samuel Seabury, D.D., Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island, William White, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; and James Madison, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Virginia."¹ Thus the English and Scottish lines of succession were united in this consecration, the only one in which Seabury took part, as his death took place before another received the laying on of hands in the American Church.

Bishop White, in his account of this Convention, informs us that the alterations in the ordinal were prepared by the bishops, and that there was no material difference of opinion between them except in regard to the words at the ordination of priests, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," etc. Bishop Seabury, who alone was tenacious of the form as it stood in the English office, consented at length with great reluctance to allow the alternative of another form as it now appears. With reference to the Thirty-nine Articles, the Bishop of Connecticut was of the opinion at first "that all necessary doctrine should be comprehended in the Liturgy." But on further thought he saw so clearly the inconvenience likely to arise from the lack of an authoritative rule of faith in the hands of the people, and forming part of the authorized book of common devotions that he gave in his adhesion to the adoption of the Articles of the Church of England. Bishop Provoost was understood to be at least indifferent to the adoption of articles, while Bishop Madison was openly adverse to them. The Bishop of

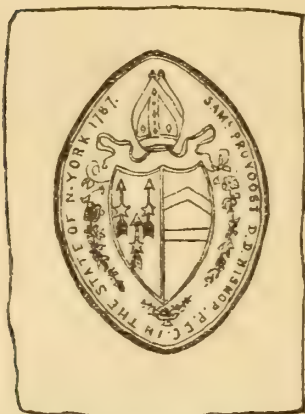
SCENES TO BISHOP CLAGGETT'S LETTER OF CONSECRATION.



¹ This is the language and the order of the official Letter of Consecration.

Maryland, whose opinions were gathered from his vote and from his conversation when not in the house of which he was so recent a member, was in favor of them. The action of the House of Deputies in dismissing the consideration of the subject, was negatived by the bishops, the Bishop of Virginia alone voting in the affirmative, and there being no occasion for the president's vote. The subject was, however, dismissed for the time by vote of the lower house.

The bishops, at the instance of Bishop Madison, put on record the expression of their views on the matter of the comprehension of the



SEAL OF BISHOP PROVOST.

Methodist body in the Church, — a scheme very dear to the heart of the Bishop of Virginia. The plan, as it took shape in the mind of its author, did not embrace the comprehending of this already large and respectable body on the condition of their retaining their organization; but, "by an accommodation to them in a few instances," inducing them "to give up their peculiar discipline and conform to the leading parts of the doctrine, the worship, and the discipline of the Episcopal Church." Bishop White, in view of a correspondence — which in common with the Bishop of Connecticut — he had had with the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., one of the superintendents appointed by Wesley himself, did

not conceal his conviction "how hopeless all endeavors for such a junction must prove." The "minute" adopted by the bishop was as follows: —

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, ever bearing in mind the sacred obligation which attends all the followers of Christ, to avoid divisions among themselves, and anxious to promote that union for which our Lord and Saviour so earnestly prayed, do hereby declare to the Christian world, that, uninfluenced by any other considerations than those of duty as Christians, and an earnest desire for the prosperity of pure Christianity, and the furtherance of our holy religion, they are ready and willing to unite and form one body with any religious society which shall be influenced by the same catholic spirit. And in order that this Christian end may be the more easily effected, they further declare, that all things in which the great essentials of Christianity or the characteristic principles of their Church are not concerned, they are willing to leave to future discussion; being ready to alter or modify those points which, in the opinion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, are subject to human alteration. And it is hereby recommended to the State Conventions, to adopt such measures or propose such conferences with Christians of other denominations, as to themselves may be thought most prudent, and report accordingly to the ensuing General Convention.

The House of Deputies failed to approve of this scheme of comprehension. In their view it seemed likely "to produce distrust of the stability of the system of the Episcopal Church, without the least prospect of embracing any other religious body." Leave was thereupon given to the bishops to withdraw their proposition.

The Convention at which this effort for unity was rejected recog-

nized the duty of the newly organized Church to provide for the spiritual needs of our own people, and a committee was appointed "for preparing a plan of supporting missionaries to preach the Gospel on the frontiers of the United States." The "Act of the General Convention," reported by the committee, provided for an annual missionary sermon and offertory, for State treasurers to take care of the funds thus collected, and for the collection of money from the frontier congregations by the missionaries. The Bishop of Pennsylvania was instructed to "frame an address" "recommending this charitable design" to be read at the time of the annual offertory, and the bishop and a standing committee were to appoint a treasurer and employ missionaries when sufficient funds had been secured.

In 1795 legislation was found necessary to prevent a repetition of what was practically an act of intrusion by the Bishop of New York, in ordaining a clergyman for a church in Rhode Island which had formally placed itself under the care of Bishop Seabury. The proposition to give to the House of Bishops an absolute negative, which had not been lost sight of, had excited marked opposition in South Carolina, where even "secession" was threatened if this measure prevailed. From the same source there appeared an obnoxious pamphlet entitled "Strictures on the Love of Power in the Prelacy," by a member of the Protestant Episcopal Association in South Carolina, written by a member of the House of Deputies, the Rev. Dr. Henry Purcell, which was characterized in the house as "a virulent attack upon the doctrines and discipline of our Church and a libel against the House of Bishops." The writer professed his sorrow for the publication and sent an ample apology for the same to avoid the expulsion from the Convention with which he was threatened. The personal abuse in this "licentious pamphlet," as Bishop White styles it, was chiefly aimed at Bishop Seabury on the ground of his supposed authorship of a pamphlet written and afterwards acknowledged by another reputable divine. The house declared that Dr. Purcell's pamphlet contained "very offensive and censurable matter," and it was only by the mediation of the bishops that the offender, in spite of his professions of penitence, escaped punishment. The subsequent conduct of the author proved the insincerity of his professed contrition, for, on the adjournment of the Convention, Purcell challenged to mortal combat the Rev. Dr. Andrews, to whom his exposure had been due. Bound over before the civil courts to keep the peace, the depositions and documents concerning this notorious affair are among the most painful of the many papers of importance and interest preserved in the correspondence of Bishop White.

Within the next few years the first American bishop had passed to his rest and reward; and, at the special Convention of 1799, with which the century closed, but three bishops out of the seven still living, were in attendance. The testimonial of Uzal Ogden, bishop-elect of New Jersey, was refused confirmation by the House of Deputies. The ostensible ground of this action was a strict construction of the canon fixing the number of "resident and officiating priests" required to warrant an episcopal election. Bishop White reveals "a

more important reason at the bottom of the objection made" by the members of the lower house. Dr. Ogden "was considered by his brethren generally as being more attached to the doctrines and the practices obtaining in some other churches than to those of his own."¹ The House of Deputies, in a committee of the whole, resolved "that the articles of our faith and religion, as founded on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, are sufficiently declared in our Creeds and Liturgy, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, established for the use of this Church, and that further articles do not appear necessary;" but this action was disagreed to by the House in open session.² A draft of seventeen articles, the consideration of which was postponed in consequence of the approaching close of the session and the thinness of representation, was ordered to be spread upon the pages of the journal; and the form for the consecration of a church was agreed upon. Thus, in comparative peace and harmony, the century closed upon a Church united and completely organized, though small in numbers, and, as yet, lacking that aggressive spirit which, in its subsequent development, was yet to make the American Church a name and a power in the land.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

WE give from the Bishop White Correspondence extracts from several letters, from which the contemporary history of these discussions may be had in the words of the chief actors therein:—

BISHOP SEABURY TO BISHOP WHITE.

NEW YORK, Nov. 1st, 1789.

RT. REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR:—Your letter of October 20th, I got at Elizabethtown, and whatever pleasure a letter from you will ever give me, the contents of this have given me great pain. You have stated the matter very fairly, and I had no idea but that our proposal concerning the article of the Descent into Hell had been adopted by the House of Delegates, till an expression from Dr. Smith, just as we broke up, and which I mentioned to you, gave me some little alarm. It seems plain to me, and the more so since I have seen Dr. Moore, that the point was overlooked in the House of Delegates; for he says our amendment never was before them, but that he conceived we had agreed to the proposal sent in to us. What now is to be done I know not. For my part I should not then have consented, nor can I now consent, to print the article with such a mark of reproach as crochets and italics will be. Had it been put and carried by three-fourths, for on that issue it must have been put, I must have submitted. But the case at present is different. The discharging the Athanasian Creed was one thing, and the alteration of the Apostles' another. And I do, in the spirit of meekness and candor, beseech the good gentlemen of the Committee, to consider whether the explanatory note will not effectually take off all misinterpretation, and enable every clergyman to repeat the descent into *hell* with a good conscience? And whether pursuing the matter

¹ Memoirs of the Church, 2d ed., p. 178.

² The vote by which it was resolved in the House of Deputies "that the Convention now proceed to the framing of Articles of Religion for this Church," was as follows: *Aye*. Of the

Clergy: Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware; of the Laity: Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. *Nay*. Of the Clergy: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; of the Laity: Virginia.

further will not look too much like aiming at victory and triumph? With me it is a matter of consequence that the perfect humanity of Christ be ascertained — that like other men he had a human soul as well as body; otherwise, I cannot have the same faith and confidence in his death, nor the same hope of rising again from the dead as he did; and without these I have not the faith and hope of a Christian. These points are, in other words, found in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, but if we leave the Descent out of the Apostles' Creed, or, by printing it in the proposed manner, weaken its force, we, by leaving his perfect humanity uncertain, put those points, on which the faith and hopes of the Christian stand, on a vague and uncertain foundation. I fear, too, that my difficulties of getting our book received in Connecticut will be increased; and I must not be held answerable for consequences should the proposed method of crochets and italics be pursued. My wish is to have one strong bond of union in our churches from uniformity in our worship; and I flatter myself my conduct at Philadelphia was such as to convince the convention that I will not give that point up for trifles; and should my influence among a people strongly attached to old customs and expressions, be too weak to carry every point, I shall find myself disagreeably embarrassed. Since receiving your letter, I have persuaded myself that it would have been better to have retained the Greek word *Hades* instead of *Hell*; and to have left it to the minister to have explained it, which he certainly could do to his own satisfaction without departing from the analogy of the faith. * * * * *

I am, Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir, your most affectionate brother and humble servant,

SAMUEL, Bishop of Connecticut.¹

BISHOP WHITE TO REV. DR. PARKER.

PHILADELPHIA, January 25th, 1790.

DEAR SIR: — Nothing has prevented my acknowledging the agreeable Favor of your Letter, but my Wish to give you at y^e same Time, some satisfactory Information concerning the Progress of the Prayer-book; for y^e printing of which no Bargain was made by y^e Committee, until within these few Days. I hope it will now go on expeditiously, as the Printer is strong-handed and a Man of great Exertion.

As you left us somewhat dissatisfied, it is a Pity you did not remain one Day longer to be a Witness of y^e good Humour and Dispatch with which y^e Business was concluded.

After y^e rising of y^e Convention, and at my first Meeting of y^e Committee to prepare y^e Papers for Publication, there appeared to have been an unlucky Blunder; a point in which y^e two Houses had entirely mistook each other. In our amendments to our Morning Prayer, we had proposed to restore y^e Descent into Hell, with an Asterisk directing to an explanatory marginal Note: And, as you had said nothing in opposition to it, in y^e Margin, we presumed on an acquiescence; while you, it seems, not having heard of our Proposal, presumed on an Acceptance of yours. For it appears, that ours was never read to you. At least, most of the Gentlemen here declared it was not; and no one pretends to affirm that it was; and several Gentlemen in y^e neighboring States, having heard of this affair join in y^e Testimony; so that I cannot doubt of y^e Fact, although I am confident it was an oversight. The Gentlemen of y^e Committee think themselves bound to act on this Principle; that their House having negatived our Alteration of their Rubric before y^e Creed (which Alteration however, concerned a different matter), the Rubric stands, and the Creed must be printed accordingly. They have, however, accepted a Declaration from me, to this Purpose, that my Signature to y^e Morning Prayer is not to be understood as an acknowledgment that y^e House of Bishops has consented to the Article in question, in y^e Manner in which it stands. My information to Bishop Seabury of this matter reached him at Dr. Chandler's and seems to have given him no small uneasiness. * * * * *

Your Affectionate Brother,

WM. WHITE.²

Rev. S. Parker, D.D.

¹ From the Bishop White Correspondence.

² From the Bishop Parker Correspondence.

BISHOP SEABURY TO BISHOP WHITE.

NEW LONDON, March 29th, '90.

RT. REV. AND DEAR SIR: — Your favor of January 6th has lain long by me unanswered owing to the perplexity my mind has been thrown into by the information it contained, and from which I see no deliverance at present. What you have done relating to the *Descent into Hell*, was all you could do in your Situation. But it is to be remembered that that Article printed in Italics and within crochets is not the book to which I subscribed in Philadelphia; and that I shall, on that account, think myself at perfect liberty to reject the whole book. No determination, however, shall I make in a hurry, though I am apprehensive the consequences of that matter will be very serious ones here. And I fear, instead of a cordial union, suspicion and uneasiness will be at the bottom. With regard to the Creeds, there has appeared to me to have been too great an aim at victory; which appearance has disgusted many, and if it continues, will finally render all uniformity of worship impracticable. No reason can be assigned, why the Creed of St. Athanasius should not have continued in the book with a permissory Rubric, but that it would not have afforded matter of complete triumph. Never can any other reason be assigned for the disfiguring the Apostles' Creed in the manner now done. * *

Believe me to be, Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir, with the greatest esteem and affection,

Your Brother and Servant,

SAMUEL, Bishop of Connecticut.¹

BISHOP SEABURY TO BISHOP WHITE.

NEW LONDON, Sept. 1st, 1790.

RT. REV. AND DEAR SIR: — From your last letter I apprehend that one letter of mine to you has failed of getting to you. It was a letter in which I acknowledged the receipt of the occasional offices, and requested you to make my acknowledgment to the printer for it. I hope, however, it has since got to you. As I apprehended, so I still fear, there will be some difficulty in bringing our book into common use in this State, though, I flatter myself, it will be done, if not at once, yet gradually in the course of a year or two. The principal obstructions are the omission of the Creed of St. Athanasius, the disfiguring of the Apostles' Creed, the great alteration, or, as it is here said, the omission of the Communion Office, the Rubrics permitting the omission of the sign of the Cross in public baptism, and the use of the burial office for children dying without baptism.

A permission of the Athanasian Creed in such congregations as choose to retain it, and the Communion without the Amen to the curses would have given perfect satisfaction to all. The clergy are to meet me the last Thursday in this month, and are to pass the next Sunday together, in hopes of getting the new books. I must, therefore, request the printers to send me two dozen to Mr. Isaac Beers, book-seller at New Haven, or to the Rev. Dr. Bela Hubbard, Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven; and at the same time to put me in the way of sending the money for them, and their directions shall be directly complied with. Dr. Madison, I suppose, has gone to England. I received a letter from him concerning his consecration; but it was so late before his letter got to me, that from the intelligence I received, I supposed his determination to go to England would have been carried into execution before any letter from me could have gotten to him. In his consecration, I should have been ready to have concurred with you and Bishop Provoost.

I am sorry to inform you that I have never perfectly recovered my former health since I left Philadelphia, and have passed rather a languid summer, but have good hope this autumn will set me up again.

I am, with true esteem, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

SAMUEL, Bishop of Connecticut.

I have kept this letter to this day, Sept. 9th, and finding no private conveyance to New York, I have reluctantly put it into the Post Office, in hopes it will get to you time enough to have the books sent to New Haven, or the meeting of the Clergy will be in vain. I must, therefore, beg that one dozen may be sent by the Stage,

¹ From the Bishop White Correspondence.

if no better conveyance can be had. Whatever can be fairly done by me to make and keep our union strong and complete shall be done cheerfully, for my heart is set upon it, not only as being right in itself, but as being particularly necessary for the stability and growth of our Church in the United States, but if I get not the books by the first of October, we shall be thrown into some confusion, and probably new difficulties may arise. Farewell, my Dear Sir.¹

BISHOP SEABURY TO BISHOP PARKER.

NEW LONDON, Nov. 28th, 1790.

DEAR SIR: — Mr. Warren takes the trouble of conveying this to you. He has been, this day, put into Deacon's Orders, and, from his open and docile temper, I please myself with the hope of his making a very worthy and useful clergyman.

I have had some trouble here with Brother Sayre about the Revised Prayer-book, and I believe he will continue to give all the trouble he can. All the other clergy behaved with great prudence and candor. They, however, dislike the attempted alteration of the Apostles' Creed, the omission of the Communion Office, and of the Creed of St. Athanasius, and hope yet for some remedy at a future Convention. * * * * *

Accept, Dear Sir, the best wishes of your affectionate, humble servant,

S., Bishop of Connecticut.²

BISHOP SEABURY TO REV. DR. PARKER.

NEW LONDON, Dec. 29th, 1790.

DEAR SIR: — I am much obliged to you for the information contained in your letter of the 13th. Of Mr. Sayre I have lately heard nothing, though I doubt not his disposition continues, to give trouble if he can. You are not singular in the idea you have formed of *partial Insanity*. I only mention the dislike of the clergy of this State to the manner of the attempt to alter the Apostles' Creed, without saying it was right or wrong. One apprehension they have is, that it will on some occasion endanger confusion in the Church — some people will repeat it one way and some another — that this will be the case with the Clergy also. So that the Creed will (in that article) cease to be the test or even the security of uniformity of faith in the Church, which, I suppose, was the design of repeating Creeds in public worship.

I am sorry that Bishop Provoost and his clergy do not read prayers uniformly; and imagine that as little variation from the old book as the new one will permit, is best as present; were it only because it will not put the people under the necessity of buying new ones, which, considering their enormous price is a matter of consequence in this State. Their being so high is, I suppose, owing to the Printer's having a patent — and how that came about, I know not. According to my recollection, the Committee were empowered to agree for one edition, and I do not imagine they had any right to go further; and I heartily wish, and shall be ready to join my efforts, that their patent may be set aside, as it will forever keep Prayer-books at an enormous price. I fear that the Committee have exceeded their powers even in printing the Apostles' Creed as it now stands, which was not agreed to by the House of Bishops; and was printed in its present form against the opinion of Bishop White, as he will inform you if you apply to him.

With regard to the propriety of reading the Athanasian Creed in Church I never was fully convinced. With regard to the impropriety of banishing it out of the Prayer-book, I am clear; and look upon it, that those gentlemen who rigidly insisted upon its being read as usual, and those who insisted on its being thrown out, both acted from the same uncandid, uncomplying temper. They seem to me to have aimed at forcing their own opinion on their brethren. And I do hope, though possibly I hope in vain, that Christian charity and love of union will some time bring that Creed into the book, were it only to stand as articles of faith stand; and to show that we do not renounce the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity as held by the Western Church. * * * * *

Wishing you both many happy returns of this season, I remain your affectionate, humble servant,

S., Bishop of Connecticut.³

¹ From the Bishop White Correspondence. ² From the Bishop Parker Correspondence. ³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REVIVAL OF CHURCH LIFE AND FEELING IN VIRGINIA AND THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH.

IT was in 1779, during the darkest days of the war, that the "establishment" in Virginia "was finally put down."¹ In the language of the annalist of the religious body to which this result was chiefly due, "the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Deists, and the covetous had all prayed for this."² To prayers had been added untiring and most energetic labor. Taking advantage of existing and acknowledged evils, growing out of the utter want of ecclesiastical discipline in restraining delinquent clergymen, and the lack of men of devout life and conspicuous ability among the incumbents of the vacant parishes, these sectaries had multiplied on every side. It was but natural that men of earnest convictions and inward spirituality should turn from those possessing only the form of godliness to hang upon the lips of the wandering evangelists and lay preachers whose sincerity and devotion could not be gainsaid, and who introduced and propagated dissent in various forms throughout the length and breadth of the land. It was not to be expected that men whose shining parts and exemplary character made them sought after at home would leave their comfortable livings in England to put themselves at the mercy of sordid and ignorant vestries in a distant colony where the "livings" yielded only a precarious support, and there was little hope of preferment, and no possibility of redress if wronged. Pressure was brought to bear upon the Bishops of London to fill the parishes clamorous for a supply with men of limited attainments and inferior ability, and while there were notable exceptions to the rule, and men were found possessing the loftiest spirit of devotion and the highest intellectual power, whose lives were consecrated to the pioneer mission-work, not only in Virginia, but throughout the South, many of the clergy were unfitted for their station, indifferent in the discharge of their official duties, and too often of irregular life. It was of no avail that the commissary sought to exercise the delegated power of the bishop, who was across the ocean. Visitations were held and formal inquiry was made as to the life and teachings of the clergy, from time to time; but the unworthy priest could not be deposed for his wickedness, and any remedy short of this was of little use. The people, caring for nothing beyond the form of religion, and often indifferent as to that, were prejudiced against the exercise of any ecclesiastical power save by them-

¹ Hawks's "Eccl. Contributions," I., "Virginia," p. 152. *Vide, also*, Burk's "Hist. of Va.," IV., p. 377.

² The Virginia Baptist Chronicle, by John Leland, quoted by Hawks in "Eccl. Contributions," I., Virginia, p. 139.

selves, and, while placing every obstacle and annoyance in the way of an upright clergyman, would often enable one who deserved punishment to defy the commissary, and escape the penalty of the law. The vestries claimed and exercised the right of removal, and too often this power was shown in ridding themselves of the ministrations of men whose only offence was faithfulness. The church doors were not unfrequently shut against the clergy by the vestry, who, to quote the testimony of a competent and trustworthy witness, "thought themselves the parson's master."¹ There could be little, if any, spiritual life under circumstances so adverse. The clergy could only hope for tolerance and subsistence if subservient to the humors of their people, and careful not to offend their hearers by the faithful reproof of sin. The very "establishment" of the Church was made use of to excite popular prejudice against it when, in fact, it was established only in name and in part. The fruits of the "establishment" in Virginia were mainly seen in placing the clergy at the mercy of the people to whom they ministered, without the means of securing their legal rights, or the power of obtaining redress from wrong. That the clergy were of alien birth, drawn generally to the colony by their failure to succeed elsewhere, or seeking, with impaired reputations, to hide their disgrace by fleeing to the ends of the world, was another reason for the lack of spiritual life and the waning power of the "establishment" in the "Old Dominion." In Connecticut and in Massachusetts, where the clergy were, in a majority of instances, of American birth and education, and brought into the Church by conviction, and often at the sacrifice of all that men hold dear, the Church grew and thrived. In Virginia William and Mary graduated but few clergymen, and although of these few there were those whose character and ability were conspicuous, they could not redeem the reputation of the great body of their brethren who were of evil or indifferent life.

It was a day of spiritual declension. The discourses of even the better class of the clergy were too often lacking in that spirituality and fervor which alone can awaken or deepen the life of God in the soul of man. It is the testimony of the excellent Samuel Davies, the founder of organized Presbyterianism in Eastern Virginia, that while "a great number" of those who had been "educated Presbyterians," and that, too, in Scotland, had, "upon their arrival here, given scandal to their religion and country, by their loose principles and immoral practices; and either fell into an indifferency about religion in general, or affect to be polite by turning deists, or fashionable by conforming to the Church,"² he had reason to hope that "there are and have been a few names in various parts of the colony, who are sincerely seeking the Lord and groping after religion in the Communion of the Church of England."³ "Had the doctrines of the Gospel," says the same authority, "been solemnly and faithfully preached in the Established Church, there would have been but few

¹ Jones' "State of Virginia," pp. 104-195. ion among Dissenters in Virginia," p. 29, note.
² The Rev. Samuel Davies's "State of Religion among Dissenters in Virginia," p. 29, note. Quoted in Hawks's "Virginia," pp. 103, 104.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

dissenters in these parts of Virginia; for their first objections were not against the peculiar rites and ceremonies of that Church, much less against her excellent articles, but against the general strain of the doctrines delivered from the pulpit, in which these articles were opposed, or (which was the more common case) not mentioned at all; so that at first they were not properly dissenters from the original constitution of the Church of England, but the more strict adherents to it, and only dissented from those who had forsaken it."¹ The Church was thus untrue to herself, and, while she lost her hold upon the more spiritually minded of the people, the cause of dissent flourished at her expense.

It was to be anticipated that there should arise controversies between the clergy at a time when, in the language of a representation to the Legislature by their own body, "so many who are a disgrace to the ministry find opportunities to fill the parishes," and the people who regarded them as hirelings and sought in every way to limit their influence and curtail their support. The history of Virginia for many years prior to the war is full of notices of these strifes about settlements and stipends, which are recited in full in the representations made by the commissaries and clergy to their diocesan, the Bishop of London, and which, in the pulpit, and through the columns of the press, and in a flood of pamphlets, and finally in the courts, occupied the public attention almost to the exclusion of any other matter connected with religion, and gave to the foes of the establishment their vantage ground and ultimate success. It matters little that in these disputes the clergy were technically, morally, and legally in the right. They had in so many instances pandered to the wrong, and by a life of careless indifference forfeited the respect as well as alienated the affections of their parishioners, that the popular verdict was against them, and even a triumph would not have averted the impending and speeding ruin. It was in connection with one of these disputes which, after other measures had failed, had been brought into the courts, and in which the cause of the clergy was not only right in equity, but also in law, that the wonderful eloquence of Patrick Henry, himself a churchman, and in his later day an earnest and devout communicant of the Church, secured a practical verdict against the clergy and made the wrong appear the better right.

The most unrelenting opposition to the Church as an establishment came from the Baptists, who, in the decade preceding the opening of the war of the Revolution had grown from an inconsiderable sect to a body of numerical strength sufficient to make their influence and support worth any price when the question of loyalty or revolution was to be settled. They had not been slow to take advantage of the position in which they found themselves at the opening of the war. Remembering the harsh treatment that had been meted out to them by the royal authorities, their ministers being "imprisoned and the disciples buffeted,"² as their chronicles describe it, they readily embraced the opportunity of weakening the "establishment" as well as opposing the crown. Thus

¹ Davies's "State of Religion among Dissenters in Virginia," p. 6.

² Leland's "Virginia Baptist Chronicle," quoted by Dr. Hawks.

their dislike of the church and state was gratified at the same time. Conscious that a large part of the clergy, influenced by the ties of birth and the obligation of their oaths of allegiance, had espoused the cause of the king, they showed themselves to be "inspired by the ardors of a patriotism which accorded with their interests," and were "willing to avail themselves of a favorable opportunity to present an advantageous contrast to a part of the church." Consequently they formally addressed the Convention of the delegates to the Virginia Legislature, which succeeded the last royal assembly ever convened in the "Old Dominion," with a proffer of their cordial support. Their tenets placed no hindrance in the way of their members taking up arms for their country, and their preachers professed their readiness to further the enlistment of their young men. They accompanied this tender of service with a petition "that they might be allowed to worship God in their own way without interruption; that they might be permitted to maintain their own ministers, separate from others; that they might be married, buried, and the like, without paying the clergy of other denominations." This was the beginning of a series of assaults against the "establishment" and the Church itself in which all the dissenters, with the exception of the Methodists, who had not at this time separated formally from the Church, united with zeal and untiring energy till the end was gained, and the "establishment" was destroyed.

The result was such as had been anticipated by those who had strenuously opposed the act of the Legislature. Deprived of their livings, the clergy, many of whom were politically, if not personally, obnoxious to the majority of their parishioners, found themselves reduced to the necessity of abandoning their calling, in the exercise of which they could no longer hope for support. Many left the country; the sacraments were no longer administered in the parishes thus abandoned, and, although a few faithful priests travelled over large circuits for the purpose of administering baptism and the holy communion, they could not supply the lack of the constant and regular services and ministrations which had been of old. The churches, deserted and uncared for, went rapidly to decay. Often required for public uses in the necessities of the State arising from the struggle then going on; more frequently despoiled and desecrated by the hands of the sacrilegious and sordid, who coveted and appropriated for their private uses the very materials of the fabric of the Church of God; there was every prospect that the Church, whose offices were the first celebrated on Virginia soil, would be utterly uprooted and destroyed. The gates of hell had prevailed against her.

At the coming of peace, measures were taken by the Assembly for placing the Church upon a legal footing. Provision was made by this bill, which was adopted in 1784, for making the minister and vestry of each parish a body corporate, and for securing to this corporation its rights and estates. It was also provided that vestries, each composed of twelve members, should be elected in vacant parishes, on the call of any two reputable inhabitants, "members of the Episcopal Church." Vestry-men, elected triennially, were required to subscribe a declaration of uniformity to the doctrines, disciplines, and worship of

the Protestant Episcopal Church. The vestry appointed two churchwardens from its own number, and had the power to fill vacancies. The disbursement of all moneys was solely in the control of the vestry. The minister was forbidden to interpose his veto on the proceedings of the majority of the corporation. He had the right to call meetings of the corporators, seven being a quorum, save that only a majority of the whole body was requisite "to demise, alien or lease the Church property." The vestries thus constituted were allowed to "acquire, use, and enjoy property, provided the income thereof did not exceed eight hundred pounds per annum." The law thus enacted provided for the meeting of the Church in Convention, to be held at pleasure, and to determine all matters purely spiritual as well as to provide for the orderly and good government of the whole. The clergy holding cures were *ex-officio* members of the Convention, and two laymen from each parish chosen by the vestries respectively. Forty persons were necessary to form a quorum, and it was enacted that no clergyman should be placed over or removed from a cure of souls without the consent of the vestry. The Convention could for cause remove any minister of ungodly life or neglectful of his duty.

Although this legislation displayed a jealousy of the clergy which had doubtless grown out of the experience of the past, its passage was hailed with delight by both clergy and laity alike, and thus was secured, at last, the promise of a brighter day for the Church, now reduced in number, influence, and wealth. The diminution in numbers was marked. In 1775 there were in the sixty-one counties of Virginia ninety-five parishes with ninety-one clergymen, ministering at one hundred and sixty-four churches and chapels. At the close of the conflict many of the churches and chapels were either totally destroyed or irreparably injured. Of the ninety-five parishes twenty-three were extinct or abandoned. Of the remaining seventy-two thirty-four were destitute of ministerial services. But twenty-eight clergymen remained out of nearly one hundred in the State, and of this number fifteen only were in the cures they held at the beginning of the war, while thirteen had been driven from their posts by violence or want.

It was under these untoward circumstances that the Church in Virginia organized at the close of the war in accordance with the act of the Assembly, and in pursuance with the recommendation of the Convention held in New York in October, 1784. Seventy laymen and thirty-six clergymen are recorded as members of this Convention. It was resolved to send deputies to the General Convention appointed to meet in Philadelphia, at Michaelmas, in 1786. Four of the fundamental principles of the proposed general ecclesiastical constitution were approved. These were the first, second, third, and fifth. The fourth, pledging the American Church to maintain the doctrines of the Gospel as held by the Church of England, and to adhere to the liturgy of that church as far as consistent with the revolution and the constitutions of the respective States, was laid over for the consideration of a subsequent Convention. The necessity of providing for ecclesiastical discipline was strongly felt, and after adopting a resolution expressing "the opinion of this Convention that the Canons of the Church of

England have no obligation on the Protestant Episcopal Church within this Commonwealth," forty-three "rules for the Order, Government and Discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia" were adopted. The depressed condition of the Church was the subject of thought and discussion, and an earnest "Address" was agreed upon to the members of the Church "representing the condition of the Church and exhorting them to unite in its support." In this paper, which began with the confession that "for more than eight years our Church hath languished under neglect," there is mention of the benefits conferred upon society by religion, and the inquiry is urged: "Of what is the Church now possessed? Nothing but the glebes and your affections. Since the year 1776 she hath been even without regular government, and her ministers have received but little compensation for their services. Their numbers are diminished by death and other causes, and we have as yet no resource within ourselves for a succession of ministers. Churches stand in need of repair, and there is no fund equal to the smallest want." After referring to the organization of the Church, and the incipient measures taken at the North for effecting a general union, the address proceeds: "To almost everything under the sun belongs a crisis, which, if embraced, stamps our endeavors with success; if lost, with ruin. In this situation does our Church now stand, and why do you hesitate? Are the doctrines of our Church less excellent than at any former period? Have you embraced the persuasion of that Church to abandon it in the hour of difficulty? Common justice requires that those who profess themselves to be members of a society should unite in cherishing it; and let us not be the only example of a religious association withering from the want of support from its own members." With pathetic earnestness the address continues: "We therefore entreat you, by all the ties of religion, to co-operate fervently in the cause of our Church. Should then our earnest efforts be abortive, we shall always with truth call the Searcher of Hearts to witness that the downfall of the Protestant Episcopal Church is not to be named among our offences, and to this admonition we shall ever appeal."¹

With a view of averting the impending ruin, the provision of a suitable support for the clergy was recommended to the several vestries, and measures were taken to secure at the earliest opportunity the consecration for a bishop, and to provide for his support. The State was divided into districts, with a view to secure discipline among the clergy, and provisions were made for guarding the parishes from unworthy clergymen, and for the trial of offenders, even the bishop being made amenable to the Convention, which was constituted a court of trial, and from the decision there rendered there was to be no appeal. Measures were adopted to prevent pluralities and non-residence, and enjoining the use of the surplice and gown: preaching "once at least on every Lord's day, and at other stated seasons;" the administration of the Sacrament "at least four times in the year at each church or place of worship;" the instruction of children and the ignorant

¹ Journal of Convention of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, begun and holden in the City of Richmond, Wednesday, May 18, 1785, p. 16.

in the "Catechism and the principles of the Christian religion as maintained by this Church," and the preparation of parishioners for confirmation were carefully enforced. The bishop was required, "after his promotion to the Episcopal order," to "continue to hold a parish and do the duty of a parish minister, except when necessarily employed in the discharge of his Episcopal office." It was resolved "that until the farther order of the Convention, the liturgy of the Church of England be used in the several churches throughout this Commonwealth, with such alterations as the American Revolution has rendered necessary." Definite instructions were adopted for the guidance of the deputies to the General Convention, who were also desired to communicate to the Convention the offer through the Danish minister at the Court of St. James, the Count de Rosencrone, of the Church in Denmark, to confer holy orders on candidates from America. It was with this careful and minute legislation that the first Convention in Virginia sought to provide for the church's present and prospective needs.

The measures tending in the direction of the perpetuation and strengthening of the Church excited the jealousy and stimulated the opposition of her foes. The Presbyterians who had refused to avail themselves of the liberty conferred upon them, as well as on all other religious bodies, to incorporate and provide by legal methods for their organization and growth, and the Baptists, who had never ceased their assaults upon the Church, even though disestablished and well-nigh destroyed, began at once to agitate the repeal of the act incorporating the Church; and, not content with this, to urge that the church's property should be disposed of for the benefit of the State.

The Virginia Convention met at Richmond, on Wednesday, the 24th of May, 1786. Sixteen clergymen and forty-seven laymen are recorded as members of this Convention. The able and scholarly Madison, President of William and Mary College, was again elected to the presidency of the Convention. At the outset the general ecclesiastical constitution at Philadelphia was "approved and ratified except as to the 4th, 9th, and 10th Articles," which were "reserved for further consideration."¹ These articles related to the "Proposed Book," and after the discussion on the liturgy had been finished, they were agreed to, and the Church in Virginia became by her own act part of the federation of the churches of the Middle and Southern States.

The "Proposed Book" elicited much more discussion than the ecclesiastical constitution, and ere the articles of religion, as proposed, were finally disposed of nearly a week was consumed. The amendments suggested were as follows: In the second article, a verbal amendment was agreed to, making the language, "Of whose authority *there is no* doubt," instead "was never any doubt." That portion of the article referring to the apochryphal books was stricken out. In the fourth article, after the word *creed*, it was agreed that the words should be inserted "as contained in the Book of Common Prayer recommended by the late General Convention." This change was oc-

¹ Journal of a Convention of the Protestant at the Public Buildings in the City of Richmond, Episcopal Church in Virginia. Begun and held on Wednesday, the 24th of May, 1786, p. 4.

casioned by the removal from the Apostles' Creed, in the "Proposed Book," of the words "He descended into hell." In the seventh article, in place of the words *justified by faith only* "was inserted the phrase *thus justified by faith*." The eleventh article, "On Predestination," was omitted. In the fifteenth article, the first clause, descriptive of the nature of a sacrament, was omitted, as "unnecessary." In the sixteenth article the words "*as by an instrument*" were stricken out. In the seventeenth article all that related to transubstantiation was omitted. With reference to the other portions of the "Proposed Book," it was resolved "that the Book of Common Prayer, as recommended by the late General Convention, be approved, ratified, and used, except the Rubric before the Communion Service, and such alterations of the Articles as are referred to the consideration of the next General Convention; and that the Psalms be used as heretofore, until a sufficient number of the new books can be procured."¹ The vote adopting this resolution was thirty-two to twenty. Of the clergy ten clergymen voted in the affirmative, including Drs. Griffith and Bracken, both bishops-elect, but never consecrated. Four clergymen, Dr. Madison being one, voted against the book.

Agreeably to the recommendation of the General Convention, it was determined to elect a person to be recommended to the English prelates for consecration, and out of forty-nine votes the Rev. David Griffith received thirty-two. Ten ballots were cast for the Rev. John Bracken, who more than a quarter of a century later was elected to the episcopate of Virginia, though he declined the appointment. The Convention placed on record its conviction of the need of episcopal supervision in its instructions to the deputies-elect to the Convention at Philadelphia, in which it is said "that the sooner our Church can have the benefit of Episcopal Superintendence, the nearer it will approach to perfection." The State was divided into twenty-four districts, and a visitor appointed for each division, and the powers of the standing committee were carefully and minutely defined. The attention of the Convention was called to the efforts being made for the repeal of the act incorporating the Church, and a counter-petition was prepared and adopted.

It was of no avail. Early in January, 1787, the incorporating act was repealed. The third Convention of the Church in Virginia met at Richmond in May, 1787. The Rev. Dr. Griffith, the bishop-elect, was unanimously elected president. To supply the lack of the act of incorporation the Convention adopted an "ordinance for appointing vestries and other purposes." This instrument was prepared and agreed upon under the supposition that by the repeal of the act of incorporation "the several powers of government and discipline in the Church" had "returned to the members at large." By this ordinance the vestry-men who had been elected under the law just repealed were constituted trustees to hold the glebes and other church property, and provision was made for their election triennially. The right of the clergy to those glebes, which had not been alienated,

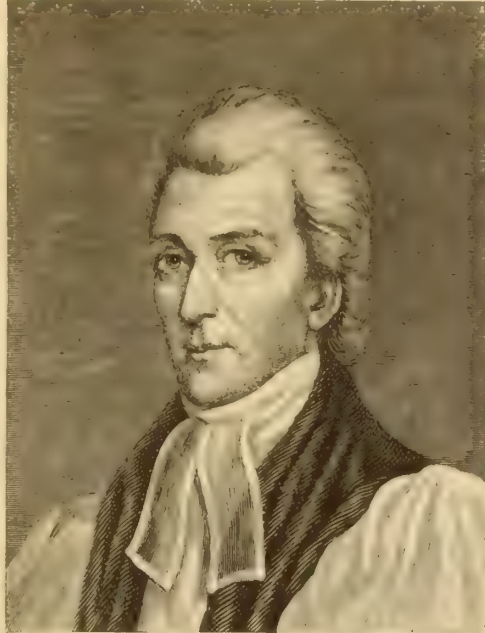
¹ Journal, etc., 1786, p. 11.

was recognized, and the clergy were invested with a veto in the case of the attempt to dispose of the land assigned for their residence or use. Conventions were recognized as having the right to "regulate all the religious concerns of the Church, its doctrines, discipline, and worship." The body of canons previously adopted was substantially re-enacted, and measures were taken to secure to the clergy a compensation from the people in proportion to the tithables each one might possess. The education of "two youths from their early years" for the ministry of the Church was recommended, affording the first recorded notice in the American Church of any recognition of the necessity of providing for the perpetuation of the sacred function. For this purpose the preaching of an annual charity sermon with an offertory was recommended, and the funds thus provided were to be placed at the disposal of the bishop and standing committee, who were to have "the direction of the education of the two youths." The consecration of Dr. Griffith, at the hands of Bishops White and Provoost, was requested, and further measures were taken to raise the means to defray the expenses of the consecration of their bishop-elect. The proceedings of the General Convention of 1786, at Philadelphia and Wilmington, met with the general approval of the Virginia Church. The fourth and ninth articles of the ecclesiastical constitution were acceded to "as articles of a temporary nature, and not as forming a part of the general constitution." The Convention refused emphatically to agree to the recommendation not to admit as ministers those who should receive ordination from Bishop Seabury, while the application to England for the consecration of bishops was pending. The deputies to the next General Convention were instructed to seek to have the article in the Creed "He descended into hell" expunged, and also to strive to have the Nicene Creed removed from the book.

Thus organized, and wholly independent of the State, the Church in Virginia offers little to record until, in 1789, we find the Convention instructing the deputies to notify the General Convention that the Rev. Dr. Griffith, bishop-elect of the Church in the State, had relinquished the appointment, and that no one had been elected in his place. The *res angustae domi*, occasioning the resignation of the excellent Griffith of an office he would have adorned, induced an earnest appeal on the part of the Convention to the friends of the Church throughout the State to provide "the sum necessary for defraying the expenses attendant on the consecration of a bishop." It was indeed time, as the address proceeded to say, "to awake from an inattention which, if continued, must prove fatal to the Protestant Episcopal Church."

In 1790 the Convention elected in the place of the amiable Griffith, who had died while in attendance upon the General Convention of 1789, the Rev. James Madison, D.D., President of the College of William and Mary, as bishop of the Church in Virginia. Dr. Madison was distinguished for his attainments as a scholar and his eloquence as a preacher; but it cannot be doubted that his devotion to the interests of the institution of learning of which he was the head, and to the special care of which he was bound by solemn engagement, served to militate against his efficiency as bishop and his success

in building up the Church over which he was made the overseer. It was at this session, and, doubtless, in consequence of his "valuable essay read before the Convention, containing a defence of certain rights of the Protestant Episcopal Church," that it was formally resolved "that it is the opinion of this Convention that the Protestant Episcopal Church is the exclusive owner of the glebes, churches, and other property held by the Church of England in Virginia at the commencement of the Revolution; that the principles upon which the said property is held are those only by which the rights of property are regulated; that the interference of the Legislature in the sale of that property, or in the disposal of it to any other purpose than that for which it is now held, would be a violation of the constitution."



RT. REV. JAMES MADISON, D.D., FIRST BISHOP
OF VIRGINIA.

Shortly after the adjournment of the Convention, Dr. Madison sailed for England, and, on September 19, 1790, received consecration at Lambeth at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Rochester. On his return, and in his primary address to his Convention, the newly-made bishop did not hesitate to ascribe the unhappy condition of the Church in Virginia to the want of a "*fervent Christian zeal* among the clergy." In the same address the bishop presses home upon his brethren the duty of watching "for the souls of others, as they that are to give account," and bids them "declare with zeal, with force, with spirit, all the counsel of God." The neglect of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper is alluded to, and the clergy are enforced to press upon the people the duty of bringing their children to baptism, and to instruct them as early as possible in the principles of Christianity with a view to confirmation. The "obligation and the benefit of securing at regular stated times the sacrament" is further urged, and the exercise of a godly discipline is commended. It was in this spirit, and with this clear perception of duty and obligation, that the bishop entered upon his work.

On his first visitation Bishop Madison found the state of the Church more encouraging than he had anticipated. Its progress was retarded and its success prevented by two obstacles, — the spread of infidelity

and fanaticism. It was a day of religious declension. The love of many waxed cold. The lack of spiritual life and growth was not confined to the Church. It was in the midst of these signs of a waning faith and general worldliness that the bishop sought to check the spread of unbelief and fanaticism by the comprehension of all believers in Christianity in the Church. In his address to the Convention of 1793 he refers to this scheme of comprehension, which had, as we have seen, failed to win the approval of the preceding General Convention. "There is no one here present," says the bishop, "but must cordially wish for such a union, provided it did not require a sacrifice of those points which are deemed essentials by our Church; from them we have not the power to retreat. But in such matters as are subject to human alteration, if, by a candid discussion, they could be found capable of being so modified as to remove the objections of any sect of Christians who may be actuated by the same catholic spirit, and thereby effect a union, in that case, we should surely have reason to rejoice, not only in the event, but also in being the first to set an example to Christians which it is the duty of all to follow; and, in convincing them that there is infinitely more religion in not contending, than in those things about which they contend."¹

Wise and temperate as were these suggestions, broad and comprehensive as was the scheme proposed, the time had not come for the comprehension of the various bodies of Christians in the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ; but we may gratefully recognize the fact that the proposition was made and the blessings of unity ably set forth by one of the earliest of our bishops, and by one, too, as far removed from fanaticism as from the opposite extreme of indifference and unbelief.

In this earnest address the bishop recommended the circulation of short treatises, and the preaching of sermons "upon such doctrinal and institutional topics as may appear most necessary for the information of congregations." Nor was he content with the dissemination of knowledge on the distinctive features of our church teaching and worship. He urged the wide dispersion of "devotional tracts, such as would inspire and keep alive the spirit of warm but rational piety." The duty of daily family prayer was forcibly stated, and the gratuitous circulation of books of devotion among the poor advised. By these and other judicious recommendations the bishop urged the building up of the people "in the doctrine of piety, and the *apostolic institutions* of the Church."

But neither the wise counsels nor the apostolic labors of the bishop, seconded as they were by the earnest devotion of the clergy, and many of the faithful laity, could avert the impending blow. Remonstrances and petitions, the opinion of learned counsel, and the plain construction of the principles of law and equity involved, were all unavailing to silence the popular clamor, or prevent the triumph of sectaries and unbelievers in their sacrilegious spoliation of the church's property.

In January, 1802, the Legislature passed the bill ordering the sale of the glebes for the benefit of the State. With an impover-

¹ Address to the Convention of 1793.

ished and suffering clergy, with the churches in every stage of dilapidation and decay, with the sacraments practically interdicted for lack of clergymen to administer them, with a consequent increase of unbelief and indifference, and a loosening of the hold of the old Church upon her children, growing out of the cessation of services, and the lack of even an effort for their revival, there was left little more than "the hopelessness of despair." Glebes, churches, and the sacramental plate were involved in a common fate. The Church's temples deserted, unroofed, uncared for, crumbled to ruin, or were torn down that their materials might be used by the rapacious purchasers. A marble font became a watering-trough. Sectaries possessed the sacred vessels used in the administration of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

It would seem as if the bishop, himself, despaired of the Church over which he had been placed. The duties of his academic charge, and the infirmities of advancing years, rendered his visitations less frequent, and they were at length discontinued. The ranks of the clergy were diminished by death or removal, and none offered themselves to take the vacant places. Inexpressibly sad is the picture drawn of the state of the Virginia Church as the close of Bishop Madison's episcopate drew near, which we find in the autobiography of

by Rufus C. in Church
W. Meade

William Meade. "So low and hopeless was the state of the Church at this time, — the time of my ordination, — but few of the old clergy even attempting to carry on the work, only one person having for a long time been ordained by Bishop Madison, and he from a distance, and a most unworthy one, — it created surprise, and was a matter of much conversation when it was understood that a young Virginian had entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church.¹ Some years later the great Chief-Justice Marshall, himself a devout and devoted churchman, gave it as his opinion that the Church was "too far gone ever to be revived." Proceeding on horseback to Williamsburg, a journey of about two hundred miles, young Meade, a graduate at Princeton with the highest honors, offered himself in February, 1811, for ordination. It was "a clear, cold morning;" the day in the calendar was Quinquagesima; the "examination" took place at the bishop's, before breakfast, Dr. Bracken and himself conducting it. It was very brief; the young candidate thought he "saw some evidence in the course of his examination" that the bishop, in consequence of his secular studies, and possibly from his scholastic position and his political views, had been led "to philosophize too much on the subject of religion," but that he, as has been charged, "either secretly, or to his

¹ Bishop Meade's "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia," I., p. 30

most intimate friends, renounced the Christian faith," Meade did not believe, but was "confident of the contrary." The story of the ordination cannot be better told than in the words of the autobiography: —

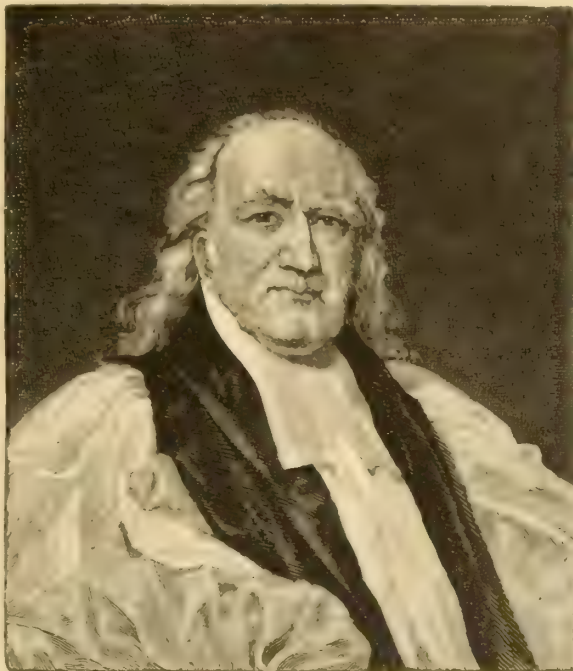
On our way to the old church the bishop and myself met a number of students with guns on their shoulders, and dogs at their sides, attracted by the frosty morning, which was favorable to the chase; and at the same time one of the citizens was filling his ice-house. On arriving at the church, we found it in a wretched condition, with broken windows and a gloomy, comfortless aspect. The congregation which assembled consisted of two ladies and about fifteen gentlemen, nearly all of whom were relatives or acquaintances. The morning service being over, the Ordination and Communion were administered, and then I was put into the pulpit to preach, there being no ordination sermon. The religious condition of the College and of the place may easily and justly be inferred from the above. I was informed that not long before this two questions were discussed in a literary society of the College: First, Whether there be a God? Secondly, Whether the Christian religion had been injurious or beneficial to mankind? Infidelity, indeed, was then rife in the State, and the college of William and Mary was regarded as the hot-bed of French politics and religion. I can truly say that then, and for some years after, in every educated young man of Virginia whom I met, I expected to find a skeptic, if not an avowed unbeliever. I left Williamsburg, as may well be imagined, with sad feelings of disappointment.¹

The following year the aged bishop, wearied with the weight of college cares and episcopal responsibilities, and, doubtless, despairing of the Church, died on the 6th of March, 1812. He had sought the appointment of an assistant as far back as 1805, in view of "want of bodily strength, and from sundry and necessary and official occupations," rendering him "unable to discharge the whole of the arduous and important duties annexed to his office;" and the Convention, while recognizing the expediency of such an appointment, postponed the nomination of an assistant until the next Convention. That Convention was not held till after the bishop's death. Seven years later thirteen clergymen, among them the youthful William Meade, and twelve laymen, met at Richmond and elected to the vacant see the Rev. John Bracken, D.D. The following year this gentleman declined the appointment, and the Convention adjourned without attempting to make another choice. On the 5th of May, 1814, at a special session, at which but seven clergymen and eighteen laymen, representing fourteen parishes, were present, the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D.D., who had lately accepted the rectorship of the Monumental Church in Richmond, was elected as the second Bishop of Virginia. In making this choice, which was so signally blessed of God to the revival of his Church, and in furthering the great work undertaken by the bishop of their selection, four of the clergy, men of mark in their day and generation, were specially prominent. These worthies of the revived Virginia Church were the Rev. Dr. William H. Wilmer, of Fairfax; the Rev. Oliver Norris, of Christ Church, Alexandria; the Rev. John Dunn, of Loudon County, and the Right Rev. William Meade, D.D., afterwards called to the same office and administration. Noble and venerable names are these, ever to be held in remembrance!

¹ Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, I., p. 29.

The consecration of Bishop Richard Channing Moore, and his entrance upon his new work, were followed by a steady and most remarkable revival of church life and spirituality. The Convention of 1815 was attended by double the number of clergy present but a twelvemonth before, while a large increase in the lay representation was equally indicative of new life and zeal. The bishop, in his episcopal address, announced that he had discovered in every parish

which he had visited "the most animated wish in the people to repair the waste places of our Zion, and to restore the church of their fathers to its primitive purity and excellence." Parishes, seemingly dead, were aroused to life and vigor. Congregations, at the mention of the glories of the past, gave tearful assurance of their purpose to renew the days of old. In another year ten new churches were reported as about to be built, or already in process of erection, while eight of the old sanctuaries were undergoing repair,



RT. REV. RICHARD CHANNING MOORE, D.D.,
SECOND BISHOP OF VIRGINIA.

and the work of revival, development, and growth at this time begun has never ceased. Years have been required for the upbuilding of that which it took years to overthrow; but the work has never been intermitted, and the episcopates of Moore and Meade and Johns have left few traces of the old desolation, while, under their wise and careful stewardship, the Church has gained a strength and position far more durable than that of the "establishment." Two dioceses and three bishops, with a noble band of clergy and a devoted, liberal and intelligent laity, carry on the work which was begun when Richard Channing Moore was set apart as a bishop in the Church of God.

At the suggestion of Bishop White, and under the inspiration of the Rev. Charles Pettigrew, efforts were made as early as 1790 to organize the Church in North Carolina. On the 5th of June two clergymen, the Rev. Charles Pettigrew and the Rev. James L. Wilson, and two laymen, Dr. John Leigh and William Clements, Esq., met in Convention at Tawborough, and approved and acceded to the general

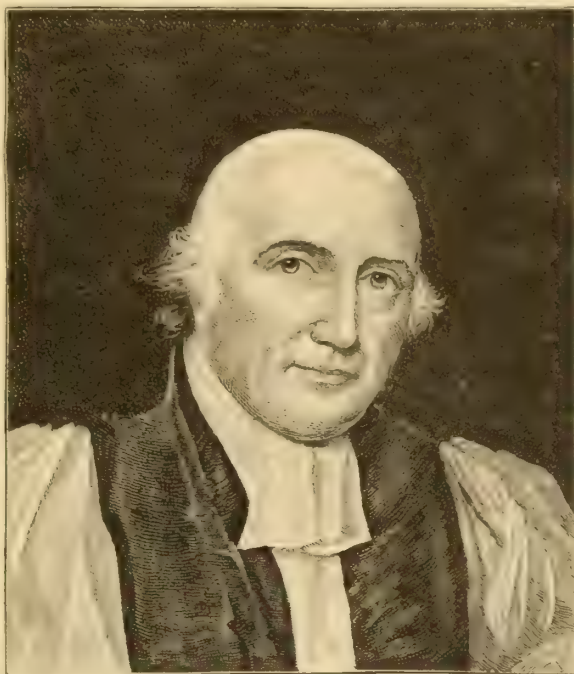
ecclesiastical constitution adopted in Philadelphia in 1789. In the address of the Convention to the General Convention the state of the Church in North Carolina is represented as "truly deplorable, from the paucity of the clergy and the multiplicity of opposing sectarians, who are using every possible exertion to seduce its members to their different communions." A second Convention was held at the same place, on the 12th of November, 1790. This body, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Micklejohn, appointed deputies to the General Convention of 1792, elected a standing committee, and took other measures to perfect the organization of the Church in the State. The Rev. James L. Wilson, one of the deputies appointed to attend the General Convention, proceeded to New York for that purpose, but was delayed on his voyage, so that he did not arrive till some days after the adjournment. A note appended to the journal records his failure to be present. No conventions were held in North Carolina until November, 1793, when a second attempt was made to organize the Church in that State, three of the clergy and three of the laity meeting at Tawborough on the 21st of November for that purpose. The Rev. James L. Wilson was the President of this Convention, and a standing committee was chosen. The Rev. Solomon Halling, who had been recommended for orders by the standing committee appointed in 1790, had been ordained by Bishop Madison in 1792, and was the moving spirit in these renewed efforts for organization. A letter from him to the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew is our chief authority for this meeting and its proceedings. In May, 1794, four of the clergy, one being in Lutheran orders, and the same number of laymen, met at Tawborough, prepared a constitution, and elected the Rev. Charles Pettigrew to the episcopate of North Carolina, and signed the testimonial of the bishop-elect, varying somewhat the form set forth for this purpose by the General Convention, in consequence of the lack of personal acquaintance with the candidate, consequent upon the great distance separating the clergy and laity in the States.¹ The informality of the testimonial would have proved no obstacle to the consecration of the bishop-elect, as legislation providing for such a condition of things as that existing in North Carolina had been enacted at the preceding General Convention. Word to this effect was sent by Bishop White, and the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew set off to attend the General Convention of 1795, with a view to obtaining consecration. Interrupted in his journey by the prevalence of an epidemic fever at Norfolk, which threatened the interruption of the ordinary facilities of travel, he returned to North Carolina, and shortly afterwards died. The revival of the Church in North Carolina was long deferred. The dispirited clergy were obliged to turn their attention to secular employments to provide the means of subsistence. From 1794 to 1817 all was dark and hopeless. It was at the latter date that

¹ An interesting and most valuable summary of these early proceedings of the Church in North Carolina has been prepared and published by an enthusiastic and untiring investigator of our early annals. From this work we have drawn the statements given above. It is not the privilege of every writer on our history to contribute so much that is new, and also important, in his

first historical publication. The work to which we refer is, "The Early Conventions, held at Tawborough, A.D. 1790, 1793, and 1794. Being the First Effort to Organize the Church in North Carolina. Collected from Original Sources, and now First Published. With Introduction and Brief Notes by Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr." Raleigh, 1882. 8vo. pp. 29.

the coming of the Rev. Adam Empie to Wilmington, and the Rev. Bethel Judd to Fayetteville," laid the foundation of the restoration of the Episcopal Church and cause in North Carolina.¹

Still further to the southward the Church in South Carolina, which had organized and entered into the general union of the churches in the Middle and Southern States, excepting "to the establishing of Bishops in this State,"² presented the name of the excellent Robert Smith, D.D., rector of St. Philip's Church and principal of Charleston College, to the Convention of 1795, for confirmation as Bishop of South Carolina. Dr. Smith, to whose exertion it was due that the Church in South Carolina had entered the general federation of churches at all, had been unanimously elected. He was consecrated at Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the 13th of September, 1795, and continued in the exercise of his office and ministry until his death, on the 28th of October, 1801, in the seventieth year of his age. No conventions were held in South Carolina from October 23, 1798, until February



RT. REV. ROBERT SMITH, D.D., FIRST BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

20, 1804, and at this latter date the election of a bishop took place, whereupon the Rev. Edward Jenkins, D.D., was "unanimously elected." The bishop-elect declined the honor thus offered, "persuaded that at his time of life he could not fully and faithfully discharge" the duties of the episcopal office.

Theodore Dehon.

No further attempt was made until the 20th of February, 1812, when the Rev. Theodore De-

hon, D.D., was elected to the long-vacant episcopate. His consecration took place on the 15th of October following, and his death on the 16th of August, 1817, in the fifth year of his episcopate. At the time

¹ The Church Review, Vol. III., p. 309.

² *Ibid.* "Journal of South Carolina Convention," 1786, reprinted in Daleho's "Hist. of the Ch. in So. Car.," p. 474.

of his election the state of the Church in the interior of the State was "truly alarming." Though continuing to hold his parochial cure he visited not only the whole of his large diocese, but undertook the care of the Church in Georgia. In frequent visitations, in the consecration of a number of churches, in reviving the worship of the Church where the services had long been discontinued, and in establishing it where it had been previously unknown, in seeking out candidates for holy orders, and in the discharge of all the functions of his office, Bishop Dehon proved himself to be an apostle indeed. To the deprivation of services so abundant and valuable was added the loss of an example at once winning and instructive; and in his early death, in

Bowen

the forty-first year of his age, the Church at large, as well as in South Carolina, was bereft. On the 18th of February, 1818, the Rev. Nathaniel Bowen, D.D., was elected to the vacant See. It was with fitting recognition "of the invaluable life and the distinguished services to this Diocese and the Church in general" of the "revered and beloved" Dehon that the Rev. Dr. Bowen received the "unanimous suffrages of all the clergy and the churches. There was every proof afforded, not only in the unanimity of feeling and the earnestness and devotion of both clergy and laity to their work as Christians and churchmen, that the Church in South Carolina was fully alive to its responsibilities and opportunities.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

THE story of the Church in Virginia has been told with unusual fulness and accuracy in the first volume of Dr. Hawks's "Ecclesiastical Contributions;" in Bishop Meade's "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families;" in the first volume of the author's "Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church;" in Dr. Philip Slaughter's interesting and exhaustive monographs on the older parishes, and in Dr. T. Grayson Dashiell's "Digest of the Proceedings of the Conventions and Councils of the Diocese of Virginia." To these volumes of a general nature should be added the valuable biographies of Jarratt, Channing Moore, Meade, and others of the leading clergy giving a mass of material which, together with the secular histories and the rare and interesting controversial pamphlets published at different periods, leaves little to be desired, whether our inquiries are directed to the investigation of the earlier or the later annals of the Virginia Church.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EPISCOPATE OF JOHN HENRY HOBART, AND ITS INFLUENCE AT THE NORTH.

THE early years of the episcopate of the first Bishop of New York present few points of historic interest. One may turn the pages of the brief record of the successive conventions with little desire to linger over the scanty material for diocesan chronicles therein contained. In 1786 we find that action was taken respecting the "Proposed Book," deferring its consideration, to a future day, "out of respect to the English Bishops, and because the minds of the people are not yet sufficiently informed."¹ The choice of the bishop-elect appears to have been made by a simple resolution — "Resolved that the Reverend Mr. Provoost be recommended for Episcopal Consecration."² There is no record of a ballot. The personal influence of the patriot Rector of Trinity was such that although friends and correspondents of the Bishop of Connecticut were members of the Convention, and there were present those who had openly and formally recognized his episcopal character and office, the deputies to the general convention were instructed "not to consent to any act that might imply the validity of Dr. Seabury's Consecration." This exhibition of personal and political feeling hindered for years the union and organization of the Church. The following year "liberty to use the New Form of Prayer or the old as they respectively may think proper" was granted to the congregations of the State. The bishop was formally addressed by the Convention at a service in St. Paul's Chapel, and fittingly responded to the kind greetings of his clergy and laity. The bishop then delivered his first episcopal address, which was brief. As recorded on the pages of the journal, it was to the effect "that he had ordained several persons; that he had lately made a visitation of several churches on Long Island, for the purpose of Confirmation; and hoped that the other churches here represented would be equally prepared for the reception of that sacred rite, as he intended to visit them next spring."³ In 1788 the Convention recommended three lay-readers — Mr. Andrew Fowler, Mr. Theodosius Bartow and Mr. Elias Cooper — for orders. Each of these gentlemen became a prominent minister of the Church. "The preservation of the episcopal Succession

Sam. l. Provoost.

¹ Journal of Convention, etc., 1786.

² *Ibid.*

³ Journal, etc., 1787.

in the English line," was voted to be "highly necessary, in the opinion of this Convention." The union of the Church was also declared to be "of great importance and much to be desired," and the deputies to the General Convention were instructed, "to promote that union by every prudent measure consistent with the Constitution of the Church, and the continuance of the episcopal succession in the English line."

In 1790 measures were taken to secure for "the support of a missionary or missionaries to fill the vacant congregations of the State," the property of the venerable society in Fort Hunter; and donations were solicited for the same purpose. A preamble and resolution respecting the articles of religion were adopted as follows:—

Whereas many respectable members of our Church are alarmed at the Articles of our religion not being inserted in the Book of Common Prayer: *Resolved*, That the Articles of the Church of England, as they now stand, except such parts thereof as affect the political government of the country, be held in full force and virtue, until a further provision is made by the General Convention, agreeably to the Eighth Article of the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.¹

In 1791 the Convention instructed its deputies "to vote for retaining the Thirty-nine Articles of religion as they now stand in the old Book of Common Prayer, without any alterations, except only such as are of a political nature." A motion to instruct the deputies to consent to investing the House of Bishops with a full negative on the proceedings of the other House was lost by a want of concurrence between the clergy and laity. In 1792 the bishop reported to the Convention the consecration of the Bishop of Maryland and the ordination of the Rev. Messrs. Harris, Ireland, Gardiner, Sands, and Rogers.² A general application to the venerable society was authorized for a grant of all its property, both real and personal, within the State to the corporation of Trinity Church in trust for the Convention. In 1793 the bishop reported the consecration of Christ Church at Duanesburg, erected solely at the expense of the Hon. James Duane, and a copy of the deed of gift, and the letter of consecration, are recorded on the pages of the journal.³ Another church had been consecrated at Ballston, and upwards of two hundred had been there confirmed. The application of the "Trustees of a Society, formerly members of Trinity Church, but since separated," for admission to Convention was rejected. The Convention at this time sat with closed doors. The bishop was requested "to exert the authority with which he is invested, as Head of the Church, to enforce obedience to all the canons, rules and regulations of the General and State Conventions, more particularly the canons which respect the conduct of clergymen." In 1797 the Rev. Thomas Ellison, Rector of St. Peter's, Albany, communicated to the Convention the interesting intelligence, "that some Lutheran clergymen had, in the name and on behalf of the Consistory of the

¹ Journal, etc., 1790.

² William Harris, ordained deacon, Oct. 16, 1791; John Ireland, ordained deacon, 1792; afterwards deposed. Walter C. Gardiner, ordained deacon, June 24, 1792; John Jackson Sands, ordained deacon, 1792.

Ammi Rogers, ordained deacon, June 20, 1792, afterwards deposed. *Vide* Bp. Burgess's "List of Persons ordained Deacon, from A.D. 1785; to A.D. 1857;" Boston, 1874.

³ Journal, etc., 1793.

Lutheran Church in the State of New York, intimated to him a desire to have it proposed to this Convention that their Church might be united with the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, and that their ministers might receive Episcopal ordination." A committee, of which the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore was chairman, was appointed "to meet such gentlemen of the Lutheran Church as may be duly appointed by their ecclesiastical authority to confer with them on the subject." Provision was made for bringing the matter, should it be found advisable, before the approaching General Convention, and the committee was instructed to report to the next State Convention. But, unfortunately for this scheme of comprehension, the meeting of the General Convention was deferred until 1799, in consequence of the prevalence of the yellow-fever, and no conventions were held in New York until the special Convention of 1801. At this session the sudden resignation of episcopal jurisdiction on the part of Bishop Provoost, which was made verbally and without previous announcement, occupied the attention of the members present, and nothing further appears on the records with respect to the comprehension of the Lutheran body in the Church. The resignation of Bishop Provoost was accepted by the Convention with the expression of their "regret that he should have judged himself under the necessity of quitting so suddenly the exercise of the episcopal office, and those solemn and important duties which are connected with it," and on the following day the Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, was unanimously chosen to the vacant episcopate.

Bishop Provoost had long been weary of the duties devolving upon him as a bishop of the Church of God. Chosen to his high office mainly on political grounds, after many years of voluntary retirement from the exercise of clerical duty, he failed from the outset to appreciate either the duties or the responsibilities of his station. Learned and benevolent, as he undoubtedly was; upright and inflexibly conscientious, as he showed himself to be, he lacked that warmth of devotion and that spirituality of life which would have conspicuously fitted him for leadership in the Christian Church. Accused, at an early period in his ministry, as we learn from his own correspondence, of "endeavoring to sap the foundations of Christianity," in consequence of his dwelling exclusively in his preaching on "the doctrines of morality," his lack of popularity seemed to have occasioned his removal to his farm in Dutchess county, in 1770, where he remained for fourteen years. His refusal of preferment under British or Tory influence, during the revolutionary struggle, and his well-known sympathy with the revolted colonies, formed his claim, on the evacuation of New York, to the rectorship of Trinity at the hands of the patriot churchmen of the city, and his subsequent election to the episcopate. But his love of ease, either constitutional or acquired during his university life in England, hindered that devotion to the duties of the parish or the see which the one demanded at this juncture quite as much as the other. As a preacher his delivery was monotonous and unimpassioned. Polished in style, and prepared with studious care, his discourses lacked warmth and fervor, and at a time

when infidelity was coming in as a flood, and laxity of doctrinal belief was too frequent in the mother land, as well as in our own, the Rector of Trinity was regarded as latitudinarian in belief, and far from sound in his teachings. In his depreciation of those who were chargeable with "placing such an unbounded reliance in the merits of Christ as to think their own endeavors quite unnecessary and not in the least available to salvation," he seems to have fallen far short of that recognition of the doctrine of justification, through Christ alone, which has been held by the Church of all time. In his correspondence with Bishop White he betrays his indifference to the Church's dogmatic teaching, while in his treatment of Bishop Seabury he displayed a degree of animosity which was not warranted by the circumstances of the case, and in which he was not supported by his clergy or people in general. At length, wearied with the burden that had become irksome, and bowed down with sorrow at the loss of his wife to whom he was tenderly attached, and by other afflictions, the saddest, perhaps, the heart can bear, he divested himself of all public offices of trust, and sought, in the retirement of private life, the consolation his wounded spirit craved. In his own language, as addressed to the presiding bishop, this step was "induced by ill-health and some melancholy occurrences in my family, and an ardent wish to retire from all public employment." The House of Bishops, while demurring at the validity of the resignation of the Bishop of New York, recognized in deed, though not in word, the necessity of making provision for the oversight of the Church in New York, and proceeded to consecrate his successor. They formally protested against the action of the bishop, and yet by their consecration of Bishop Moore showed their acquiescence in his course. They judged it inconsistent with the sacred trust committed to them to recognize the bishop's act as an effectual resignation of his episcopal jurisdiction, "but at the same time being sensible of the present exigencies of the Church of New York," and with a view of providing "for the actual discharge of the duties of the episcopacy," they professed their readiness to consecrate the choice of the Convention with the declaration that they should consider him as "assistant or coadjutor bishop during Bishop Provoost's life." The measure of the assistant bishop's jurisdiction, and the exercise of his episcopal office, was, according to the bishop's declaration, "to be dependent on such regulations as expediency may dictate to the Church in New York, founded on the indisposition of Bishop Provoost and with his concurrence." But the new bishop had not been chosen as an "assistant or coadjutor," but as "Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York"¹ His letter of consecration so recognized him, and there is nothing in the official or other records of the Convention to indicate that he was ever regarded as an "assistant or coadjutor" by the church over which he was placed. No reference to any other Bishop of New York appears on the pages of the journals, and when, after an episcopate of ten years, there was need of another bishop, it was, as

¹ Journal of Convention, 1801.

the diocesan, that Bishop Moore convened a Convention to elect, for the first time, an assistant bishop of New York. The Convention had, from the first, regarded the resignation of Bishop Provoost as final and complete. No attention was paid by the Convention to the stipulation of the bishops in their "declaration" requiring the concurrent action of Bishop Provoost and the Convention in determining the jurisdiction or measure of authority of Bishop Moore, and that bishop throughout his episcopate deemed himself to be, and was considered by others as, the "Head of the Church in New York."

Bishop Moore was scholarly in his tastes and acquirements, courteous in manner, and truly Christian in life and character. In private life he won all hearts by his gentleness and kindness, his consideration for others, and thoughtful attention to all who came within the circle of his acquaintance and friends. His daily walk and conversation was a comment on the truths he taught, and showed to all the presence and power of true religion in moulding and controlling the character and life.

In his public life he was preëminently a man of God. The expression of his countenance, venerable even in middle life, became saint-like with added years, while his "tall, slightly bending and attenuated figure, the intellectual contour of his head, the plain-parted hair," all "accorded well with the chastened tones of his voice and the mild fervor of his sentiments,"¹ and made up in his case what has been well styled an "apostolic character." Towards "those who were without" he "presented the Church in an aspect the most favorable to win their good opinion." As a churchman it was evident that "by the dignified gentleness" with which he maintained and defended the Church's doctrines, and "the consistent propriety" which characterized his ministerial and official course, he everywhere "disarmed opposition, conciliated prejudice, and went further than perhaps any other individual could then have done in recommending" the Church "to public respect and confidence." It was found by the Church's opponents that it was not easy "to speak evil of a Church thus spiritually adorned and meekly defended."²

Disabled by a partial paralysis in 1811, Bishop Moore convened a special Convention for the election of an assistant bishop. The choice was not unanimous, but by the votes of a majority of both orders John Henry Hobart, D.D., one of the clergy of Trinity Church, and the secretary of the Convention since his first election at the special Convention convened to receive the resignation of Provoost, was designated as the Assistant Bishop of New York.

The choice had fallen upon one who was destined to leave the impress of a strong character and the moulding and controlling influences of a mighty will upon the Church of his own and later days. His election was a turning-point in the history of the American Church; his episcopate was an epoch in the ecclesiastical annals of the Church at large. Sprung from a Puritan ancestry, displaying inflexibility of purpose, and possessing strong convictions of truth, the young

¹ Dr. McVickar in his "Professional Years of Bishop Hobart."

² *Ibid.*

Hobart inherited predilections for piety and the priestly and preacher's walk in life. His parents, on their removal to Philadelphia, had returned to the Church of their English forefathers, and the early youth of the great-hearted Bishop of New York was spent under the pastoral care, and with the friendly interest, of Bishop White. He was, as Bishop Wilberforce tells us, "a youth of the fairest promise; the joy and hope of his early widowed mother."¹ Studious and reflective, he was able to shun the seductive influences of his *alma mater*, Princeton, leading him to Presbyterianism on the one hand, and the attractions of a business life on the other. It was the guiding hand of God, we may not doubt, that led him in the full vigor of his early manhood to consecrate the ripeness of his judgment, the acquisitions of years of careful study, and the maturity of his intellectual powers to the service of the Church of Christ.

It was with deep humility that he entered upon his chosen life-work. In his own estimate of himself he was "far from thinking" that he was "qualified for the Ministry, either in mental or spiritual acquirements." He feared that his views were "not sufficiently pure for the Ministry;" but in the same breath he prayed that God might make him "the humble instrument of turning many to righteousness." "Sacred and awful will be my duties," he writes; "the grace of God can alone enable me to execute them." "Oh pray with me," he continues, "that I may have a single eye to His glory and the salvation of immortal souls; that He would subdue within me every desire of honor, emolument, or human praise; and that I may serve him with sincerity and truth."² Distrusting human systems of divinity he devoted himself to the study of the Bible, to form his theological opinions. In this he followed the advice of Bishop White and the teaching of "the Church whose ministry he sought," which has laid down no system of divinity, and imposes as the rule of faith nothing but the Holy Scriptures, "so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith." The young aspirant for the ministry had learned —

"To scorn delight,
And love laborious days,"

and it was in deep humility and after faithful, laborious toil that he presented himself for the grace of orders at the hands of the venerable man who had received him into Christ's Church at the first in unconscious infancy, and had given to him in his early manhood the seal of the Holy Spirit in confirmation. Ordained to the diaconate on Trinity Sunday, June 3, 1798, Mr. Hobart was assigned to the care of the churches of Trinity, Oxford, and All-Saints, Perkiomen, distant, the one about ten, and the other thirteen, miles from Philadelphia. Here he remained for a year, at the expiration of which he removed, first to New Brunswick, in New Jersey, and thence to Hempstead, on Long Island, giving promise in all his early ministry of the successes and

¹ History of the American Church, p. 299.

² Early Years of Bishop Hobart.

prominence of his after years. In the autumn of 1800 he was invited to become one of the assistant ministers of Trinity Church, in the city of New York, and ere the close of the year, he had, with his young bride, a daughter of the eminent Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D., exchanged his country home for one in the city, and had entered upon the busy and important career opening before him.

The parish with which the young deacon from Long Island was now connected was the most prominent in the land. With a corporate existence of upwards of a century, with endowments and revenues of great present and greater prospective value, and with a record of rectors and assistants chosen from among the most distinguished of the clergy of the land, the position was one of great prominence and promise. At the time of Mr. Hobart's election, Bishop Moore had



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been called to succeed to the rectorship made vacant by the resignation of Bishop Provoost. The choice of rector and assistant was made on the same day. Shortly afterwards, in 1801, Mr. Hobart was admitted to priest's orders.

This remarkable advancement for one so young was, doubtless, due to the reputation already acquired by Mr. Hobart as a pulpit orator. We are told that his voice was "deep, strong, and flexible," possessing "great compass, and varying with every expression of feeling." His enunciation was "always distinct and clear," though often "too rapid for the train of thought in ordinary minds." His manner was impassioned. His action was "unstudied, earnest, and expressive." In the judgment of a competent and candid critic, "his language, tone, and gestures, his delivery, kept pace with the promptings of a heart such as few possessed and all must love." It was "in the moral elements of the orator that his strength peculiarly lay." He had the power of enlisting the sympathies of his hearers, and, when once their attention

was riveted, and their interest secured by his enthusiasm and evident sincerity, his calm, even flow of argument won the assent of his auditor's judgment, and compelled the conviction that he was right. The theme of his preaching we may give in the words of a life-long friend, who says that "from the first day of his ministry among those committed to his care, he never ceased to preach unto them 'CHRIST Crucified,' the only Saviour of sinners, and to exhort them, 'even with tears,' to lay hold upon that salvation by entering into covenant with him in that Church which he had purchased with his blood."¹ "It was impossible," writes Archdeacon, afterward Bishop, Strachan,² "to hear him without becoming sensible of the infinite importance of the Gospel. He warned, counselled, entreated, and comforted with intense and powerful energy. . . . He appeared in the pulpit as a father anxious for the eternal happiness of his children—a man of God preparing them for their eternal warfare,—a herald from the other world, standing between the living and the dead, between heaven and earth, entreating perishing sinners in the most tender accents not to reject the message of reconciliation which the Son of the living God so graciously offered for their acceptance."

To the demands made upon his time by the pastoral work of Trinity, and the preparation of sermons, which, after the lapse of years are still in their printed form full of freshness and power, there were added the claims upon his care and attention growing out of his successful and continued authorship and the controversies on questions of church polity in which, through the agency of the press, he, "though dead, yet speaketh" for the Church of God. Neither in the preparation of the numerous volumes that appeared from his pen, or with his careful editing, nor in the bitter controversies, in which he was brought into conflict with the ablest and most learned men of the Presbyterian faith, did Mr. Hobart seek either the fame of authorship or the laurels of the successful disputant. His books were written and his controversial treatises prepared for the instruction of the people of his own church in their own doctrine and discipline, or for the defence of principles dearer to him than life itself. We need not tell in detail the story of these works, or recite the annals of the polemic strife in which the youthful champion of the Church measured his lance with the leading and most learned divines of the Presbyterian body. It is enough to give from the closing words of the "Apology for Apostolic Order," the memorable words which have served as a rallying cry for churchmen from the day they were written till our own time, and which may well be treasured as among the priceless legacies of the past for all time to come. "This banner is EVANGELICAL TRUTH AND APOSTOLIC ORDER. Firm and undaunted, I must summon to my sacred cause whatever powers nature (alas! too little cultivated by the laborious hand of study) has bestowed upon me; whatever ardor, whatever zeal, nature has extended in my bosom. But it were vain to rest here; I must arm

¹ Dr. McVickar in his "Professional Years of Bishop Hobart."

² A letter to the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edin-

burgh, on the life and character of the Right Rev. Dr. Hobart, Bishop of New York, North America.

myself by imploring the grace of Him whose Glory it is to make often the humblest instrument the victorious champion of truth."

It is through this treatise, and works of a similar nature, that, as his biographer well says, "the polity of the Church bears still his impress; being dead he yet speaketh." In these works Dr. Hobart, for he had received the doctorate in recognition of his intellectual power and successful authorship, stood forth as the champion of the distinctive principles of the Church. He was a churchman, not merely from preference, but from principle; his views were the result of conviction and not of chance prepossessions. In the department of Church apologetics he at once commanded respect by his strength of argument and earnestness of reasoning; while his mastery of the theme, and his ready and convincing advocacy of opinions then unpopular even within the pale of the Church itself, secured for Church teaching the respect of opponents and the warm support of friends. The work he did was done for all time. The assaults he so vigorously repelled, and the misrepresentations he so patiently corrected, were not repeated. The issues when made again were on other grounds. It was not alone in repelling attacks from without and in confirming the members of his own communion in the faith, that Dr. Hobart's tireless energy found exercise. As secretary of the House of Bishops, and of the diocesan Convention, and as a member of the standing committee of the diocese, his duties were multiplied. To these cares and occupations were added the inception and furtherance of measures for the promotion of theological education in the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Society. The object of this society, in which was the germ of the General Theological Seminary, was to promote "the advancement of its youthful members in theological knowledge, in practical piety, and in all those principles, duties, and dispositions, which may fit them for becoming orthodox, evangelical, and faithful ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church." The establishment in New York of a religious monthly periodical, for the advantage, and in the interest of the Church, was another matter in which Dr. Hobart took a deep interest, securing the removal to New York of "The Churchman's Magazine," which had maintained a lingering existence in New Haven, under the editorship of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., of Norwalk; and in undertaking the editorship of this valuable serial, which he continued to edit till his elevation to the episcopate. In 1809 Dr. Hobart was the originator and the chief promoter of the Bible and Common Prayer-book Society of New York, which, under a constitution from his facile pen, and commended to the confidence of the Church, in an address from the same source, attained, during the first year of its existence, an income of upwards of three thousand dollars, and remains to-day, after an active and useful career of more than three-quarters of a century, a monument to the far-seeing wisdom and devoted churchmanship of its founder and life-long friend. In the exercise of a wise care for the interests of Columbia College, Dr. Hobart displayed his sympathy with institutions of learning, and the policy he inaugurated and defended had much to do in preserving to the Church the rights which were hers by the charter and by

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charitable gifts. In the midst of the many strifes and contentions that of necessity attended the unshrinking avowal of his opinions, and the persistent following of a policy that disdained concealment, and was openly and professedly churchly and catholic, Dr. Hobart had the rare faculty of avoiding private or personal enmities. In his large-heartedness he could fight stoutly for the truth, as it was revealed to him, and yet be charitable towards those who were of different or opposite views, maintaining friendly relations even with those whose principles and policy he openly opposed.

It was in the midst of multiplied labors that the call to the episcopate came to him. He was ripe for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God. But difficulties, for a time seemingly insurmountable, arose to delay his consecration. Seabury had "fallen asleep" ere the ordination of the youth who was to carry on the work in the American Church, the first Bishop of Connecticut, had so well and wisely begun. Robert Smith, the first to receive the episcopate for the see of South Carolina, and Edward Bass and Samuel Parker, first and second Bishops of Massachusetts, had passed from earth. Bishop Benjamin Moore was incapacitated by paralysis from any public duty. Bishop Claggett, after severe illness, had attempted the journey to the North, but after proceeding a short distance had been compelled to return. Bishop Madison deemed his engagements as President of the College of William and Mary such as to preclude his

absence, even on so grave and important a business as the meeting of the Convention and the communication of the episcopate. There remained of the Episcopal College only the

Abraham Jarvis

Bishop of Pennsylvania, the venerable Dr. White, Dr. Jarvis of Connecticut, and Bishop Provoost, who for ten years had wholly withdrawn from the exercise of his office. Efforts were made to secure the attendance of Bishop Provoost at the Convention in New Haven at which the testimonials of Dr. Hobart and Dr. Alexander Viets Griswold, bishop-elect of the newly created Eastern diocese, were read and approved. But the effects of a previous stroke of paralysis, and the feebleness consequent upon a recent attack of severe illness, prevented the realization of the hopes that had been raised, and the General Convention of 1811 was held, as Bishop White informs us, "under very serious and well-founded apprehensions that the American Church would be again subjected to the necessity of having recourse to the mother-Church for the episcopacy; or else of continuing it without requiring the canonical number, which might be productive of great disorder in future." Then, on the rising of the Convention, and the coming of the Bishops of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, together with the bishops-elect to New York, "to the last hour there was danger of disappointment." Happily, after some delay, Bishop Provoost found himself strong enough to give his attendance, and the consecration took place in Trinity Church, on Wednesday, the 29th of May, 1811.

In the letter of consecration of Bishop Hobart there was an at-

tempt on the part of the bishops to define, of their own motion, the nature of the office to which he had been set apart, and to make his appointment consistent with the previous action of the house in choosing to regard Bishop Moore as an assistant or suffragan to Provoost. The language of the letter was carefully worded to imply that he had been elected "to assist the bishops of the Church" in New York "in the duties of the episcopal office, and to succeed in case of survivorship." That this was not the intention nor the action of the Convention the journals plainly show, and the question only became of importance in view of an unwise and futile effort of the first Bishop of New York to resume his authority as diocesan, as well as the exercise of his episcopal office. The circumstances attending this unfortunate complication may be briefly stated. The election to the episcopate of one so young in years, so pronounced in his views, and one, too, already a leader of opinion in the Church, as Dr. Hobart was, could not fail to call out opposition in quarters where personal jealousy was added to doctrinal antagonism. This hostility found expression in the attempt of one of the clergy of Trinity Church, the Rev. Cave Jones, in a pamphlet entitled "A Solemn Appeal to the Church," to prejudice the minds of churchmen in the diocese and elsewhere against his associate, and prove the unfitness of Dr. Hobart for the episcopate. The publication of this pamphlet, though failing to defeat the election of Dr. Hobart, "cast a firebrand into the Church which was not soon extinguished." Bishop Provoost, possibly recognizing in the new assistant bishop some of the qualities which in earlier days, as displayed in Seabury, had awakened his dislike, and occasioned his life-long animosity, asserted his dubious authority as "diocesan" to embarrass and annoy the new bishop, on whose head his hands had been so lately laid. This ill-advised claim was made in a communication addressed to the next annual Convention of the Church in New York, which bore date October 6, 1812, and was presented to the body to which it was addressed on the following day. This letter, to which the writer attached his signature as "Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, and diocesan of the same," thus expressed the Bishop's views :—

Brethren: This being the day appointed by our Church for your Convention, I think proper to address you.

You well know that in the year 1801 I proffered to the State Convention a resignation of my jurisdiction as Bishop of this Diocese, and that immediately afterwards I communicated to the General Convention, then in session at Trenton, information of the step I had taken. For a long time I fully believed that my act of resignation was recognized as effectual. But having some time since become acquainted with the proceedings of the State and General Conventions, in relation to this subject, and feeling a due respect for the sentiments of the General Convention, so strongly and decisively expressed in the resolution of the House of Bishops of the 7th of

Abraham C. B. Hornwell

September, 1801, I think it my duty to inform you, that though it has not pleased God to bless me with health that will enable me to discharge all the duties of a Diocesan, and for that reason I cannot now attend the Convention; yet I am ready to act in deference to the resolution above mentioned, and to concur in any regulations which expediency may dictate to the Church; without which concurrence I am, after the resolution of the House of Bishops, bound to consider every Episcopal act as unauthorized.¹

It was a pitiful instance of "the feebleness of age, being abused to the purposes of personal ambition, intrigue, or schism."²

The response of the Convention to this extraordinary claim was able and convincing. The adoption was nearly unanimous, no clerical vote being recorded against it, and but two of the smaller parishes opposing the general temper of the Church. This paper, which recites the case with clearness and logical exactness, was as follows:—

Whereas by the Constitution of the Church the right of electing the Bishops thereof is vested in, and appertains to the Convention of this State: And whereas the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church as the Diocesan thereof may be resigned, although the spiritual character or order of the Bishop is indelible; and such resignation, when the same is accepted by the Convention, creates a vacancy in the office of Diocesan Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State: And whereas the Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, D.D., being then the Diocesan Bishop of the said Church in this State, did, on the third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, resign his Episcopal jurisdiction of this Diocese to the Convention of the said Church in this State; and the said Convention did on the next day accept the said resignation, and on the following day proceeded to the choice, by ballot, of a person to succeed the said Diocesan Bishop; and thereupon the Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D., was unanimously chosen by the Clergy and Laity, and received from them, as Bishop-elect of the Church, the testimonial required by the Canon of the General Convention: And whereas the said Benjamin Moore was, on the eleventh day of the said month of September, rightly and canonically consecrated into the office of Bishop of the said Church, and from that time hath exercised the powers and jurisdiction of a Diocesan Bishop in this State: And whereas this Convention hath been given to understand that doubts have been entertained whether the office and jurisdiction of Diocesan Bishop became vacant by the said resignation and acceptance thereof, and whether the said Benjamin Moore was of right the Diocesan Bishop of the said Church in this State by virtue of the election and consecration herein before mentioned: And whereas this Convention hath further understood that since the last Convention the said Bishop Provoost hath assumed, and by his letter this day read in Convention, does claim the title and character of Diocesan Bishop: Now, therefore, in order to obviate the said doubts, and with a view to restore and preserve the peace and order of the Church, this Convention doth hereby resolve and declare,

That the Right Rev. Samuel Provoost, from and immediately after the acceptance of his resignation by the Convention of the Church in this State, ceased to be the Diocesan Bishop thereof, and could no longer exercise the functions or jurisdiction appertaining to that office; that having ceased to be the Diocesan Bishop as aforesaid, he could neither resume nor be restored to that character by any act of his own or of the General Convention, or either of its Houses, without the consent and participation of the said State Convention, which consent and participation the said Bishop Provoost has not obtained; and his claim to such character is therefore unfounded.

And further this Convention doth declare and resolve that the spiritual order of Bishop having been canonically conferred upon the said Benjamin Moore, he became thereby, in consequence of the said previous election, *ipso facto*, and of right, the Diocesan Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, and as such, well entitled to all the jurisdiction and pre-eminence belonging to that

¹Journal of Convention of New York, 1812.

²Dr. McVickar, in his "Professional Years of Bishop Hobart."

office, and which have been, and may be, canonically exercised by him personally, or through his coadjutor, in the said character.

And this Convention, in their own names, and for the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, do hereby solemnly declare and acknowledge the said Benjamin Moore, and no other person, to be their true and lawful Diocesan Bishop, and that respect and obedience ought of right to be paid to him as such.¹

It would appear that this well digested paper, discriminating so clearly between the spiritual authority or mission conferred by consecration, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction given by the action of the Church assembled in its legislative capacity, and acting in Convention, was the production of the bishop whose official rights it vindicated so conclusively. The personal controversy with his fellow-assistant at Trinity was shortly disposed of, the vestry of the parish requiring the resignation of Mr. Jones. On the refusal of the unhappy man to submit to this action he was finally suspended from the exercise of the ministry by Bishop Moore. From this penalty he was subsequently relieved on his final, though late, compliance with the requisition of the vestry, and his after years of devotion in another sphere of duty served to redeem the unwise course of his early life.

The episcopate begun in the midst of much trial and turmoil, knew no cessation of labor, no lessening of efforts for the Church during its term of nineteen years. From 1813 the care of the diocese was wholly in his hands, the state of Bishop Moore's health preventing him from rendering any assistance to his younger brother, and his implicit confidence in the good judgment of Bishop Hobart keeping him from interfering in his administration. With the exception of a visit to England, to which he had been driven after twelve years of almost ceaseless labor, the life of the bishop was wholly devoted to his work as rector of a large parish, and bishop of a see constantly increasing, in its rapid development, its demands upon his time, his thoughts, his prayers.

It was a principle of Bishop Hobart, in his administration, to depend largely on organized effort, and with his approval and under his guidance there arose, one after another, a number of church societies, having in view provision for the varied objects of Christian benevolence. Thus, the Bible and Prayer-book Society, founded in 1809, was succeeded by the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society, in 1810, and this by the Young Men's Auxiliary Bible and Prayer-book Society, the New York Sunday-school Society, the Missionary Society, the Education Society, the Protestant Episcopal Press, and a number of other associations, binding together the church workers of the diocese in united and harmonious efforts for the Church's advance.

Of these organizations the bishop was the official head, and in each case he took a lively personal interest in their proceedings, and secured their efficient support by his sanction and praise. In fact, it was not his wont to neglect or despise any opportunity, however humble, for doing good to men or for promoting the advantage of the Church of Christ. With his happily-conceived maxim of "the union of evangelical truth with apostolic order" animating his pulpit efforts

¹ Journal of Convention of New York, 1812, pp. 12, 13.

and his published works, he toiled incessantly. It was his privilege to "see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied." The Church in New York and throughout the land awoke to a new life. The clergy increased in numbers and in devotion. The laity were the more fully instructed in the distinctive principles of the kingdom of God. The assaults of opponents were repelled with a vigor and a success that left little encouragement for a renewal of the strife. Charities were called forth and fostered. Strength and eminent advantage were found in associated efforts for good. It was the day of the Church's growth and glory.

At the General Convention of 1826 a proposition, unanimously adopted by the House of Bishops, was presented to the House of Deputies "for the shortening of the service in sundry particulars."¹ This proposition, which Bishop White informed us "produced a great excitement in the minds of many of the members," was the production of the Bishop of New York.

In his address to the Diocesan Convention of New York, the following year, Bishop Hobart, as the original mover of these resolutions, felt called upon to undertake their defence. As an authoritative exposition of the end desired in pressing these alterations and additions, we present in full that portion of the bishop's address that relates to the subject:—

Certain resolutions of the last General Convention, on the subject of the Liturgy, will be laid before you. The Article of the General Constitution of our Church requiring all alterations in the Liturgy to be proposed at one General Convention, submitted to the Diocesan Conventions, and finally acted on at a subsequent General Convention, is admirably calculated to secure our invaluable Liturgy from hasty and injudicious alterations. There is no necessity however that the Diocesan Conventions should act upon these alterations. And my own opinion is, that the most proper place for their discussion is in the General Convention, which alone can definitely determine concerning them. It is proper, however, that you should receive all the information which I can afford, of the nature and the reasons of these proposed alterations, not only from the great importance of every measure which involves, in any degree, that Liturgy, so deservedly and devotedly cherished as the distinguishing excellence of our Church, and the great safeguard of rational and primitive religion, but especially from the misapprehensions which exist on this subject.

What are the alterations proposed? On this subject, I would adopt the language of a Right Rev. Brother, and say, that *strictly speaking*, there are no alterations of the Liturgy contemplated; that is, there are to be no omissions of any parts of the Liturgy, nor a different arrangement of them. As a whole, the Liturgy remains as it now is. There is no omission, or alteration, or different arrangement of the *Prayers* of the Morning and Evening service; they are to remain as they now are. The alterations respect merely the *Psalms*, and the *Lessons*, and the *proportions* of them which are to be read. At present, the Psalms for the day, or one of the Selections, must be read. It is proposed, that the Minister may be allowed, not compelled, to take, instead of the Psalms for the day, or one of the Selections, any one of the Psalms, which shall be said or sung. At present he is compelled to read for Sundays, for holy days, and for all other days, the Lessons from Holy Scripture, as prescribed in the Calendar. It is proposed, that, still confined on Sundays and holy days to the prescribed Lessons, he may, at his discretion, read a part, not less than 15 verses, instead of the whole: and on other days, when there is not daily service, he *may*, at his discretion, select other Lessons from Scripture than those prescribed. At present, according to the construction which some clergymen (in my judgment most erroneously) put upon a ru-

¹ Bishop White's Memoirs, 2d ed., p. 52.

bric at the end of the Communion Service, they conceive themselves at liberty to omit using the Ten Commandments, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, which are usually denominated the Ante-Communion Service. It is proposed that the rubric be so altered as to preclude all cavil, and to render the use of the Ante-Communion service imperative. These are all the alterations proposed in the usual Morning and Evening Service. And hence you will perceive how erroneous are the notions, which to a certain extent have prevailed, that the Lessons for Sundays and holy days are left entirely to the discretion of the Minister, and that the Liturgy is to be mutilated as to its parts, or altered in its admirable Prayers and Collects. These remain as at present. On Sundays and holy days the Lessons, as now prescribed, are to be used; the discretion applies only to the proportion of each Lesson.

In the *Confirmation Office* it is proposed not to substitute another preface and another prayer, instead of those now used, but to allow the Bishop, at his discretion to use another preface and another prayer, retaining all the substantial parts of the former.

These are all the alterations proposed. The next inquiry is, what good object is contemplated by these proposed alterations? The abbreviation of the Liturgy by law, so as to remove all reason for abbreviating it contrary to law, the admitting, in certain cases, of more appropriate Lessons—the securing the use of the Ten Commandments, Collect, Epistle and Gospel—and the rendering the preface to the Confirmation Service more full and more adapted to the state of things in this country; and the preventing of misunderstanding as to certain expressions in one of the prayers in this office.

A still further question occurs—are these objects of sufficient importance to justify the proposed alterations?

In the first place as to the abbreviation of the service: it is a fact well known, that the service of the Church, whether with or without good reason, is deemed by many too long—by some too who are unfeignedly attached to it, and who would be most unwilling to give up any of its valuable features, or to assail with the hand of rude innovation, this invaluable standard of faith and devotion. This sentiment prevails the more from the circumstance that the congregations which have been formed (as they will continue to be formed) among us consist almost altogether of those who have not been accustomed to our religious institutions, but who, attached to our doctrines, to our Episcopal ministry, and also to our form of worship, yet deem the latter too long, constituted as human nature is, for the purpose of edification. And even in our older congregations this sentiment more or less prevails, as appears by the fact that, with very few exceptions, the clergy avail themselves of the discretion of omitting certain parts of the service. But the evil, and surely it is a great one, is, that from the alleged plea of immoderate length of the service, parts of it are omitted in many congregations, and in some other places where it is adhered to, obstacles are thus raised to the establishment or increase of our Church. To sacrifice to these circumstances any essential part of our Liturgy would be, I would say, not merely an unwise, but a most criminal policy; for our object should be not *numbers merely* but *purity of principle*, and the sacred preservation of those institutions which so many considerations bind on our judgments and our hearts. But if, by allowing the abbreviations of the portion of Psalms and the Lessons, the service may be so abridged as to remove, in part at least, the objections to it, from its length, and the alleged reasons for unlicensed alterations of it, and thus to conciliate more general regard for it, and to secure it from the imminent danger of individual innovation: surely these are objects of correct, and even of necessary legislation.

Another end to be accomplished by these proposed alterations, is the admitting in certain cases of more appropriate Lessons. On other days than Sundays or holy days, the inconvenience must have been sensibly felt by those who have attended weekly prayers, and other occasions of service, of the clergy being confined to the Lessons in the Calendar. If, from the inconvenience being thus extreme, they now take the liberty of selecting, on these weekly occasions of worship, their own lessons, they act without authority, and contrary to law; and it is now proposed to sanction by law, a discretion which thus seems necessary, but which is always dangerous when unlicensed.

A further object to be accomplished by these alterations, is the securing the use of the Ante-Communion Service—the Ten Commandments, Epistle, and Gospel.

Of the propriety and the utility of this part of our service one would think there could be no doubt. The solemn enunciation by the minister of the divine code of

moral duty, as spoken by God himself accompanied after each commandment by the humble supplication of the people for pardon and grace, must tend most powerfully to excite and cherish the principles and sentiments of religion and morals. And the appropriate and judicious selections of Scripture, constituting the Epistles and Gospels, are most admirably adapted to exhibit and enforce the great truths of redemption, and the whole circle of the Christian virtues. And yet this excellent and impressive part of our service is often omitted. The omission is attempted to be justified by the rubric at the end of the Communion Service. Erroneous as this construction undoubtedly is, yet, as it is maintained, it would seem that there could be no doubt of the propriety of authoritatively settling this question by the alteration of the rubric. To this, indeed, some who are opposed to allowing any discretion as to the Psalms and Lessons have no objection; but let them consider, whether, even if they could obtain the one measure without the other, it would not be more conciliatory, and render the latter measure more effectual, by the adoption of the other. The common plea for the omission of the Ante-Communion Service, from the length of the whole service, would then be removed, by permission to omit portions of nearly equal length with it, in the Psalms and Lessons.

With regard to the *Confirmation* Service, the present preface seems imperfect in not stating the authority on which the ordinance rests; and is felt to be inappropriate, when, as is the case generally in our country congregations, those confirmed are principally adult persons. The expressions in one of the prayers, applied to those who are to be confirmed, that God has "regenerated them," &c., are, when correctly understood, justified by Scripture and the authority of the primitive church; but they are misunderstood, and the cause of considerable cavil and difficulty. It is not proposed to omit the expressions, or to alter the prayer containing them, but merely to allow the use of another prayer in which these expressions are retained, but in connection with explanatory words.

There is no accounting for the different views which individuals of equally sound judgment and honest minds will take of the same subject—but, really, the objects to be accomplished by these proposed alterations appear to me to be so desirable, and the alterations so reasonable and judicious, that I have felt great and increasing surprise at the opposition to them. I hope and pray that this opposition may in no respect be influenced by a desire to retain the plea of necessity for altering the Liturgy in consequence of its length, that thus "individual license may have no bounds." But, without doubt, the opposition is dictated in many by considerations entitled to the highest respect—their attachment to the Liturgy, and their fears of innovation. Of my devoted attachment to that Liturgy, I think I have given the fullest evidence; and so far from desiring, for my own gratification, to shorten it, I rarely avail myself of the discretionary rubrics. To secure it from hasty and injudicious alterations, unless my memory deceives me, I proposed the present article of the Constitution, which requires that no alterations shall be made in it, which have not been adopted in one General Convention, made known to the different Diocesan Conventions, and finally adopted in a subsequent General Convention. Here, surely, is full security for our invaluable Liturgy. This provision of the constitution cannot be altered but by the same process of the alteration being proposed in one General Convention, made known to the Diocesan Conventions, and adopted in a subsequent General Convention. Without such a provision, the Liturgy might be endangered by hasty and injudicious alterations. With this provision, its most solicitous friends need not fear for it. There will be, with such a provision, extreme difficulty in altering the Liturgy under any circumstances. Their fears, I humbly conceive, should arise from a different source—from the *unlicensed* alterations in the Liturgy which are now practised; which mar its beauty and effect; which must diminish the sacred veneration with which it should be cherished, and which thus most seriously endanger it.

How are these alarming innovations to be arrested? By remonstrance and admonition? These have been tried in vain. By the strong arm of authority? But is this an easy or a wise course? When the service is felt and admitted by so many persons to be too long, public sentiment and general practice will, more or less, sanction abbreviations in it. Under such circumstances the exercise of discipline, if not imprudent, would at least be difficult. Would it not be wiser to remove, as far as possible, the reasons, real or feigned, for these violations of law, and then to enforce it? Would not such a course be pursued in a civil government? Is it not eminently proper in an ecclesiastical one?

It may be said, that they who now alter the service will continue to do it, even

after the proposed abbreviations are adopted, — if they do not respect law at one time, they will not at another. But, let it be remembered, law can be enforced with more salutary effect, and with less odium, when it has been accommodated, as far as possible, without departure from essential principles, to those circumstances which are urged as a plea for violating it.

Those who now omit parts of the service, on account of its length, will have no reason to do so when it is by law abbreviated. And those who will still be lawless may then be most reasonably subjected to ecclesiastical discipline.

Will it be asserted that the proposed abbreviations are so short that they will not satisfy those who now object to the length of the service? In many cases, doubtless, the Lessons are short; but in many others they are so long, that by judiciously abridging them and the Psalms, a portion of time will be gained nearly equal to that which would be occupied in the use of the Ante-Communion Service. By the abbreviations now allowed, by the omission of the Gloria Patri in certain cases, and of a part of the Litany, but little time is saved; and yet it seems generally to be deemed of importance to save that time.

It ought to be a strong recommendation of these proposed alterations, as far as the Morning and Evening Prayer are concerned, that these services will not appear to our congregations in a different form from what they now do. The Psalms will still be read, but the portion need not be so long — the Lessons will still be read, but in some cases abbreviated, and on week days changed from those appointed in the Calendar — a circumstance which will not be apt to be noticed by the congregation. And all this is discretionary; for those who prefer using the whole portion of Psalms and the entire Lessons may do so.

Is this discretion objected to, as destroying the uniformity of the service? But who alleges that the discretion which now exists, as to the omission, in certain cases, of the Gloria Patri, and a part of the Litany, seriously destroys the uniformity of the Liturgy? And yet these variations are more striking than those in the contemplated alterations.

Uniformity is, indeed, most seriously destroyed in the present state of things. The liberty is taken, in many cases, to alter the Liturgy, to omit parts of it, and especially the Ante-Communion Service. Such a state of things must endanger not only the Liturgy but the authority and integrity of the Church. It is not one of its least evils, that it increases the causes of disunion, and leads to criminations and recriminations of a most painful description. The evil of this state of things was deeply felt by those, who, in the last General Convention, advocated the proposed alterations in the Liturgy as the best mode of remedying it.

In the remarks which I have made, I have no desire of exciting a discussion of this subject in this Diocesan Convention. The whole matter will best be left to the wisdom of our General ecclesiastical council, which only can definitely act upon it. And if the important and essential objects sought to be accomplished by the proposed alterations, can be attained by any other mode, liable to fewer objections, and more generally acceptable, I shall heartily rejoice. — pp. 18-25, *Journal of N. Y. Convention.* 1827.

After the address of Bishop Hobart to the Convention of his diocese, the secretary laid before the Convention the resolutions of the General Convention; but, agreeably to the view entertained by the bishop, no action was taken upon them in New York.

In 1823 Bishop Hobart visited the Old World, returning to New York in October, 1825. Abroad he received no little attention as a well-known and highly esteemed representative of the Church in the United States. His return was marked by an enthusiastic greeting, in which old and new friends vied with each other to

Benj.ⁿ Moore
F. B. Chandler
J. H. Hobart

prove their appreciation and admiration of so eminent and distinguished a man.

His remaining years were spent in assiduous devotion to his official duties. The Church was growing on every side; controversies were quieted; opposition had been disarmed. His visitations were yearly becoming more onerous; but with great vigor of constitution, and renewed health and strength, he unweariedly pursued his work till there came suddenly, the world thought, but not too suddenly for him, the summons to depart and be with Christ. He died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, at Auburn, N.Y., while on a visitation to the western part of the State; and in his death there was gathered to his rest and reward a "faithful and valiant 'Soldier of Christ,' who, on all occasions, stood forth as the able and intrepid champion of the Church of God."

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

WE append, as a most important portion of the history, both of the Church and its liturgical revision, the original resolutions offered by Bishop Hobart, and the action of the General and Diocesan Conventions thereon:—

Journal of General Convention. 1826.

House of Bishops. Nov. 11th, 1826. Present, Bishops White, Hobart, Griswold, Kemp, Croes, P. Chase, Ravenscroft, and Brownell.

On motion of the Right Rev. Bishop Hobart,

Resolved, that the House of Bishops propose the following preambles and resolutions to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies:

The House of Bishops, deeply solicitous to preserve unimpaired the Liturgy of the Church, and yet desirous to remove the reasons alleged, from the supposed length of the service, for the omission of some of its parts, and particularly for the omission of that part of the communion office which is commonly called the *ante-communion* office, do *unanimously* propose to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies the following resolutions, to be submitted to the several State Conventions, in order to be acted upon at the next General Convention, agreeably to the eighth article of the Constitution.

1. *Resolved*, That in "The Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read," the following be added to the fourth paragraph, "or any other psalm or psalms, except on those days on which proper psalms are appointed:"—so that the whole paragraph will read as follows: "The minister, instead of reading from the Psalter as divided for daily morning and evening prayer, may read one of the selections set out by this Church, or any other psalm or psalms, except on those days on which 'proper psalms' are appointed."

2. *Resolved*, That in "The order how the rest of the holy Scripture is appointed to be read," the following be inserted after the fifth paragraph: "The minister may, at his discretion, instead of the entire lessons, read suitable portions thereof, not less than fifteen verses. And on other days than Sundays and holy days, in those places where morning and evening prayer is not daily used, he may read other portions of the Old and New Testament, instead of the prescribed lessons; it being recommended that unless circumstances render it inexpedient, on the stated prayer days of Wednesdays and Fridays, the lessons for those days, or for one of the intervening days, be read."

The bishops, in the use of the office of confirmation, finding that the preface is frequently not well suited to the age and character of those who are presented for this holy ordinance, *unanimously* propose the following resolution:—

3. *Resolved*, That after the present preface in the office of Confirmation, the following be inserted to be used instead of the former, at the discretion of the bishop: "It appears from holy Scripture, that the apostles laid their hands on those who were baptized: and this ordinance, styled by the apostle Paul, the 'laying on of hands,' and ranked by him among the principles of the doctrine of Christ, has been retained in the church, under the name of *Confirmation*; and is very convenient, and proper to be observed, to the end that persons being sufficiently instructed in what they promised, or what was promised for them in their baptism, and being, in other respects, duly qualified, may themselves with their own mouth and consent, openly before the church, ratify and confirm the same, and also promise, that by the grace of God, they will evermore endeavor themselves faithfully to observe such things as they, by their own confession, have assented unto."

And to correct the injurious misapprehension, as to the meaning of certain terms, in the first collect in the office of confirmation, the bishops *unanimously* propose the following resolution:—

4. *Resolved*, That after the first collect in the office of confirmation, the following be inserted, to be used at the discretion of the bishop, instead of the first collect: "Almighty and everlasting God, who hast vouchsafed, in baptism, to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost; thus giving them a title to all the blessings of thy covenant of grace and mercy, in thy Son Jesus Christ, and now dost graciously confirm unto them, ratifying the promises then made, all their holy privileges; grant unto them, we beseech thee, O Lord, the renewing of the Holy Ghost; strengthen them with the power of this divine Comforter; and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the spirit of knowledge and true godliness, and fill them, O Lord, with the spirit of thy holy fear, now and forever. Amen."

And whereas, in the opinion of the Bishops, there is no doubt as to the obligation of ministers to say, on all Sundays and other holy days, that part of the communion office which is commonly called the ante-communion, yet as the practice of some of the clergy is not conformable to this construction of the rubric on this point, the House of Bishops propose the following resolution:—

5. *Resolved*, That the following be adopted as a substitute for the first sentence in the rubric, immediately after the communion office: "On all Sundays and other holy days, shall be said, all that is appointed at the Communion, unto the end of the Gospel, concluding divine service, in all cases when there is a sermon or communion, and when there is not, with the blessing."

Journal of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

November 11, 1826.

A message was received from the House of Bishops proposing certain alterations respecting the reading of the Psalter and Lessons; certain additions to the office of Confirmation; and a change in the rubric at the head of the Communion office.

Resolved, that the above message lie on the table, and be printed.

Nov. 14, 1826.

The resolutions received from the House of Bishops on Saturday, respecting certain changes in the order for reading the Psalter and Lessons, in the office of Confirmation, and in the rubric at the end of the communion service, were then called up for consideration.

A resolution was offered that the consideration of the subject be indefinitely postponed; and lost.

The House adjourned until nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

Nov. 15, 1826.

The resolutions received from the House of Bishops on the subject of the Psalter, &c., being under consideration, it was moved to postpone the consideration of them for the purpose of considering the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, the House of Bishops concurring, that a joint committee to consist of—— Bishops, and three Clerical and three Lay Delegates of this House, be appointed, to which committee shall be referred the proposed alterations in the Liturgy; and that the said committee report such alterations therein, if any, as

they may deem expedient, in such form as will admit of their being acted upon by the next convention."

A division of this resolution being called for, the question was put on the resolution to postpone; and it was lost.

A resolution was then offered to divide the message of the Bishops, so as to consider each resolution by itself; and lost.

Whereupon the question was put upon the whole of the resolutions as received from the House of Bishops; and the ayes and noes being called for, they stood as follows:—

Ayes. The Rev. Mr. Bronson, the Rev. Mr. Smith, the Rev. Mr. Cutler, the Rev. Mr. N. S. Wheaton, the Rev. Mr. Butler, the Rev. Dr. Lyell, the Rev. Dr. Onderdonk, the Rev. Mr. Clark, the Rev. Dr. Wharton, the Rev. Mr. Morehouse, the Rev. Mr. Kemper, the Rev. Mr. Montgomery, the Rev. Mr. Clay, the Rev. Mr. Presstman, the Rev. Mr. Williston, the Rev. Dr. Wyatt, the Rev. Mr. Henshaw, the Rev. Mr. Jackson, the Rev. Dr. Wilmer, the Rev. Mr. Meade, the Rev. Mr. McGuire, the Rev. Mr. Hatch, the Rev. Mr. Avery, the Rev. Mr. Carter, Mr. Codman, Mr. Newton, Mr. A. Jones, Mr. Jackson, Judge Williams, Mr. Binney, Mr. Stiles, Mr. Read, Judge Johns, Mr. Key, Mr. Tilghman, Mr. Eccleston, Dr. Berkeley, Mr. Nelson, Mr. G. Jones. — 39.

Noes. The Rev. Mr. Boyle, the Rev. Mr. Croswell, the Rev. Mr. Burhans, the Rev. Mr. Sherwood, the Rev. Mr. Croes, the Rev. Mr. Dunn, the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, the Rev. Mr. Green, the Rev. Mr. R. S. Mason, the Rev. Mr. H. M. Mason, the Rev. Dr. Gadsden, the Rev. Mr. Barlow, the Rev. Mr. Adams, the Rev. Mr. Morse, the Rev. Mr. Muller, Mr. Boardman, Mr. Clark, Mr. Meredith, Colonel Drayton. — 19.

And so it was *Resolved*, That this House concur in the resolutions of the House of Bishops.

Journal of the House of Bishops.

November 15, 1826.

A message was received from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, stating that the House had concurred in the resolutions of the House of Bishops respecting the Liturgy.

The action of the dioceses on these important resolutions forms one of the most interesting chapters of our legislative history. We give it in full as collected from the various journals and other official documents to which we have obtained access, premising that this action is for the first time brought together and put in print in our pages.

Bishop R. C. Moore of Virginia was absent from the session of the General Convention of 1826, but his opposition to the proposed alterations is most forcibly expressed in the following extract from his address to the Convention the following year:—

"The Secretary, Brethren, will produce to the Convention, a letter from the Secretary of the General Convention, on the subject of certain proposed alterations in the Liturgy of the Church. It is my duty to mention not only to the members of this Convention, but also to the members of the Church throughout the Diocese of Virginia, the fears with which my mind is impressed on this important subject. The Church has hitherto prospered in the use of the Liturgy, as it has been handed down to us by our fathers. That uniformity of worship which has distinguished us as a society, should the proposed alterations be carried into effect, will be destroyed. Instead of uniting in the same devotional exercises, as we hitherto have done, every clergyman will have it in his power to select his own lessons, and to read such portions of the Psalms of David as he pleases—by which means the public worship of God in these particulars will be as various as the constitution of our minds. The old members of the Church, who have been taught to view the Liturgy through a medium the most sacred, will be grieved. The guards to uniformity being once removed, one innovation will succeed another, until the people will lose that reverence for our incomparable services by which they have been actuated, and the Church receive the most vital injury.

"When we reflect upon the general esteem in which the Liturgy is viewed by the reflecting and considerate of other denominations, our opinion of its excellence should be strengthened and increased. The celebrated Dr. Clarke of the Methodist Society has declared, that the Liturgy of the Church is second to no volume, except the sacred writings: and the Rev. Robert Hall of the Baptist Society has expressed himself in similar language. To touch a matter of so much consequence without the deepest reflection—to alter a service of such acknowledged worth, without years of prayerful consideration, should not be ventured on. When we enter the threshold of this inquiry, we should take the shoes from off our feet, as the ground whereon we tread is holy ground. The Church in Virginia will never be induced, I trust and pray, to depart from her prescribed forms; but will defend the Liturgy in all its integrity, and prove to the Christian world that we reverence the opinions of our fathers; and are satisfied with that system of doctrine which they venerated, and which they so highly valued.

"Such, brethren, are the outlines of the views I entertain of the contemplated measure: I should have considered myself deficient in duty to the Church committed to my care by you, and by Heaven, did I not raise my warning voice in behalf of the Liturgy, and thus express the fears which have disturbed my quiet."

May 17, 1827.

The Secretary then presented to the Convention the following letter received by him from the Secretaries of the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies:—

To the Secretary of the Convention of the Diocese of Virginia, &c., &c.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the said letter be referred to a select committee.

The President then appointed the Rev. Henry W. Ducachet, M.D., the Rev. William H. Hart, the Rev. Remond Keith, Mr. Hugh Nelson, Mr. John Gray, Mr. Robert E. Steed, and Mr. Gerrard Alexander, on said committee.

May 19, 1827.

The Special Committee, to whom were referred the communications from the Secretaries of the House of Bishops and of the House of Clerical and Lay Delegates, to the Secretary of this Convention, presented a report.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the said report be laid on the table.

No further action upon these resolutions was taken until the Convention of May, 1829; when, The following report of the Committee to whom was referred the communication from the Secretaries of the House of Bishops and of the House of Clerical and Lay Delegates, upon the proposed alterations of the Liturgy, made to the Convention held in Fredericksburg, in the year 1827, was called up, read, and on motion, referred to the Committee of the Whole.

The Committee to whom was referred a communication from the Secretaries of the House of Bishops and of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, under date of the 20th of December, 1826, report that they have attentively considered the subjects referred to them, and that they have unanimously agreed to recommend to the Convention the adoption of the following resolutions:—

1. *Resolved*, That any alterations in "the Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read," or in "the Order how the rest of the Holy Scripture is appointed to be read," are, in the opinion of this Convention, uncalled for by the state of the Church, and entirely inexpedient.

2. *Resolved*, That the present preface to the Confirmation Office, having been so long in use, without being the subject of frequent or great complaint, the proposed substitute for it is uncalled for and inexpedient.

3. *Resolved*, That as the proposed Collect in the Confirmation Office seems to take for granted the truth of a doctrine, about which some differences of opinion prevail in the Church, and seems to have a tendency to produce dissatisfaction in the minds of some, and perhaps to lead to still further controversy, it is uncalled for and inexpedient.

4. *Resolved*, That, whereas the rubric immediately after the communion service appears, as it now stands, to be sufficiently explicit, and the proposed alteration in it seems to be intimately connected with the foregoing proposed changes, it is equally uncalled for and inexpedient.

5. *Resolved*, That, as this Convention disapproves of the proposed alterations, the delegation from this Diocese to the General Convention be instructed to use their exertions to prevent their adoption.

All of which is respectfully reported; by order of the Committee.

HENRY W. DUCACHET, *Chairman*.

The House then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, the Rev. Mr. Hatch in the chair, and after some time spent therein, the Committee rose, reported progress, and asked leave to sit again, which, on motion, was granted.

Thursday afternoon, May 21, 1829.

The House again, on motion, resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, the Rev. Mr. Hatch in the chair; and after some time spent therein, rose, and reported the following preamble and resolutions, as a substitute for the report of the Committee, to them referred:—

The Convention of this Diocese having had under long and serious consideration the proposed alterations in the rubric relative to the order of our service and also to the proposed additions to the confirmation service, is constrained to express *its dissent* from the proposed changes; believing that they are not likely to effect that most desirable end contemplated by the advocates of the same;

Therefore, Resolved, That, zealously attached to the Book of Common Prayer and other offices of our Church, this Convention is desirous that no alteration should take place in the same at this time.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the report of the Committee of the Whole be for the present laid upon the table.

Friday, May 22, 1829.

The report of the Committee of the Whole was taken up, and, on the question being put upon agreeing to the same, it was carried in the affirmative.

Resolved, That the Secretary do transmit certified copies of the Resolutions adopted by this Convention upon the proposed alterations of the Liturgy, etc., to the Secretaries of the House of Bishops and of the House of Clerical and Lay Delegates.

Passing from Virginia to Maryland, we find reference made to the proposed alterations in the opening address of the Rev. Wm. E. Wyatt, D.D., the President of the Convention of June, 1829:—

"It is no doubt within the recollection of this body that certain changes in the Liturgy of the Church were proposed for consideration at the last meeting of the General Convention. As the General Convention, which will be required to decide upon the expediency of these changes, is expected to meet in the ensuing August, it may now be suggested that it remains for this Convention either to determine upon instructing their delegates to confirm or reject the proposed alterations, or to leave the decision of the question in their hands, that they may be governed in the matter by modifications which the proposed alterations may receive."

The latter course seems to have been followed, as no record of any further action on the question appears on the journal. In fact this Convention were too much engrossed in unsuccessful attempts to fill the vacant episcopate of the diocese, to have much time to give to these minor matters.

In the New Jersey Convention of May, 1827, we find the proposed changes exciting considerable attention. The following extract from the journal of the proceedings of May 31st will give us the legislation of that year on this subject:—

"The Secretary then laid before the Convention a communication, which he had received from the Secretaries of the General Convention, containing certain resolutions of that body made at its last session, relative to proposed alterations of the liturgy and constitution of the Church, which by the constitution must be made known to the several State Conventions before they shall be finally agreed to: which being read, it was, on motion, *Resolved*, That the communication be entered on the Journal, and the consideration of it be postponed to some future Convention.

"It was moved and resolved, that the resolutions communicated to this Body by the General Convention of the Church be read by the Minister of each Church in the Diocese to his congregation, before the next annual Convention."

The fate of the resolutions was as follows:—

"The Rev. Mr. Wilmer moved, that the alterations in the Liturgy, proposed in the last General Convention and submitted to the several State Conventions, in order to be acted upon at the next General Convention, be now called up, and considered. On putting the question the motion was negatived."—*Journal*, 1828, p. 23.

The final disposition of the subject in 1829 was as follows:—

"The proposed alterations of the liturgy and Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church as communicated to this Convention, by the General Convention of 1826, were now called up for consideration and read. It was moved by the Rev. Mr. Chapman, that it is inexpedient to go into the consideration of them. The previous question on this motion was then called for and the decision was in the negative."

Still further to the Southward, North and South Carolina disapproved of the proposed action. In North Carolina Bishop Ravenscroft in his address thus discussed the question:—

"As the propositions from the General Convention on the abridgment of certain parts of the daily service, at the discretion of the officiating minister, will necessarily claim some part of your attention at this session; and as it is proper that the Diocese at large should be enabled to consider the subject unbiased by any erroneous representations, I take this method of laying it before you upon its actual grounds.

"The propositions originated in the House of Bishops, and in so far as relates to the discretionary abridgment of the reading psalms and the proper lessons, were grounded on the principle of conciliation, to accommodate those who complain of the length of the service, and to permit that to be done by law, which was done by many without law, and was in truth a measure to relieve from the painful dilemma of knowingly permitting the laws to be disregarded, or of enforcing attention to the Rubrics upon a numerous, and it is to be feared an increasing body of our clergy. No alteration in the Liturgy was contemplated, neither is any effected, although the word has been largely used in reference to this subject. The question for your consideration is not an alteration of the Liturgy, but the policy of granting a discretionary power to shorten the service at the pleasure of the minister in certain specified parts thereof; and on this you will of course be guided by a careful consideration of the advantage expected to be gained, compared with the price to be paid for it. Now this advantage, as appears to me, is the accommodation of some of our clergy, and of their occasional hearers, who are either of no religious persuasion, or of other denominations, by shortening the morning service about fifteen minutes at the utmost, in point of time, as the price of alarming the fears and outraging the feelings of the great majority of the clergy, the communicants and members of the Church, and of introducing a diversity of practice in the public worship of God, which will ultimately unsettle the affections of Episcopalians towards the Liturgy, and end in surrendering it, with whatever is distinctive of our primitive and apostolic character, to the persevering attacks of our enemies, aided by the weak expectations of some who call themselves our friends that these enemies are thus to be won over from their opposition to our principles. A subject which involves such weighty consequences is entitled to mature consideration; and, as it is not necessary that any decision should be made until the Convention of 1829, I would recommend that the proposition be inserted in the journal of our proceedings, for the consideration of the Church, and that they may be acted upon with that unanimity which has hitherto attended all our proceedings, and which, I trust, will preside over our present counsels."—*Jour.*, 1827, pp. 19, 20.

The above was referred by the Convention to the Committee on the State of the Church.—p. 25.

The report of the Committee was as follows:—

"On the subject of the resolutions which the late General Convention has submitted to the several State Conventions, and the consideration whereof has been referred to your Committee they beg leave to report:—

"That, in their opinion, it is not expedient to act on the resolutions at the present Convention, but that, according to the suggestions of our Diocesan, it is best to delay the adoption or rejection of these resolutions, so that all the members of the Church in this Diocese may have time to give them a thorough examination. Your Committee beg leave to observe in recommending a delay, that they think it proper to guard against any inferences that the present Convention entertain any approbation of the proposed alterations of the Liturgy:—they mean merely by postponing the consideration of the subject to the next Convention to obtain a deliberate expression of the sense of this Diocese. They therefore recommend, that so much of the Journal of the last General Convention as relates to this subject be printed with the minutes of this Convention.

"Respectfully submitted,

Jour. p. 29.

"A. EMPIE, *Chairman.*"

In 1828 the bishop again referred to the subject as follows:—

"With respect to those subjects in which the Diocese is interested in common with all the others, there occurs to my recollection but one which requires to be noticed. That is the propositions submitted by the General Convention to the several State Conventions, on the subject of

the Liturgy. These were laid before the last Convention and printed with the journal for general information, with the understanding that the proper time for the discussion of the question would be the Convention of 1829. Thus, I still think, will be the proper course; and the subject is now brought forward, in order to guard against the possible inadvertence of determining upon all the propositions by the view taken of any one of them: a case considered very possible, from the preponderance, in general estimation, of the discretion proposed to be allowed in the use of the prescribed forms of Morning and Evening Prayer. I would therefore take leave, in this way, to remind this body, and through them the members of the Church, that there are three distinct propositions submitted. One is the discretion above mentioned—another is, a similar discretion, as to the use of the proposed substitute for the existing preface, and first Collect, in the office of Confirmation; and the third is, the amendment of the phraseology of the Rubric at the end of the Communion office, so as to remove alleged ambiguity, and thereby enforce the regular performance of the ante-Communion service. As either of these propositions may be adopted or rejected, independent of the others, they should therefore be considered and acted upon, according to the views entertained of their several effects upon the welfare of the Church. And as the alarm has already been sounded in an anonymous publication, that the proposed substitutes in the office of Confirmation cover the design 'to impose new doctrines upon the Church, and heavy burthens on the consciences of her members,' it behoves us to give the subject the most serious investigation. Whether the consequences denounced do really flow from the source to which they are attributed, may very justly be questioned, but there ought to be no question as to the intention of the Right Reverend proposer. Though myself opposed, from the beginning, to all the propositions but the last, and aware, from experience, that the principle of conciliation on which the whole proceeding was constructed, was hopeless in effect; and warning my brethren who were in favor of it, that it would minister occasion for contention, rather than for agreement, I yet feel constrained to declare my full conviction, that no other motive was present than a sincere desire to accommodate—to promote peace and harmony within, and remove objection without, the pale of the Church. Let them be considered, then, on their merits as affecting the welfare of the Church, neither deduced or deterred by the ebullitions of that baleful party spirit, which throws so deep a gloom over the otherwise happy condition and favorable prospects of the general church."—*Jour.*, 1828, pp. 14, 15.

The Bishop again briefly referred to the subject in his address to the Convention of 1829.—*Jour.*, p. 12.

The Committee on the State of the Church referred the matter back to the Convention without expressing any opinion.—p. 23.

"That part of the Report of the Committee on the State of the Church in regard to the Resolutions submitted by the General Convention relating to certain alterations in the Prayer-book was now called up, on motion of the Rev. Mr. Freeman. *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to introduce any alterations in the existing forms for Morning and Evening Prayer, or office of Confirmation, or Rubric at end of the Communion service."

Georgia approved (*Vide* journal of 1829, and also "Episcopal Watchman," III., p. 200). The action of the Convention in Mississippi is found in the same periodical, and the Rev. A. A. Muller's Sermon before that body (pp. 23, 24) refers to the matter at length.

In Pennsylvania (*Vide* journal of 1827, pp. 28-31) in 1828 the motion of Rev. Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Hopkins disapproving of the proposal was postponed to the next Convention.—*Journal*, 1829, pp. 25, 26, 27. In 1829 the subject was indefinitely postponed.—*Journal*, 1829, pp. 42-45.

In Ohio the journal of September, 1827, gives the following action:—

"The Secretary having read a communication from the General Convention, submitting certain resolutions respecting proposed alterations of some rubrics and offices of the Book of Common Prayer, the following resolution was, on motion, unanimously adopted:—

"*Resolved*, That this Convention feel constrained, by an imperious sense of duty, and an earnest desire for the peace and unity of the Church, to disapprove the alterations of our incomparable Liturgy, proposed by the General Convention held in Philadelphia, November, 1826."

In New England, we find the following action recorded in the reprint of the journals of Maine:—

"The following resolves offered by Mr. Gardiner were then passed.

"*Resolved*, That the Convention deem it expedient that a committee be appointed by the next General Convention to revise 'The Table of Holy Scripture to be read at morning and evening prayer throughout the year,' and to report to the succeeding General Convention such alterations as they may judge expedient.

"*Voted*, That the Secretary of the Convention be instructed to communicate the above resolve to the Secretary of the General Convention, through the delegates from this State.

"*Voted*, That it is inexpedient that the alterations in the Liturgy proposed in the last General Convention be carried into effect."

In the Convention of Vermont,—at that time, a part of the Eastern diocese,—under date of June 28th, 1827, we find the following record:—

"The Committee to whom the communication from the Secretary of the General Convention, relating to proposed alterations of the Liturgy, was referred reported the following Resolution, which was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the communication from the Secretary of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the General Convention be referred to the Standing Committee, to be reported upon at the next annual meeting of this Convention."

In the May following a communication from the Secretary of the Eastern Diocese, dated October of the preceding year, was read in Convention urging that action should be taken by the Vermont Convention. This communication, on the motion of the writer of the communication, the Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, was laid on the table. The report of the Standing Committee on this whole subject appears in the "Episcopal Watchman," II., p. 131.

New Hampshire did not approve.

On the 18th of June, 1828, at the Massachusetts Convention, a similar communication to that referred to above was read from the Secretary of the Eastern Diocese, to wit:—

"On motion of the Rev. C. Burroughs, *Resolved*, That this Convention think it desirable and important that the State Conventions of the Eastern Diocese should, previous to the next meeting of the General Convention, express their opinion relative to the alterations proposed in the Liturgy and in the Constitution of the Church, by the last General Convention."

In the following year it was

"*Resolved unanimously*, as the sense of this Convention, that it is inexpedient to make any alterations in the Liturgy."

Rhode Island negatived this proposal almost unanimously, in 1829 (*Vide* Reprint of Early Journals of R. I., p. 100).

The action in Connecticut is recorded in the journal for 1821, pp. 14–17–21, journal of 1828, p. 36, journal, 1829. Bishop Brownell's views, on p. 14, the action of the Convention, on pp. 18, 41, 42.

The fate of the resolutions is thus recorded:—

"Journal of the House of Bishops."

Philadelphia, 12th August, 1829.

A letter from the Rev. Frederick Dalcho, Secretary of the Convention of South Carolina, to the Secretary of this House, transmitting copies of sundry resolutions of that Convention, relative to the alterations in the Liturgy and Constitution, proposed at the last General Convention, was received and read.

Thursday, 13th August, 1829.

A letter from Mr. John G. Williams, Secretary of the Convention of the Diocese of Virginia, transmitting copies of a preamble and resolutions of that Convention, upon the proposed alterations of the Liturgy and Constitution, was received and read."

"Journal of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies."

August 13th, 1829.

The Committee appointed to report upon the unfinished business of the last General Convention report, that they have examined the journal of the last Convention, and that the following matters recorded therein remain unfinished. . . .

2. The resolutions received from the House of Bishops on the subject of certain changes in the order for reading the Psalter and Lessons, in the office of Confirmation, and in the rubric at the end of the Communion service, and concurred in by this House."

"Journal of the House of Bishops."

Saturday, 15th August, 1829.

On motion of the Right Rev. Bishop Hobart, seconded by the Right Rev. Bishop Brownell, *Resolved*, That, under existing circumstances, it is not expedient to adopt the proposed resolutions relative to the Liturgy and office of Confirmation, and they are therefore hereby dismissed from the consideration of the Convention." And the resolution was sent to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies for concurrence.

A message was afterwards received from that House, with information that they concurred in that resolution.

"Journal of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies."

Saturday, August 15th, 1829.

A resolution was received from the House of Bishops, that under existing circumstances it is not expedient to adopt the proposed resolutions relative to the Liturgy and office of Confirmation, and that they are, therefore, dismissed from the consideration of the Convention.

On motion, this House concurred in the above resolution; and notice was accordingly sent to the House of Bishops.

CHAPTER X.

BISHOP GRISWOLD AND THE NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES.

EARLY in the latter half of the eighteenth century John Viets, an intelligent and wealthy Presbyterian farmer of Simsbury, in Connecticut, finding his son Roger from his earliest years a boy of singular promise and inclined to study, sent him to Yale College, with a view to his education for the ministry of the religious body to which he himself belonged. The lad was but thirteen years old when he entered the class of 1758, at Yale. Among his classmates was a young man of earnest Christian character and great promise, whose consistent churchmanship could not but induce inquiry and win respect for the faith he professed. This youth was Thomas Davies, whose brief ministry in North-western Connecticut has left a lasting memory not yet faded out. We have no record that Davies sought to proselyte his fellow-students; but the knowledge of his devout life and many attractive characteristics would support the inference that he was, from his singularity of belief and his holy life, a means of awakening inquiry and inviting investigation as to the Church's claims, not only in the case of Viets, but also of Bela Hubbard, who subsequently entered the Church, and became one of its most worthy ministers.

One Sunday, while a student, curiosity led Roger Viets to seek permission to attend the service of the Church. With no little difficulty he obtained the consent of the president to be present for a single Sunday. He went, and for the first time in his life witnessed "the beauty of holiness in the Common Prayer." Attracted, interested, and impressed, he sought and found opportunities for repeating his attendance. The study of the works on the Church and her worship, in the college library, followed. It was the old story repeated anew. He read and carefully weighed the arguments for episcopacy and a liturgical worship, and was soon a convert to the Church. Great was the father's surprise and indignation when the son avowed his change of belief, and asked his father's permission to seek orders in the Church. To the threat of being disowned for forsaking the faith of his forefathers the son replied by sending copies of the treatises by the perusal of which he had himself been convinced. The result was that the father and the family followed the son into the Church as zealous and intelligent Conformists, and young Viets, on his return from England in holy orders, ministered to his own family, relatives, and friends at Simsbury as missionary of the venerable society.

Such was the story of the conversion to the Church of the Rev. Roger Viets, who, with a meagre support, sought in his long and faithful ministry at Simsbury to eke out the scanty stipend received

from abroad by the care of his ancestral farm and the tutorship of the youth in the neighborhood. Among his pupils was his sister's son, Alexander Viets Griswold, named for the first of the name to settle in Connecticut, and inheriting from his excellent parents a taste for learning. It was to his uncle, the missionary at Simsbury, that the young Griswold owed his early intellectual training and his love of letters. From the care and instructions of his mother there were instilled into his youthful mind "sentiments of piety, with the knowledge of Christ, and the duty of prayer." Thus grounded in the principles and practice of holiness, "the fear of God, the love of his name, and a faith in Christ," the bishop tells us were never "wholly lost." The Catechism was carefully taught in the Griswold household, the Scriptures were systematically read, and the future bishop was thus from the first fitted under God for his work. He had great facility in acquiring knowledge. His love of general literature led him to prefer his book to the usual sports of childhood, and after a day of toil study was more attractive to him than sleep. It was thus that the boy grew up amidst nature's loveliest scenes, bright in intellect, beautiful in person, of quick parts, of amiable temper, with the tastes of a student, and yet the aptitude for the keen enjoyment of life as it opened before him. To the stimulating and encouraging influences of his mother, whose love for learning was remarkable, there were added the careful and unremitting instructions of his uncle, who was for several years an inmate of his home, and with whom, from the age of ten, he lived for the next decade of his life. Spared in the providence of God twice in his youth from imminent peril of death, his life was henceforth consecrated to his Maker's service. Neither the state of his health nor the troublous times of the revolutionary war then drawing to a close, permitted the realization of his desire of graduating at Yale. But his attainments in languages, in mathematics, in natural science, and in general literature, were far in excess of many of those who possessed the diploma of the college. The family of the young Griswold were in sympathy with the crown in the struggle for independence. Though striving to maintain a strict neutrality, the worthy missionary was imprisoned for months at Hartford for affording charitable relief at midnight to some fugitives seeking to elude capture by the rebel authorities, and the taxes and fines imposed upon the father of the future bishop were

Roger Viets

the direct occasion of his son's inability to secure the coveted diploma of Yale. The removal of the Rev. Roger Viets to Nova Scotia at the close of the war, and the purpose of his nephew to accompany him,

precipitated an early marriage, which proved in God's providence the occasion of his relinquishment of his purpose of expatriating himself, and turned the attention of the young husband towards the law. At the age of twenty he received confirmation at the hands of Bishop Seabury, on occasion of his first visit to Simsbury, and his interest in the Church was such that in the absence of clerical ministrations his

services were called into requisition with no little success. It was this facility in reading the Church prayers and sermons, and the urgent entreaties of the Rev. Ambrose Todd, who had succeeded his uncle in the cure of souls at Simsbury, that led him, after many anxious questionings of soul, and at no little sacrifice of temporal prospects, to offer himself to the Bishop and Convention of Connecticut as a candidate for holy orders. In his preparation he was still obliged by the *res angusta domi* to labor with his hands for his support, and after a day of toil it was his wont to stretch himself at night on the hearth, with his books about him, and in place of candles, which he could not well afford, he would pursue his studies for hours into the night, by the light of the pine knots, as they blazed fitfully in the chimney-corner, while his wife and children were asleep.

The candidate for orders at that time was expected to officiate in vacant parishes, and to deliver sermons of his own composition. Mr. Griswold undertook this duty, and having been admitted to candidacy at the Convention which met at New Haven, June 4, 1794, in the course of a few months he had taken in preference to other, and, in a worldly point of view, better positions offered him, the charge of three parishes in Litchfield county, Connecticut. These were the towns of Plymouth, Harwinton, and the village of Northfield, then as now a part of the town of Litchfield. He was ordained to the diaconate at Christ Church, in Stratford, on the first Sunday after Trinity, June 7, 1795,¹ receiving priest's orders at St. Matthew's Church, Plymouth, October 21, in the same year.

The communication of the priestly office to Mr. Griswold, and the consecration of the Church in which the ordination took place, were the last official acts of the first Bishop of Connecticut, as recorded in his register, which bears, be-

sides, only the attestation, "by us, Samuel, Bp. Connect. and Rho. Isl." His early admission to priest's

Samuel Bp. Connect.

orders by one so careful in conferring this office and administration is a proof of the regard entertained both by the bishop himself and the clergy, who urged this step, for the faithful minister of Litchfield county. The event proved that the good degree so early purchased was wisely conferred. Among the picturesque hills and vales of North-western Connecticut he lived and labored faithfully, covenanting with his people to serve them "so long as it should please God to enable him" to perform "the duties and offices of a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut according to the usages, rules, and discipline of said Church,"² and stipulating merely for "liberty to attend conventions and convocations of the clergy, and to obey the directions of his Diocesan." He had no thought of change till the embarrassment

¹ Dr. Stone, in his "Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, D.D.," gives these dates differently, but the official register of Bp. Seabury records the dates and other particulars of time and place as we have given them in the text. *Vide* "A Reprint in full of the Registry of Ordinations by Bishops Seabury and Jarvis," 8vo [1882], p. 10.

² *Vide* Contract or Indenture entered on the records of St. Mark's Church, Harwinton, as given by Dr. Stone in his "Memoir of the Life of Bishop Griswold," pp. 92, 93.

growing out of the loss of a portion of his paternal estate, and the impossibility of supporting his family on the meagre stipend of three hundred dollars, which was all that he received from his Litchfield parishes, led him, after repeated refusals, to listen to the invitation to remove to St. Michael's, Bristol, Rhode Island, where more ample means and greater opportunities for study and mental improvement awaited him. The summons to his new field of labor found the country parson at his plough, with "broad-brimmed hat and patched short-clothes, coarse stockings, and heavy shoes." But the farmer's garb was soon exchanged for the clerical attire, in which he was "equally at home, and to each an equal ornament," and the tall, erect, and dignified man of God stood forth a leader in Israel. Ere the summer of 1804 had come the new rector of St. Michael's and his family were happily settled in their new home.

Here he lived for more than a quarter of a century. He left the care of three parishes, with upwards of two hundred communicants, most of whom he had admitted to the table of the Lord. His Bristol parish had but twenty-five families and a score of communicants, and, though endowed, could not afford its rector a livelihood without his adding to his duties the instruction of youth. But under the earnest and successful ministrations of Mr. Griswold the church was soon found too small for its congregation, and during his long pastorate enjoyed uninterrupted and unexampled prosperity.

Five years after his removal to Bristol, and about fifteen years after his admission to orders, Mr. Griswold was invited to the rectorship of St. Michael's, Litchfield. He had been brought to the verge of the grave by illness occasioned by overwork, the cure of souls and the care of a school weighing down his strong frame and enfeebling a constitution of unusual natural vigor. He had seen the inroad of disease and death in his family, and his heart turned with a natural yearning for the home of his earlier years on the wild, but picturesque, hills of Litchfield county. "In the providence of God," to quote from his autobiography, "I was diverted from my purpose by an occurrence, to me totally unexpected." This was his election to the episcopate.

The call to this high office and administration was from the "Eastern diocese," formed by the union of the churches in the State of Massachusetts, then including the district of Maine, and in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont. The organization of this Eastern diocese was perfected by a Convention which assembled in the city of Boston, on the 29th of May, 1810, and Mr. Griswold was elected bishop on the 31st of that month. His consecration, which occurred at the same time with that of Bishop Hobart, took place one year from the assembling of the Convention, on the 29th of May, 1811, a few weeks after his entrance on the forty-sixth year of his age.

The diocese, to the oversight of which Mr. Griswold was called, was composed of the four confederated churches we have already named, and the organization was agreed upon in view of the individual inability of either of these churches to support a bishop of its own. In the four States thus united there were in all but twenty-two

parishes and sixteen officiating clergymen. Of the parishes several had only a name to live, but were dead. Others were but feeble, and the little strength and ability there was in the federated churches was comprised in a few old and wealthy congregations, such as Trinity, Boston; St. John's, Providence; and Trinity, Newport. For eight years there had been the entire lack of episcopal service. These years had been years of decay and spiritual death. In Massachusetts, where, before the Revolution, the Church had become comparatively strong, the loss of the King's chapel, consequent upon the removal of the great body of the parishioners to the Provinces, and the defection of the few who remained, had been seriously felt; and, although the singular prudence and hearty patriotism of Parker, at Trinity, had been the means of preserving the Church from extinction during the war, still there was at its close, and in its gradual revival, a marked falling off in numbers, influence, and wealth among the adherents of the Church, while the incoming tide of Unitarianism threatened to engulf all other forms of belief. In fact, but for the Church, its temporary triumph would have been complete. The creeds and prayers kept alive the Catholic faith when all besides seemed lost.



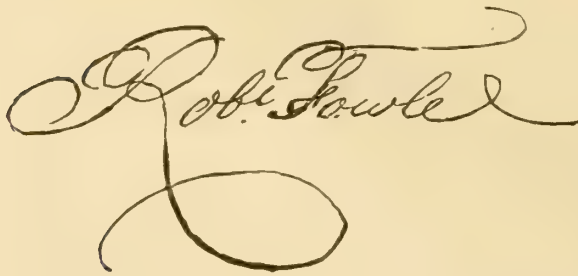
REV. EDWARD BASS, D.D., FIRST BISHOP
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The first Bishop of Connecticut was virtually the bishop of the New England churches. From the moment of his return from Scotland, invested with the apostolic character, Parker, who had been kept informed of the circumstances of his election, and his subsequent efforts for the consummation of his mission abroad, hastened to Middletown to greet him on his formal reception by the clergy of Connecticut, and subsequently welcomed him to Boston again and again. It was, as we have already seen, through the persevering efforts of the Rector of Trinity, Boston, that the measures were inaugurated which united the churches of the Northern with those of the Middle and Southern

States. When these efforts for union had brought about the desired result, the consecration of Dr. Bass was not pressed, and it was not till 1797 that he received the episcopate. To the care of the Massachusetts churches was added the oversight of those in Rhode Island, and just before his death those in New Hampshire,—the signature of "Edward, Bp. Mass. and Rho. Is.," to official documents, being still extant. On his death, which occurred in September, 1803, the diocese made choice of the Rev. Dr. Parker as his successor. Consecrated in September, 1804, his death occurred during the following December, before he had performed a single episcopal act. Between the death of Bishop Bass and the choice of Bishop Parker it is said that efforts were made to induce a distinguished lawyer, the Hon. Dudley Atkins Tyng, of Newburyport, to take the orders of deacon and priest, that with as little delay as possible he might be raised from the bench to the episcopate, in the place of the venerable Dr. Bass, whose life-long friend he was. It had been the purpose of Judge Tyng, in early life, to enter the ministry of the Church; but at the time of his graduation from Harvard, in 1781, the state of affairs was such that there seemed little prospect of his attaining the object of his desire, and he turned his attention towards the profession in which he rapidly rose to eminence. In this effort to secure a head for the Church, the Rev. Theodore Dehon, at that time Rector of Trinity Church, Newport, was prominent, acting in the name and at the request of the leading clergy in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Judge Tyng shrank from the honor and responsibility thus thrust upon him, and finally declined the post. Dr. Parker, who had again and again declined the offer of the episcopate, was elected. Reluctantly, after some months of indecision, he accepted the office, was consecrated, and died. Amidst the depression and discouragements that attended these successive disappointments matters so shaped themselves as to bring about the organization of the Eastern diocese.

In Rhode Island, which had formally received Bishop Seabury as its diocesan, no attempt had been made to fill the place made vacant

by his death until 1806, when, in accordance with a vote of the Convention, Bishop Benjamin Moore was invited by a committee, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Griswold and Dehon, to take



the churches of the State under his episcopal charge; but with his refusal to undertake the onerous work the independent efforts of the Rhode Island Church to supply itself with the episcopate ceased for many years. In New Hampshire there was the same lack of ability to support a bishop that prevented independent action elsewhere among

the New England churches other than in Connecticut. The few parishes there had informally received the first Bishop of Connecticut as their bishop, and his ordination at St. John's Church, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on St. Peter's day, June 29, 1791, of the Rev. Robert Fowle, a native of Newburyport, Mass., and a graduate of Harvard College, to the priesthood, had provoked one of the latest of the controversies which had marked the earlier years of the century. Bishop Bass was formally chosen to the episcopate of the Church in this State; but on his death, which occurred a few weeks subsequent to this action, no step was taken to elect a successor, though on Dr. Parker's consecration one was raised to the episcopate who was a native of the State, and would, had his valuable life been spared, have been welcomed as its spiritual head.

In Vermont the Church, though not yet admitted into union with the General Convention, had taken measures looking towards organization and the consecration of a bishop. The grants of land for glebes, and to the venerable society, which had been made by the Governor of New Hampshire, to whose jurisdiction Vermont was supposed to belong, had attracted a number of church settlers from Connecticut and elsewhere, and gave promise that in the lapse of years the Church would be largely endowed, and its clergy supported without tithes or offerings. But the war destroyed these hopes, and at its close not a clergyman resided within the limits of the State, and the few churchmen were well-nigh in despair at the prospect of their Church's extinction. In 1784 a clergyman was settled in Arlington, and two years later another in Manchester. One of these two soon displayed his unworthiness for the sacred calling, and the other could not, even if disposed, attend to his parish and the whole State besides. There was need of some one with the spirit of the Master to go from town to town, and from hamlet to hamlet, ministering the word and sacraments, in "journeyings oft," to those perishing for lack of the Bread of Life. One was found to undertake this work. Among the immigrants from Connecticut, about the beginning of the revolutionary war, were two brothers, — the elder, Thomas; the younger, Bethuel, Chittenden, — men of great natural ability, and well fitted to become pioneers in a new State. The elder became the first governor of the State of Vermont. Bethuel, ten years younger than his brother, was a settler at Tinmouth, in Rutland county, and in the lack of clerical ministrations was accustomed to read the Church's prayers and sermons to his family and neighbors. As a man of unsullied probity and a devoted Christian, his ministrations attracted attention, and possibly directed his own mind to the obligation resting on him as a Christian and a churchman to "seek for Christ's sheep that were dispersed abroad," and to gather them into the fold of the Good Shepherd. It was doubtless at a personal, and certainly at a pecuniary, sacrifice, that this devout and devoted layman, in the forty-ninth year of his age, with the recommendation of "the Church Wardens of Tinmouth and Castleton," presented himself to Bishop Seabury, in Stamford, Conn., and was ordained to the diaconate on Friday, June 1, 1787, in old St. John's Church. After three years he removed to Shelburne, in Chit-

tenden county, where he resided on his own farm to the end of his life, pursuing the work of an itinerant evangelist, ministering wherever there were church people to be reached all along the eastern and western sides of the Green Mountains. The venerable Philander Chase records in his "Reminiscences"¹ that it was at Concord, N.H., "at the hands of this pious ambassador of Christ, that he received for the first time the blessed sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ." In 1790 the Convention of the Church in Vermont was organized, by two clergymen and eighteen laymen, and legislated for the protection of church rights and property year by year, although the excellent and self-sacrificing Chittenden did not attend its sessions until 1793. At this Convention Dr. Edward Bass, of Newburyport, was elected to the episcopate of the Church in Vermont. This election was accepted conditionally, but before measures could be taken to carry into effect the action of the Convention a special Convention was held at Manchester, in February, 1794, composed of but nine out of twenty-four parishes, at which, on the nomination of Col. John A. Graham, of Rutland, the celebrated refugee, the Rev. Samuel Peters, LL.D., was elected, probably by a bare majority of those present. This action of the Convention was opposed by Mr. Chittenden, both in open session and subsequently in a letter addressed to

James Nichols.

the bishop-elect. The grounds of this opposition were, the fact that Dr. Bass had not declined the election of the previous Convention; the small attendance on the Manchester Convention; the pronounced torism of Dr. Peters; and the further fact that Dr. Bass could serve the Church in Vermont free of expense by his continued residence at Newburyport till the church land should yield a sufficient income for his support. There is evidence that the Rev. John Cosens Ogden was not pleased with Dr. Peters' election. The only other clergymen present were the Rev. James Nichols, of Sandgate, and the Rev. Daniel Barber, of Manchester. The one was a man of evil life, and the other subsequently abandoned the Church and entered the Romish priesthood. Happily the consecration of this erratic clergyman was prevented, the application of the Church in Vermont to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a subsequent one to the American prelates, having been in each case refused.

Samuel Barber

On St. Peter's day, 1794, Mr. Chittenden received priest's orders from Bishop Seabury, in St. James's Church, New London.² From this time he became a prominent man in the councils of the Church in Vermont, the Convention from 1790 to 1808, inclusive, electing him as its president. He was a member of the standing committee from 1794 to the time of his death, and filled other important offices and trusts in the service of the Church. This good old man, the first clergyman ordained for Vermont, after doing the work

¹ Vol. I., p. 13.

² A Reprint in full of the Registry of Ordinations, by Bishops Seabury and Jarvis, p. 10.

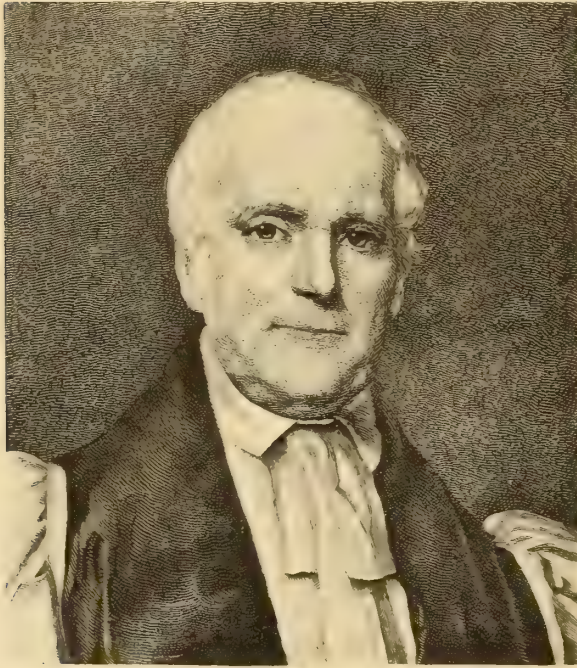
of an evangelist for twenty-two years, died at Shelburne, November 8, 1809, while engaged in divine service. In 1805 the Vermont Convention requested Bishop Benjamin Moore, of New York, to take the Church in the State under his episcopal care. This step was taken with a view of aiding the Vermont churchmen in their effort to secure possession of the church lands, which had been given to the venerable society. Bishop Moore consented to comply with the request of the Convention, with the express understanding that he should not be expected to visit the State. In this situation, so far as episcopal supervision was concerned, the Church continued until 1819, when the Convention acceded to the proposed plan of federation, and Vermont, while retaining its Diocesan Convention and its representation in General Convention, became part of the Eastern diocese.

There had been created by special legislation of the General Convention of 1801, while these events were transpiring, a *quasi* diocese, composed of the churches in Western New Hampshire and Eastern Vermont, associated with a view to the preservation of the Church's interest in the lands lying on each side of the Connecticut river. The leading spirit in this scheme was the Rev. Daniel Barber, who afterwards entered the Roman communion. This anomalous and ill-advised organization comprised but four, or at the most five, parishes, so far as is known with any certainty. These were Claremont, New Hampshire, and Rockingham, Weathersfield, Westminster, and possibly Hartland, Vermont. It was never represented in Convention. It never appears to have sought either the presence, or to put itself under the jurisdiction, of any bishop of the Church. In 1808, in consequence of a remonstrance from the New Hampshire Convention, the General Convention rescinded its action authorizing the creation of the Connecticut Valley Association, and it was finally broken up in time to prevent its becoming an obstacle to the confederation of the Eastern diocese.

A year intervened between the election and consecration of the bishop of the Eastern diocese. Allusion has already been made to the failure of the attempt to consecrate Mr. Griswold and Dr. Hobart at the General Convention held in New Haven, in May, 1811. The business was happily accomplished in Old Trinity, New York, on the 29th of May. The accidental omission, at the laying on of hands, of the words "In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," was made the occasion by the enemies of Dr. Hobart of an attempt to invalidate the consecration. This factious opposition to Dr. Hobart, which, strangely enough, was never displayed toward Mr. Griswold, in whose case the same defect existed, soon fell to the ground. It was the pitiful exhibition of a personal dislike as unwarranted in its inception as it was indefensible in its attempt at criticism. Another circumstance attending this consecration is thus alluded to by Bishop Griswold in his autobiography. "This consecration was at New York in 1811. . . . The Rev. Dr. Hobart was ordained at the same time. Though he was several years younger than myself, was elected nearly a year after my election, and was chosen to be but an assistant bishop, still he was registered as my senior, and uniformly had the

precedence. The purpose of this partiality was that he, rather than I, should, in the probable course of events, be the presiding bishop. I would to God it might so have been. Through all my life I have delighted most in retirement. To appear in any public or conspicuous station has ever been unpleasant; and, as far as duty would admit, I have avoided it. It was with great reluctance that I afterwards consented to preside in the House of Bishops. It was much more painful to me from my knowing that such measures had been taken

to prevent it."¹ It is but just in this connection to state that Bishop White assigned another reason for this preference of Dr. Hobart over Mr. Griswold. It was the seniority of the former over the latter in academic degrees, the Assistant Bishop of New York being a doctor in divinity. This was the English rule of precedence in conferring orders, and had been observed in the case of the consecration of the first American bishops at Lambeth, Bishop White himself having been consecrated before Bishop Provoost, as the senior doctor in divinity.



RT. REV. A. V. GRISWOLD, D.D., BISHOP OF
THE EASTERN DIOCESE.

This observance of English precedent was subsequently abandoned, and the priority of election to the office of a bishop substituted in its stead.

Bishop Griswold entered upon his work with a zeal and fervor that abated nothing to the very close of life. He was in the full maturity of his powers. His appearance was at once dignified and impressive. His voice, though never strong, was clear and musical. In his presence there was felt the restraining and softening influence of the man of God. His conversation was in heaven. His work was to the last an arduous one. It was his task to revive the embers on altars where the spiritual fires had well-nigh died out. He was called upon to harmonize the discordant elements of church life and church

¹ Stone's "Memoir of the Life of Bishop Griswold," pp. 165, 166.

work, which, through neglect or disuse, were "jangled out of tune." It was his duty to administer discipline which had been too long delayed, and to redress evils already chronic in their hold upon the Church.

The very beginning of his episcopate was attended by special tokens of the divine blessing. In the bishop's autobiography he thus records the progress and results of a marked awakening to spiritual life on the part of pastor and people at Bristol:—

In the year 1812 there was at Bristol an awakened attention to the subject of religion, which was very wonderful, and the like of which I had never before witnessed. It commenced among the members of my parish, when no such thing was looked for, nor indeed thought of. No unusual efforts had been made with any view to such an excitement. My administering Confirmation in the parish a few months previously had not improbably some effect. My recent ordination to the Episcopate was the means of awakening my own mind to more serious thoughts of duty as a minister of Christ; and in consequence I had, no doubt, with more earnest zeal preached "Jesus Christ and Him Crucified." The change which I first noticed was the appearance of increased seriousness in the congregation; especially on leaving the Church after service. There was little or no laughing, or merry salutation among the people; neither talking of worldly things. After the benediction, and a minute of private prayer, they retired silent and thoughtful. Some soon began to express a religious concern respecting their spiritual state, and were anxious to know "what they should do to be saved."

In consequence of this awakened and increasing inquiry, I began to meet with them one or two evenings in the week, not only that we might unite in praying that they might be led into the way of truth, and enjoy the comforts of hope, and of peace in believing, but that I might save time to myself and them, by conversing at the same time with a number who were in the same state of mind. I soon found that the number of such inquirers had increased to about thirty; and in a very short time the awakening was general through the Town, and very wonderful.

Very much to my regret, the number of communicants had hitherto been small, but about forty; and yet, notwithstanding the very zealous efforts of those of other denominations to draw the converts to their respective communions, a large number of adults (forty-four) were baptized, and a hundred were added to my communion, of whom more than half had before been accustomed to attend worship in other places, or in no place. These converts were not encouraged in ranting, or in any enthusiastic raptures; nor did they incline to any extravagance; but gladly hearkened to the "words of truth and soberness;" and very few of them afterwards "turned from the holy Commandment delivered unto them."

The influence of this remarkable awakening of spiritual life in St. Michael's, Bristol, during the summer of 1812, was lasting, and its beneficial results were seen in crowding the church, already once enlarged under the faithful and warm-hearted ministration of their rector and bishop. The increase in numbers, and the evident deepening of spirituality on the part of the communicants of the parish, gave abundant proof that the work was of God.

In his first address to the Convention of the Eastern diocese, which met at Providence, R.I., on the 30th of September, 1812, the bishop reported that upwards of twelve hundred had been confirmed, and that the churches of the diocese, most of which had been visited once, and some a second time, were "increasing in numbers, piety, and attention to the doctrines and discipline of the Church." This was the simple story of his episcopate. The work he began as a bishop in 1811, in watching over a few scattered parishes, feeble and "ready to die," hardly more than a score in number, he lived to see multiplied nearly

five-fold, distributed into five fully organized dioceses, and able to support, in place of the gentle, patient, apostolic man, who had been ready to "spend and be spent" for his flock, four bishops to minister to the Church of God.

The zeal and devotion of the good bishop were not confined to the people to whom he sustained the relations of a rector, or to the diocese, which, in its extent of territory and spiritual need, might well have claimed his every thought and care. To one who in his life and labors showed so much of the spirit of the great missionary, the "field was the world," and the earnest advocacy of the cause of church extension, at home and abroad, advocated by him in his charge of 1814, and in the pastoral letter sent out at the same time, was certainly among the chief means of awakening the American Church to its duty with reference to missionary efforts, and securing that interest which resulted in the formation of our missionary organization. The first foreign missionary ever sent from our Church was nominated and recommended by Bishop Griswold,¹ and throughout his life he displayed the deepest interest in all that pertained to the work of evangelizing the world by bearing the Gospel in the Church to the nations.

After the death of Bishop Jarvis, of Connecticut, Bishop Griswold was invited to perform episcopal duty in the vacant diocese; but after visiting several parishes and admitting two candidates to the diaconate, the Church in Connecticut formally placed itself under the episcopal care of the Bishop of New York, and thus spared the overworked Bishop of the Eastern diocese from further labor. The work was everywhere growing. To a faithful priest in Massachusetts the bishop writes, in 1817, "Never perhaps, since the Apostles' days, has any body of clergy had more pressing calls for unusual exertions and labors, in season and out of season, than we in this diocese. The harvest truly is great, and the laborers few."² The multiplication of copies of the Prayer-book "second only to the Bible in its utility," as he says, occupied his anxious thoughts. "Next after the word and minister of God," he tells his Convention, "this is the best gift which you can send." The lack of ministrations in vacant parishes called forth his earnest sympathy and personal effort to supply the want, and earnestly did he urge parishes that were supplied to deny themselves of their own services, that their clergy might minister to those who had "no preaching, no divine service, no sacraments." Urging on the clergy and laity the duty of missionary gifts for church extension, he reminds the former that "many of our people contribute to the propagation of the Gospel by other sects who would more gladly give, if, with even less importunity, they were called upon by the clergy of our own communion." A proposition coming from a clergyman in charge of a decayed parish in Massachusetts to dispose of the church to the Congregationalists, he firmly opposed. "If that Church, of so many years' standing, is to be abandoned and given up," he writes to the rector at Marblehead, "and its property, which has been piously devoted to its sacred use, is to be alienated, it must be done without

¹ Stone's Memoir, p. 248.

² Stone's Memoir, pp. 252, 253.

my consent. I can never indorse or consent to such a measure." His charges, addresses, letters, all breathe the single idea of consecration to his work, the upbuilding of the Church of God throughout the length and breadth of the vast territory over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer. One of his letters gives an extract from his journal, detailing a scene often repeated, and bringing to mind the experience of mission-laborers of our day and generation. Here it was the chief missionary, the shepherd and bishop of souls, who was thus laboring amidst "God's first temples" for the "hire of souls." The journal reads as follows:—

June 15th [1821] In the morning we proceed over a bad road, through a new and interesting county, to Berkshire. (A town in Vermont on the borders of Canada.) This school-house not being sufficient to contain the congregation expected, preparations were made in a beautiful grove of young maples, on a fine rising ground, and the lumber, collected near the spot for building a new church, furnished abundant materials for the stage and seats. Thus was its use anticipated, and an altar reared, we may almost say, *with undrawn stone*. These materials now preparing to be fitly joined together in a regular temple, to be dedicated to God, suggest the thought, that they who sit upon them are, we may hope, materials in preparation,—even "lively stones,"—to be hereafter united in a temple infinitely more glorious,—“a building not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.” Many circumstances conspired to heighten the interest of the scenery and the occasion. At a small distance in front, without the grove, which was semicircular, was the intended site of the new church. Below, at the foot of a gentle descent, the road leads along the grove, and beyond it, for a long distance on either hand, the river Missisque is seen winding its beautiful course through an extended vale. And still beyond are rising forests, and fields, and hills swelling into various shapes and sizes; while mountains, rearing their unequal and lofty summits, terminate the view. In such a situation, surrounded by a numerous assembly, collected from several towns and many miles in every direction, and like Cornelius and his friends “waiting to hear all things, that were commanded us of God,”—my thoughts were such as I have not language to express. How deep are the counsels of the Almighty! “Why is an instrument, so weak and unworthy, sent on a message of such importance?” “Who shall satisfy these men with bread here in the wilderness?” God's power is made manifest in weakness. We sung the hymn, “Far from my thoughts, vain world, begone.” Prayers were read by one of the clergy. After this second lesson seven young persons, four men and three women, with the appearance of the most sincere devotion, presented themselves for baptism. The sermon was heard with an attention worthy of a better discourse. After sermon thirty-five persons received confirmation, and received it, there was no reason to doubt, with a just and deep sense of its nature and design. And then the Lord's Supper was administered to a respectable number of very devout communicants.

It was in this blessed work of bringing the Church's services and sacraments to the hungering multitudes in the wilderness that Bishop Griswold took especial delight. The days of old are brought to mind at the recital of such experiences. As the Master who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, gave to the multitudes in the wilderness of Judea the words of wisdom and the Bread of Life, so his disciple carried to the most remote corners of his see—the very wilds of New England—the ministrations of the Church of God.

At the organization of the Eastern diocese, in 1810, so feeble was the Church in the confederated States, and so little prospect was there of growth and development, that the necessity which prompted the union was deemed likely to continue for a sufficient length of time to

warrant the adoption of measures for its perpetuation. In less than thirty years, and ere the death of its first and only bishop, the labors, influence, example, and prayers of that bishop had been blessed to the increase of the Church in each of the States forming the confederation, so that the necessity for the organization had not only been removed, but its dissolution was absolutely requisite. Meanwhile the bishop, to whose wise and self-denying labors the Church in New England owed so much, had become the senior bishop of the American Church. It was with no little reluctance, and after repeated expressions of unwillingness, that he finally consented to act in this capacity, and in 1838 to prepare the pastoral letter; which he did a second time in 1841. The latter pastoral had for its subject the doctrine of our Church as contained in the article on justification by faith, in connection with the article on the necessity and place of good works; or, in other words, what we must believe, and what we must do, in order to be saved. It was received with universal approval. As the presiding bishop, Dr. Griswold carried on an interesting correspondence with the archbishops and bishops of the churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies of Great Britain, opening the way for a full intercommunion and intercourse between our own and the other branches of the Anglican communion. The beginning of the tractarian movement aroused his marked reprobation, and brought out clearly his conservatism and opposition to the novelties which were then beginning to disturb the Church's peace. With universal esteem and veneration, and rejoicing in the choice and consecration of an assistant for Massachusetts in whom he had the fullest confidence, and for whom he cherished the warmest regard, his last days were days of happiness. He remitted no labor. "A Bishop should die preaching" was a sentiment he often quoted from Bishop Jewell with marked approval. His own motto, "We will give ourselves continually to prayer and the ministry of the word," was fulfilled to the last.

"Why should I be unwilling to go home?" had been his almost reproachful query of his weeping household when, years before, he had been on the verge of the grave. For years he had lived in readiness for the destroyer. As was the case with the bishop who set him apart for the ministry, the apostolic Seabury, he had no wish to be spared from sudden death if it were God's will that he should by this end glorify his Father in heaven. And so death came to him in his ripe old age without the pain of a lingering dissolution. On Wednesday, the 15th of February, 1843, the aged bishop gathered his household about him for family prayers, reading the words of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain," and after the duties of the day were done proceeded to pay a visit to his assistant, Dr. Eastburn. It was the last of earth. Falling on his way, he struggled till the door was reached, and then, bowing his head upon the threshold, he "fell asleep." Without a sigh or groan he had "gone home."

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

THE sources of the history of "the Eastern Diocese" are abundant. Besides the works referred to in the text or in the foot-notes, each of the present dioceses, formerly united under the charge of Bishop Griswold, has published or reprinted its early journals, while the history of the Eastern Diocese itself has been prepared by the late Rev. C. R. Batchelder, and one of the three volumes proposed published (Claremont, N. H., 1875). It is to be regretted that this interesting and valuable compilation has not received the support it well deserved, in view of the fact that it gives, either in full or with judicious condensation, the proceedings of the conventions and the pastorals and addresses of the Bishop, which, as originally published, have become of great rarity. Mr. Batchelder's work comprises the history of the Church in New England, except Connecticut, from the first settlement of the country to 1843. It contains the annals of all the parishes which existed in New England, with the above exception, before the Revolution, and memoirs of the priests who served in them. It gives an account of the organization of the Church after that event, the formation of the Eastern Diocese, and all the addresses and pastoral letters of Bishop Griswold. It contains in connection with his addresses, in the form of notes, a history of all the parishes organized during his episcopate, and memoirs of most of those ordained by him and since deceased. Sections in different parts of the work give the history of the missionary and charitable institutions of the Church and notices of general interest. It also contains carefully prepared tables of all the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and those clergymen licensed to the plantations by the Bishop of London, who came into New England, and all the ordinations, confirmations, consecrations, and institutions performed by Bishop Griswold. It is to be hoped that so valuable a book of reference will yet be published in full.

CHAPTER XI.

PARTIES IN THE CHURCH.

THAT the period of the Church's reorganization and equipment, with its manifold activities and its engrossing cares and responsibilities, should be succeeded by a time of spiritual depression was to be expected. There were many causes tending to produce this lack of earnestness and aggressive life. The spirit of the times was unchristian and unchurchly. The remembrance of wrongs inflicted by the mother-land leading to the protracted struggle for separation and independence had given rise, now that the war was over, to a dislike of all that was English in manners, letters, politics, and belief. With the grateful memory of the results of French interposition in our behalf, at the critical moment of the war there had grown up an affectation for the laxity in belief and morals of the Continent. Even the oldest American Church college, which had been founded for the defence of the faith, had become a "hot-bed of French politics and irreligion." Christianity, as exemplified in the lives of worldly, and often unworthy, priests, had lost its hold upon the moral sense of the community. The preaching of the times, when it rose above the dreariest commonplace, was largely ethical, with labored arguments in favor of natural religion, and infrequent and but casual allusions to the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. There was little to awaken conviction of sin or to quicken and direct the spiritual life. The prayers and sacraments pointed to Christ, and feast and fast brought before the thoughtless and the inquirer alike the great truths and teachings of the incarnation and the atonement; but in too many cases, neither in word nor in life, did the priest inform the conscience or lead the way to a higher degree of spirituality. It is the testimony of one of the few clergy in Virginia who sought to withstand the tide of worldly conformity and ungodliness, that of those who were called "church people in Virginia generally none went to the Holy Table, except a few of the more aged."¹ Exceptions to this spiritual declension there certainly were. Though the love of many waxed cold, there were those who walked with God; and it is in tracing the development of a happier state of things that we find the beginnings of a school of thought, which, in its workings in the American Church, has produced men and fostered measures of which the Church of God at large may well be proud.

Our inheritance from the Church of colonial days was to a great extent a ministry having "a form of godliness," but too often without the power thereof, and a theology raised but a little above the level of morality in its human bearings, and barely exceeding the teachings of

¹ Life of the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, p. 102.

natural religion in its relations to God. We cannot but believe that the clergy of the Church were largely at fault, when we find the Church growing weaker and weaker, as it did throughout the South on the downfall of the "establishment" in Virginia and Maryland, and losing by degrees its hold on the masses, who were traditionally, and often by baptism, numbered among its members. It is a significant fact that the opposition in Virginia to the "Proposed Book" was not occasioned by its crudities or its uncatholicity, but in consequence of its rubrical requirement that the minister should repel an evil liver from the holy table, while the unpublished correspondence of the excellent Griffith, bishop-elect of this State, with White of Pennsylvania, exhibits a pitiable picture of indifference to the interests of religion and to the perfection and perpetuation of the Church in the clergy and laity alike.

It was a striking proof of the existence of a wide-spread Erastianism and indifference that the great body of the clergy and churchmen of Virginia were found arrayed in opposition to the introduction of an American episcopate, when Aphthorp, Chandler, and Seabury, and men like them at the North, were seeking to obtain this office for the completeness of the Church. In South Carolina, the Church had united in the confederation of churches at the northward, in their efforts for organization and the introduction of the episcopate, on condition that no bishop should be sent to the State; and when at length, in 1795, this opposition was overcome, and the Rev. Robert Smith was consecrated to the bishopric, it was not till 1813, nearly thirty years after Seabury's consecration, that confirmation was administered in the State.¹ This neglect of the Church's requirements was not to be wondered at in a State where there was strong suspicion that the opposition to the reception of a bishop had been withdrawn with the purpose of seceding from the general Church when once the episcopate had been secured, and where the proposal to confer an "absolute negative" on the House of Bishops called forth such "a virulent attack upon the doctrines and discipline of our Church, and a libel against the House

¹ That this statement is correct appears from a communication copied from a number of the "Gospel Messenger" into the "Southern Churchman" for February 11, 1869. This article is as follows:—

"The first bishop of South Carolina, who held that position from 1795 to 1801, never administered this apostolic rite in his diocese. Whether he regarded this Scriptural ordinance as unimportant, or whether his people looked upon confirmation as a relic of superstition, does not appear. Probably both these suppositions were in a measure true. Whatever the reason may have been, it is a melancholy reflection that one of the 'principles of the doctrine of Christ' had become lost to the minds of churchmen in South Carolina. After the death of Bishop Smith eleven years elapsed before the ordination of the second bishop of the diocese (Bishop Dehon), who first administered confirmation at Edisto Island, on the 30th March, 1813. The Rev. Andrew Fowler was the missionary who presented the class. He regarded the matter of so much importance that he published a minute account of this visitation of his bishop. . . .

"The Presbyter's address to the Bishop was as follows:—

"*Rt. Rev. Father in God:*—I here present you with a number of persons who have been regularly baptized, who have given me a satisfactory account of their faith, their repentance, their desire to keep God's holy will and commandments, of their firm resolution to persevere in the Christian profession, and their settled persuasion that confirmation is of standing use in the Church of Christ. They crave your blessing and the prayers of the congregation. They wish to be confirmed, and to renew and ratify in their persons, and in their own names, the solemn vow and promise that their godfathers and godmothers made for them in their baptism—thus taking upon themselves those sacred obligations, and exonerating their sureties from their more special engagements. I now most respectfully leave them in your hands, and may the blessing of God rest upon them, upon you and upon the whole Church, and may we all find grace and mercy in His sight here, and perpetual peace and felicity in His presence hereafter, through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Mediator! *Amen.*"

"At this confirmation twenty persons received this Apostolic rite. It was the first time it had ever been performed in this State."

Rev. of the Episcopal Society of Stratford
 the sum of Three pounds & shillings by the
 hands of Sam. L. Brinmead
 New Haven
 5 June 1794
 Yrs S. Bp. Connch.

BP. SEABURY'S RECEIPT FOR SERVICES.¹

of Bishops," that the author of this "very offensive and censurable matter," a leading clergyman of the State and intimate friend of the bishop, was only saved from expulsion from the House of Deputies by an ample and public apology, "accompanied by a profusion of tears."

Nor was the deadness in spiritual things confined to the South. The splendid abilities of William Smith secured his election to the Episcopate of Maryland, although he was more than suspected of doctrinal unsoundness, and was certainly open to charges of irregularity in life. Bishop Madison was exemplary and scholarly, but possessed little or no fervor of piety; and, as infidelity made strides towards taking possession of the very stronghold erected for the defence of the faith, despaired of the Church, and died hopeless of its future growth, and doubtful even of its perpetuation. The patriotic Provoost, of New York, was chosen to his position on political grounds, and his theology was, as it had been from the first, that of the latitudinarian school. His correspondence with White is conclusive as to the laxity of his doctrinal views; and his withdrawal from episcopal duty, and, if tradition is to be believed, even from attendance on Church and sacraments in his latter days, would confirm the belief that his interest in personal religion was but slight. The readiness of the Convention of the churches

¹ This interesting receipt, kindly furnished from the records of St. John's Church, Bridgeport, Conn., by the author's life-long friend, the

Rev. Eaton Whiting Maxcy, D.D., rector, illustrates the scanty and inadequate provision made in Connecticut for the support of the episcopate.

in the Middle and Southern States to sacrifice the Nicene Creed, as well as the Athanasian symbol, and the restoration of the former solely at the requirement of the English bishops, revealed the existence, not so much of actual heresy, as of indifference to creeds and confessions of faith. Even the episcopate, for the sake of which so much effort was made, was shorn of much of its prestige and historic powers. It was deemed essential by those who framed our earliest constitution that the independent and autonomous "Church in each State," composed often of three or four clergymen and the deputies of half-a-dozen parishes, unendowed and often without the ability for self-support, should have the power of trying, sentencing, and removing their episcopal head, who was at the outset to have no separate or independent voice in the legislation of the Church. The bishop was to be hampered with the care of a parish, and even in Connecticut, where the Church sentiment was certainly the strongest, the good bishop had no other support than his pension and his parochial stipend. The returns for episcopal labor were few and meagre. In fact, there was throughout the Church a spiritual torpor, from which the awakening at length came from opposite causes and in distant sections of the country.

Even prior to the war there had been a reviving of spiritual life in Virginia through the earnest ministrations of the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, Rector of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie county,¹ whose fervid eloquence and evangelical discourses attracted crowds of followers and won back to the Church and to the holy communion numbers who were either on the point of being detached from the "establishment," from its lack of spiritual life, or were indifferent to the claims of religion in consequence of evil courses of conduct. But "Father Jarratt," finding little sympathy from his brethren, among whom even at a clerical convention, he tells us, "the most sacred doctrines of Christianity" were in his hearing "treated with ridicule and profane burlesque," felt impelled to encourage the early beginnings of Methodism in Virginia, and for years, and, in fact, so long as the Methodists clung to the Church, was most active in the establishment of the "religious societies" of this body, and most painstaking in administering the sacraments to their members throughout a wide extent of territory. It was not till the separation, against which John Wesley had published again and again his cogent "Reasons," finally took place, that a revulsion of feeling took place, and Father Jarratt was bitterly reviled, even by his spiritual children, for clinging to the Old Church to which he found himself "more attached since she lost her emoluments and the smiles of government than ever before." Still, by his personal labors, and by the fervor of his published sermons, the good old man contributed not a little to the revival both of religion and the Church in the Middle and Southern States.

As good Dr. Leaming had written, even before Seabury's consecration, the provision for maintaining the dignity of the episcopal station was to be an "after thought." As might have been anticipated, it was but little thought of at all.

¹ *Vide* "The Life of the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, Rector of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie county, Virginia, written by himself, in a series of letters

addressed to the Rev. John Coleman, One of the Ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland, Baltimore: 1806." Pp. iv., 222. To which is appended, "Thoughts on some Important Subjects in Divinity; in a Series of Letters to a Friend. By the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, &c." p. 84.

Towards the close of the century the influences at work in the mother-Church, in developing a greater fervor and a most earnest devotion to religion, were felt across the ocean, and notably in Maryland and Virginia. The Rev. Walter Dulany Addison, of Georgetown; and the Rev. William H. Wilmer, subsequently President of the House of Deputies, and of William and Mary College; and the Rev. Oliver Norris, of Alexandria, were among those who adopted and most successfully proclaimed those views of practical and personal religion which were held by the evangelical clergy and laity of the mother-land. Bishop Meade, in his charming, gossipy volumes on the "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia," attributes much of this revival of religious interest to the circulation of the sermons and lectures of the Bishop of London, Dr. Beilby Porteus, who was of a Virginian family, if not by birth a native of the "Old Dominion." The publication of Mr. Wilberforce's "Practical View of Christianity" was another means of quickening and developing the spirit of self-consecration and a higher Christian life. The entrance on the ministry by a young Virginian of good family and ripe scholarship marked an era in the Church's revival. In William Meade the evangelical theology found an ardent, able, and consistent advocate. Eloquent, impressive, and above all thoroughly in earnest, his ministry was the means of awakening multitudes to a sense of sin and a longing for pardon and the gift of everlasting life. There was in his conduct of the services of the Church and in the manner of his preaching, as well as in the holiness of his personal life, so much that was attractive and satisfying, that crowds were drawn to his ministrations, and he became almost from his entrance upon orders a leader in the Church's advance. At the North the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, who had been a "lay-preacher," under the personal direction of Wesley, and had received orders at the hands of Bishop Seabury, had not, in his entrance upon the ministry of the Church, lost any of his early zeal and personal fervor as a Methodist. During his long and honored ministry at St. Paul's, Philadelphia, his views were those of the evangelical school, and his labors were eminently blessed. In the failure of his physical and mental powers, consequent upon advancing years, the celebrated Benjamin Allen was appointed his assistant in 1821, and his successor in 1825, and in his sympathy with Dr. Pilmore's views, and his earnest advocacy of the doctrines he taught, became himself a leader in the school of thought now rapidly gaining in numbers and strength.

In South Carolina the earnest and eloquent William Percy, D.D., who, though in holy orders, had been one of Lady Huntingdon's chaplains, and, after Whitefield's death, had been appointed by her ladyship the President of Bethesda College, was a great admirer of Romaine and Madan, and a strong advocate of the views held by the English "Evangelicals." He was a godly man, devoted to the Calvinistic system of theology, and a successful preacher of the gospel of Christ. The Rev. William Duke, of Maryland, whose sympathies and labors had been with the Methodists so long as the Methodists clung to the Church, and who was offered by Bishop Claggett the appointment as "archdeacon" for the conduct of the

Church's missionary work in Kentucky, was, we are told by the historiographer of the Maryland Church, "a man of great purity of life, and very clear and decided in his views of evangelical truth." As years went on, and the older advocates of the "doctrines of grace," as they were called, passed away, a generation sprang up full of zeal and earnestness, and in many cases distinguished for eloquence and scholarship; and Hopkins, Boyd, Bull, and Bedell, in Pennsylvania; Milnor and Channing Moore, in New York; McIlvaine in Brooklyn; Henshaw and Johns in Baltimore; and Tyng, Bristed, and Crocker, in New England, gave to the evangelical party strength, influence, and brilliancy, rarely excelled. The growth of the party was rapid. Bishop McIlvaine once publicly recalled the General Convention of 1820, "held when he was a Candidate for Orders," and asserted that "Key¹ was the only one who was allowed to stand up in defence of evangelical truth. Three clergymen,² with the chairman,³ constituted the whole evangelical force in the Lower House." An examination of the list of deputies in attendance upon the Convention will prove the good bishop to have underestimated the strength of his party at this period; but it was not long ere the evangelical school of thought numbered the most active and successful of the younger clergy among its adherents. The establishment of the theological seminary of Virginia, which was distinctively under the control of those who maintained distinctively "evangelical" principles, as they were styled, added largely to the numbers and influence of the party, and by the missionary zeal which it developed among its students gave to the Church some of the most saintly and devoted of our foreign missionaries. At the West the attitude taken by Bishop Hobart towards the Bishop of Ohio, Dr. Philander Chase, gave to the evangelical party all the glory of his remarkable success in the founding of a diocese, a college, and a school of theology, and assured them the promise of the growing West. In New England the apostolic Griswold, gently but successfully, moulded the dioceses outside of Connecticut into substantial agreement with his principles and policy. The pulpits of the great and generous parishes in the large cities were filled by the eloquent and able representatives of this party. Its societies, as they were formed one after another in pursuance of the policy of the voluntary system to which they had given their adhesion, were liberally supported. Publications in defence of "evangelical" views were abundantly supplied and freely dispersed abroad. The sympathies of the great religious bodies were freely accorded to its principles and its advocates. It became a power felt throughout the Christian world.

While there was this natural development of evangelical principles and an evangelical party in the Middle and Southern States, there was developed at the North a school of thought representing the attitude of the Church prior to the war in the colonies where it was not established, and where its converts were those who entered its

¹ Francis S. Key, Esq., a deputy from Maryland.

² Probably the Rev. George Boyd, of Pennsylvania; the Rev. John P. K. Henshaw, of Maryland; and the Rev. William Meade, of Virginia.

The bishop evidently forgot to include the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, of North Carolina; and the Rev. Levi Bull, of Pennsylvania.

³ The Rev. William H. Wilmer, D.D., of Virginia.

fold from conviction of its apostolicity and its accordance with the primitive Church. The clergy of the Church at the North were, in the main, converts to the faith; and there was developed in their individual cases, and naturally in the churches to which they ministered, a more pronounced type of churchmanship, and a more undeviating adherence to the distinctive principles of our communion as contrasted with the varying and various faiths outside. In the controversies, so numerous and so continuous throughout the period of our ante-revolutionary history, the defenders of the Church's system and doctrines were in almost every case from the North. The prevailing type of churchmanship at the South, and even in the middle colonies, was that of Erastianism. There was no sympathy with the fervor of Whitefield, but an equal distaste for any movement for the introduction of the episcopate and the completion of our system of orders. The churchmen of the North looked with surprise upon the indifference openly expressed by their brethren at the South with reference to the introduction of American bishops. It was evident that with such indisposition to the episcopal order there could be little, if any, true Church principle. This state of things was not changed by the war for independence. The silenced and proscribed clergy of the North learned by their very persecutions a greater love for Church as well as king, which had been in their case a common cause. At the close of the struggle, when Seabury had received the episcopate from the bishops of the Church in Scotland, and with the grace of the highest order of the ministry had adopted the views of his consecrators with reference to the Eucharist, it was but natural that in Connecticut and New England there should be a corresponding advance in churchmanship among his clergy and people. In New York the amiable Benjamin Moore sympathized with Seabury, while Hobart became his devoted follower and the advocate of his distinctive teachings. In his successive charges, in his sermons and addresses, and in the works he compiled, or wrote, with untiring industry, Hobart proclaimed a distinctive churchmanship, that spoke with no uncertain sound. The General Theological Seminary was established in New York, where it felt the bishop's commanding influence from the start, and by his careful measures was moulded in accordance with his views. The propagandists of the "Church" theory were active and tireless. It was not long before it found a valuable ally in the publication of the "Tracts for the Times," and when, at length, some from among the leaders in the Oxford movement deserted the Church for the Roman obedience there had been gained a strength sufficient to stand the defections on both sides of the Atlantic, and the still more injurious exposure and punishment of the Onderdonks, who had been foremost among the leaders and advocates of the High-Church party. By a tacit understanding the foreign field of missionary work had been assigned to the evangelical party, and the home field to their opponents. By this arrangement, as dioceses were formed and missionary bishops were appointed, a strength was acquired in the councils of the Church which could not be overcome. The policy of the evangelical party, in its founding and support of schools of theology and colleges, was met

by a similar policy. Gambier found in Nashotah a powerful rival; Trinity, Hobart, and, later, Racine, flourished; whilst Bristol College failed, and Kenyon and Griswold grew but slowly.

To the various evangelical societies were opposed others, working on a distinctively Church basis. The power of the great and wealthy evangelical parishes found an equipoise in the increase and development of the smaller missions and congregations. In the gradual withdrawal of the evangelical leaders from connection with the general institutions and Societies of the Church, the ground was left open for the occupation of their opponents, who were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity, and found in this new vantage ground *prestige* and power. Even the romance of foreign missions was equalled and excelled by the recital of the labors and successes of such evangelists as Kemper and Breck. The charities in which the evangelical party had been so abundant were rivalled by the building of churches, hospitals, colleges, schools, on every side. That there was rivalry is confessed; but in time it became a generous strife which would do the most for the Church of Christ, for the good of man, for the glory of God. That there were strifes and bickerings, and that party machinery was set at work and party measures advanced by means far from creditable on either side, is too evident to be denied, or even concealed. But even these contentions were often overruled by God for good. The clash of steel in deadly conflict will yield oftentimes sparks of purest light, and from the men and measures of our period of party strife there have come to the Church a broader toleration, a truer and freer recognition of a common Christianity, and the consciousness of substantial agreement, even where differences and misunderstandings abound. In the meeting of foes face to face friendship is often the result, and from amidst our most bitter contentions there have been evolved the peaceable fruits of righteousness. From time to time there has been "the Truce of God." Hands have been clasped across the chasm of personal or party differences. Christ has been glorified, and the Church's cause advanced by the lives and labors of men of each school of thought. Time and experience have proved that with abundant individuality there was more in common than in dispute among us, and that, after all, the Church of Christ was loved by all.

It were unnecessary to recite the causes leading by slow and gradual stages to a decline of party feeling and a general accord. The key-note of a loving unity was sounded from the lips of the aged Bishop of Virginia at the opening of the memorable Convention of 1871, and his message of love was echoed by the presence and noble words of the apostolic Selwyn, whose presence, in a day of controversy, was a benediction of peace. There has been since then a growing unity, a general toleration, a universal recognition of the call to live and labor for Christ. Individualism may abound, but there is a more general acknowledgment of the common honesty of purpose and loyalty to Christ and his Church of those who differ widely in non-essentials than has ever been known before. It is the blessing of Him who maketh men to be of one mind in an house.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

THE bibliography of this portion of our ecclesiastical history would fill a volume. These abundant issues from the press may be grouped about the names of the leaders of the different schools of thought, and about the great societies and institutions which, under the patronage of the one party or the other, grew into importance and became centres of influences for good. Not a step in the Church's advance during these long years of intestine struggles but has left its abundant traces in print. The rise and development of every varying phase of theological thought are thus fully presented to the student in the words of its advocates and in the annals of its progress. No one can fail to recognize the fulness of the material thus offered, and to find, in the slightest research, all that could be desired to elucidate the history of these important Church movements from the very first.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HOME EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH.

THE introduction of the Church west of the Alleghany and the Blue Ridge Mountains dates back to the period of the struggle for independence. In the autumn of 1774 eight private gentlemen of North Carolina, under the leadership of Richard Henderson, conceived a project of purchasing from the Cherokees, in the West, a large tract of country, with a view both to settlement and speculation. The following March a treaty was made, the celebrated Daniel Boone acting as interpreter, and the country stretching from the Cumberland to the Kentucky rivers was formally ceded to the "Transylvania Company." The establishment of a separate and independent government, under the protectorate of the motherland, appears to have been intended, and in furtherance of this plan, on the arrival of Colonel Henderson at the unfinished fort at Boonesborough, he opened a land-office, appointed his officers, and summoned a legislative assembly to meet at this place, as the capital, on the 23d of May, 1775. One of the delegates to this assembly was the Rev. John Lythe, of Harrodsburgh, licensed for Virginia, as the Fulham Records¹ acquaint us, in 1763. He is found in 1763² in South Carolina, where he remained less than a year, and his name next appears in connection with this plan of settlement. The meeting of this territorial legislature was preceded by the "performance of divine service," and among the enactments of this primary assembly "the Rev. John Lythe obtained leave to bring in a bill to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath-breaking." In a manuscript diary, kept by the leading spirit of these pioneer settlers of Kentucky, and only brought to light after half a century had passed since it was penned, there is the following reference to the place where this service was held:—

About fifty yards from the Kentucky River (called by the Indians, Chenoca, and by the English, Louisa), near a fine spring, stands one of the finest elms that, perhaps, nature ever produced. The tree is on a beautiful plain, surrounded by a turf of fine white clover, forming a green to its very stock. The trunk is about four feet through at the first branches, which are about nine feet from the ground. From thence it regularly extends its large branches on every side, at such equal distances as to form the most beautiful tree that imagination can suggest. The diameter of the branches, from the extreme end, is one hundred feet, and every fair day it describes a semi-circle on the heavenly greensward around it of upward of four hundred feet in circuit. At any time between the hours of ten and two one hundred persons may comfortably seat themselves under its branches. This *divine* tree (or rather one of the proofs of the existence from all eternity of its Divine Author) is to be our Church and our Council Chamber.³ . . .

¹ *Ide* General Convention MSS., and also "Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Collections," i., p. 119.

² Dalcho's History, p. 434.

³ Quoted in Gov. Morehead's address, com-

memorative of the first settlement of Kentucky, 1841. References to the facts condensed above appear on pp. 40, 41, 47, 49, 72 of this address.

On the day succeeding that of the adjournment divine service was performed by the Rev. Mr. Lythe of the Church of England. And it was under the shade of this magnificent elm that the voices of these rude hunters rose in accents of prayer and thanksgiving to the God of their fathers — that the verdant groves of the land of the savage and the buffalo first rang with the anthems of the Christian's worship, and echoed back the message of the Redeemer to the world.¹

But the work of moulding this unformed community for Christ and his Church was not to be the privilege of the amiable Lythe. He died by the hands of the Indians, and so completely had the memory of his life and his labors for good morals and true religion passed away that the first historian of Kentucky, in his summary of the religious annals of the State, in apparent ignorance even of his name, tells us that—

There were in the country, and chiefly from Virginia, many Episcopalians, but who had formed no Church, there being no parson or minister of that denomination to take charge of it; persons of that description seeming not to like new countries, or to be deficient in zeal, when not cherished by parish or tythe, as was the case in Kentucky.²

More than ten years later there came to Kentucky the Rev. Benjamin Sebastian, a native of Virginia, and licensed for his native State, in 1766,³ doubtless the year of his ordination. The same year he took charge of Frederick parish, in Virginia, where he remained not quite two years, and then removed to Northumberland.⁴ From 1767 to 1777 he ministered in St. Stephen's parish, Northumberland.⁵ In 1782 he was Rector of Christ Church parish, Calvert, Maryland, and in 1785 of William and Mary parish, St. Mary's.⁶ About 1788 he removed to Kentucky, where he became secularized, and was made Judge of the Court of Appeals. As a lawyer and a publicist he attained prominence, and, although he did not preach, he never entirely renounced his clerical function, but occasionally performed the offices of baptism and matrimony among his personal friends. He died Nov. 20, 1832, at the age of ninety-three years, surviving the period of the Church's deepest depression, and living a month after the consecration of the first bishop of his adopted State.

In June, 1789, the Convention of the diocese of Maryland commissioned the Rev. William Duke to visit Kentucky in a missionary capacity. The following month he set out on his journey, and by the 3d of August he reached the Middle Alleghanies; but, owing to failing health, he returned to Maryland, where he spent an honored and useful life. In 1792 the separation of Kentucky from Virginia was effected, at which period "it might have been hazarded as a probable conjecture that no Episcopal church would ever be erected in Kentucky."⁷ In 1794 the Rev. James Moore, a Presbyterian minister, conformed to the Church, receiving ordination from the hands of Bishop Madison, of Virginia. As the first president of Transylvania University, and

¹ Morehead's address.

² Hon. Humphrey Marshall's "Hist. of Ky.," I., p. 444. Quoted in the "Spirit of Missions," XIII., pp. 3, 5.

³ Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., p. 119.

⁴ Meade's "Old Churches, etc., of Virginia,"

II., p. 285.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II., pp. 132, 467.

⁶ Allen's "Maryland Clergy," p. 14.

⁷ Hon. Humphrey Marshall's "Hist. of Ky.,"

I., p. 444.

the first Rector of Christ Church, Lexington, of which charge he continued the minister for twenty years, he deserves especial remembrance.

In 1798 Bishop Claggett, of Maryland, sent to Kentucky the Rev. Edward Gannet, Jr., one of the candidates for holy orders, who received ordination at the close of the revolutionary war, at the hands of the English bishops, by virtue of a special act of Parliament. Failing health compelled his speedy return to Maryland. The same fate attended the Rev. Samuel Keene, Jr., who was sent out on the return of the Rev. Mr. Gannet, who, after a second attempt, and after organizing several small congregations, returned to Maryland, in the spring of 1800, where he not long afterwards died. About the time of Mr. Gannet's coming the Rev. Andrew Elliott, who was Rector of William and Mary and St. Andrew's parishes, Maryland, from 1794 to 1798,¹ removed to Kentucky, and settled in Franklin county, near Frankfort; but he soon merged the clerical character into that of a farmer, and his residence in Kentucky contributed in no degree to the upbuilding of the Church he had vowed to serve.

In 1800 the Rev. William Kavanaugh, a popular Methodist preacher, brought into the Church through the influence of the Rev. Samuel Keene, was ordained deacon and priest on the 8th and 9th of June, respectively, by Bishop Claggett, in St. Paul's, Baltimore. Returning to Kentucky, he officiated at Lexington, Paris, and Coleman's Mills. In 1802 he removed to Jefferson county, and officiated occasionally at Louisville, Middletown, Shelbyville, and Frankfort, adding to his duties the care of a school for girls. In 1806 he removed to Henderson, where, in about six months, he died, on the 16th of October, at the age of thirty-two,² having served the Church from Clarke county to the Mississippi, a range of two hundred and fifty miles.

In April, 1800, a subscription was begun for a church in Lexington, which, two years later, was in use, though not completed. Prior to this time a log church, four miles out of the city, and erected on the farm of a prominent churchman, Captain Skeely, had been the first and only church in the State. Looking, as the few churchmen very naturally did, to Maryland for clergymen, the bishop of that diocese was invited to assume the episcopal oversight of the State. This year a clergyman who had emigrated from Virginia, and settled in Bardstown as a medical practitioner, was killed in a duel. The Rev. James Chambers, M.D.,³ who, in 1788, was in charge of the parish in Staunton, was the unhappy man, and it is needless to say that after his removal to Kentucky he was completely secularized, making no attempt to exercise his ministry.

In 1803 Mr. Kavanaugh wrote to Bishop Claggett for missionaries, and the bishop, unable to visit this portion of his charge, and yet desirous of serving it to the best of his ability, proposed to the Rev. William Duke to become his "Archdeacon" in Kentucky; but he declined in consequence of ill-health. About the year 1808 the Rev. Edward Gannet, M.D., Sen., who had been licensed for Maryland in 1770,⁴ having been ordained deacon by Bishop Lowth, of Oxford,

¹ Allen's "Maryland Clergy," p. 23.

² Meade's "Old Churches, etc.," II., p. 322.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁴ Fulham MSS.

in January of that year, became a resident of Kentucky, where he died, in Louisville, in 1837, aged ninety-five. For a time he officiated at baptisms and marriages, but, having embraced the views of Swedenborg, he appears to have relinquished the exercise of his ministry, though he lived and died in the communion of the Church.

The Bishop of Maryland entered into correspondence with the Rev. President Moore, in 1808, proposing a Western episcopate, — a measure, unfortunately, too long delayed. Dr. Moore ceased to be president of the university about this time, but continued in charge of the church in Lexington. He died on the 22d of July, 1814, at the age of fifty, having borne the reputation of being a good scholar and a well-read divine.

In 1813 the Rev. John Ward succeeded the Rev. James Moore at Lexington. He had been ordained deacon, by Bishop Jarvis, Dec. 1, 1805,¹ and received priest's orders in 1807.

In 1818 the Rev. Charles Crawford, ordained deacon by Bishop White and priest by Bishop Madison, removed to Kentucky, and officiated for some years at Plumb Creek and Shelbyville.

In 1819 the Rev. Mr. Ward removed to St. Louis, and was succeeded by his nephew, the Rev. Benjamin Birge, who died in March of the following year. The Rev. George T. Chapman, D.D., was his successor, in 1820, who was followed ten years later by the Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, late Bishop of Kentucky and presiding in the House of Bishops. The Rev. Joseph Jackson, of the diocese of Maryland, while on a missionary tour, visited Russellville. In August, 1820, he officiated in Louisville, and on the 28th of October of the same year he officiated at Bardstown, where he settled, and soon afterwards died.² In 1823 the Rev. Henry M. Shaw, from Maryland, settled in Louisville, and Christ Church was built.

The organization of the diocese is thus detailed by the Rev. George T. Chapman, D.D., through whose agency this result was accomplished:—

In the spring of 1829, knowing that the General Convention was to meet that year in Philadelphia, in concert with some prominent members of my Church, I took measures to remedy the existing state of things in Kentucky. Having heard that a few Episcopalians were living at Danville, I set off for that place on the 30th of May, and having in a few days collected these persons together, my object in visiting them was fully explained, and the result was the speedy organization of a Church, and the appointment of delegates to attend the then proposed State Convention at Lexington, in July. From Danville I proceeded to Louisville, at that time destitute of a rector; preached in the Church in that city, June 7th, stated my object to its members, in which they cordially concurred, and also appointed the desired delegates. Returning to Lexington the same week, preparations were made for the meeting of the Convention. It assembled in Christ Church, either on Tuesday, July 7th, or on Wednesday, July 8th,³ 1829; divine service was celebrated and a sermon preached by me, being the only settled clergyman in the State. The organization of the diocese was then happily effected, there being several lay delegates⁴ from the three parishes of Lexington, Louisville, and Danville, and three of

¹ Burgess's "List of Ordinations," p. 7.

² Allen's "Maryland Clergy," p. 23, and "Annals of Kentucky" appended to the "Churchman's Calendar of 1864," from which other items

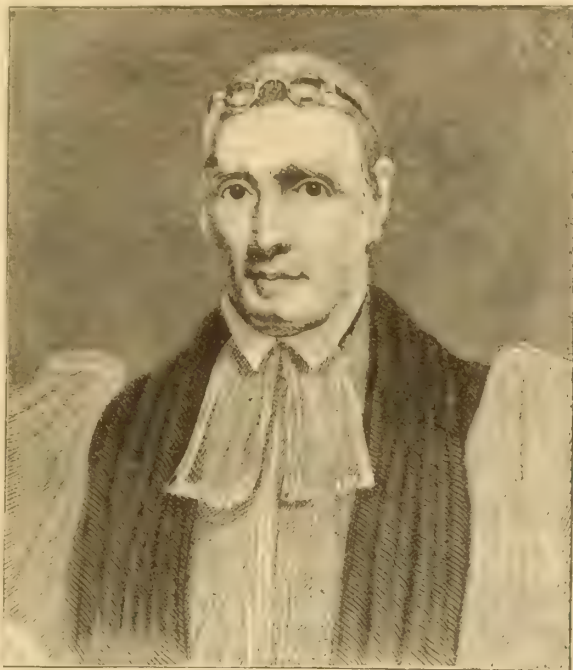
of Kentucky ecclesiastical history have been gathered.

³ It met on the 8th and 9th of July.

⁴ Sixteen lay delegates, representing the three parishes, were in attendance.

the Clerical Order from Lexington, when the Convention, after discharging its remaining duties, adjourned.¹

This first Convention of the diocese of Kentucky organized by the choice of the Rev. Dr. Chapman as president, and the Rev. Benjamin O. Peers as secretary. Rules of order and a constitution were adopted. Diocesan officers and a deputation to the General Convention were elected. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Ravenscroft, of North Carolina, was invited to visit the diocese. A diocesan missionary society was formed. Canons were proposed and laid over for action at the next Convention. The employment of lay readers in destitute parishes was advised. Daily family worship was unanimously recommended to all families attached to the Church in the diocese, and the standing committee were requested to publish an address to the Episcopalians throughout the State, inviting their interest and coöperation in the Church's work. Bishop Ravenscroft



RT. REV. JOHN S. RAVENSCROFT, D.D., BISHOP
OF NORTH CAROLINA.

confirmed upwards of seventy on Sunday, July 26, 1829, and on the following Tuesday twenty more, in Christ Church, Lexington, and on the 29th of November Bishop Brownell confirmed thirty-four in the same place, and on the 13th of December thirty-one in Christ Church, Louisville. At the time of the admission of the diocese of Kentucky into union with the General Convention the number of parishes was three, and the number of clergymen four. The following year Bishop Meade, of Virginia, visited Kentucky, confirming eight in Lexington on the 29th of May, twenty-five in Trinity Church, Danville, on the 5th of June, and twenty-one in Louisville on the 12th of the same month. The following year the diocese of Kentucky welcomed to its borders its first bishop, the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, D.D., LL.D., the late presiding bishop of the American Church.

¹ The Rev. Dr. Chapman, the Rev. John Ward, and the Rev. Benjamin O. Peers, Deacon.

² From the "Spirit of Missions," XIII., p. 98.

In Tennessee the first clergyman of the Church was subsequently its first bishop, the apostolic James Hervey Otey. Born at the foot of the Peaks of Otter, in Bedford county, Virginia, on the 27th of January, 1803; brought to the knowledge of Christ and his church by reading the Book of Common Prayer; baptized just before reaching his majority by the Rev. William Mercer Green, now Bishop of Mississippi; a graduate of the University of North Carolina; ordained deacon by Bishop Ravenscroft on the 16th of October, 1825, and priest on the 27th of June, 1827,—he had gone, on leaving college, to Tennessee as a teacher, and the revelation of the spiritual destitution of the land led him, on his ordination, to return to this State for the exercise of his ministry. In Tennessee there was little, if any, of that churchly and cavalier element which had been borne by the early settlers of Kentucky from their Virginia home. The people were intensely sectarian, and it was only by combining the work of education with the ministry that he could find support. In Franklin, which he selected as the centre of his missionary operations, he held service in a hall, his wife being frequently the only one to make the responses. After the morning prayer and sermon he was wont to proceed on horseback to Nashville, eighteen miles distant, where, after performing the work of a janitor in preparing the room for service, he was ready to preach Christ and him crucified to souls hungering for the truth. And this work was performed after a week of exhausting labor; for in the lack of suitable assistants he was obliged to teach the whole round of primary and academic studies. His sermons were written late at night by the feeble, flickering light of a "tallow dip;" and amidst the cares of an increasing family, and under the pressure of countless duties, he prepared the discourses which were so profound in thought and convincing in argument as to prove an intellectual repast to the most fastidious hearers. It was during this multiplicity of cares and over-exertion that his constitution gave way, and sickness followed; but even in the delirium of fever his mind was bent on his high and holy work, and he would piteously plead with those about him who strove to quiet his uneasy tossing: "Let me preach to these dying sinners. Do you not see them all around me perishing for the Bread of Life?" This burning zeal for souls, and this deep love and enthusiasm for his priestly calling, never flagged. And, even as he neared the end, it was his tearful cry: "The people are wandering and perishing for lack of knowledge, and the ministers of God are afraid to tell them the truth."¹ With such work, and under the care of such a worker, it was not long before the church in Nashville was able to support its own resident rector. In 1830 the diocese of Tennessee was organized, and the primary Convention held. In 1833, at the Convention held on St. Peter's day, the 29th of June, the pioneer priest of the diocese was elected as its first bishop, and at Christ Church, Philadelphia, on Tuesday, the 14th of January, 1834, he was consecrated to this office

¹ *Vide* an interesting account of Bishop Otey, Convention of 1859, in the "Church Review," and a touching reference to his sermon on Vol. xv., p. 465. "Christian Education," delivered at the General

and administration. Entering upon his new duties with the zeal and ardor which characterized all he did, it was not long before the whole South-west sought his episcopal services. For years, besides the care of his own see, he ministered as Provisional Bishop of Mississippi and Florida, and as Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, Louisiana, and the Indian Territory, pursuing his journeys to a great extent on horse-back, and exposed to all the dangers and discomforts incident to travel in a new and quite unsettled country. "Weary, weary, weary," was the frequent comment in his note-book on these days of fatigue and nights of pain. But there was no relief till, in December, the Rev. Leonidas Polk was consecrated Missionary Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. Nearly three years later Dr. Elliott was consecrated Bishop of Georgia, and assumed the charge of Florida.

In 1844 Dr. Nicholas Hamner Cobb was consecrated for Alabama, and Dr. George W. Freeman, as Missionary Bishop of the South-west. But the large diocese of Mississippi remained under the care of Bishop Otey till 1850, when the Bishop of Tennessee became, by a singular providence, one of the consecrators of the Rev. William Mercer Green, the man of God who, thirty years before, had received him to holy baptism. In all these fields of labor Bishop Otey was beloved and revered. His labors were specially blessed. Deeply impressed with the importance of affording the means for a Christian and a churchly education, the bishop established, a year after his entrance upon his episcopate, the Columbia Female Institute, at Columbia, Maury county, which was for years the largest and most successful church school in the United States. This venture of faith on the part of the great-hearted bishop was undertaken in the midst of a community where the number of male communicants of the Church was but seven or eight, and where every opposing form of belief or disbelief was arrayed against the introduction of so open and pronounced an instrument for the dissemination of the church's doctrines and practices. Daily morning and evening prayers brought to the attendants in this institution the knowledge and love of the Church and her holy ways, and from this centre of church influence there went out in every direction means for the turning of multitudes to the Church.

Turning to the southward we may briefly give the story of the revival of the Church in Georgia, which, in its earlier years, had enjoyed the ministrations of the Wesleys and Whitefield, and later those of the devoted Ellington, of Bethesda College, who was spared for many years of faithful labors in the colony. The details of the labors of Norris, Orton, Zouberbuhler, Copp, Frink, Alexander, Findlay, Lowton, Seymour, Holmes, Brown, and Haddon Smith, before the war, as recorded in the works and letters of Whitefield and in the reports of the venerable society, seem strange when compared with the utter prostration of the Church at the close of the struggle for independence. The Church seemed left without a friend. The glebe at Augusta was confiscated, and the avails applied to the endowment of an academy, and even the rights of the few churchmen to the Church were not exclusively allowed. The ministrations of the rector, the Rev. Adam Boyd, from 1790 to 1799, were fol-

lowed by the complete disorganization of the parish, which continued until 1818. Bishop Robert Smith, of South Carolina, from 1798 to the time of his death, in 1802, sought to render what aid he could. Through the Rev. Mr. Strong, then of Oglethorpe county, he learned of the desire for holy orders on the part of Mr. James Hamilton Ray, who was ordained deacon and priest in the spring of 1801, and who lived a useful and honored clergyman in Greene county until 1805, when he died. And about the same time the Bishop of South Carolina ordained a Mr. Gurney,¹ who had been a Methodist preacher, but whose accession to the Church proved of little good.

From 1802 until 1812 the episcopate of South Carolina was vacant, and the depression experienced by the Church in South Carolina was shared by the Church in Georgia; but in the spring of 1815 Bishop Dehon visited Savannah, and consecrated the church there, then recently rebuilt. At this time fifty persons, presented by the rector, the Rev. Walter Cranston, were confirmed. In March, 1821, Bishop Bowen consecrated St. Paul's, Augusta. In April, 1823, Christ Church, Savannah, was again visited, and seventy-eight persons confirmed, the Rev. Mr. Carter having succeeded the lamented Cranston in the rectorship.

On the 24th of February, 1823, the primary Convention of the clergy and laity of Georgia met at St. Paul's Church, Augusta, for organization. Three clergymen were present—the Rev. Edward Matthews, Rector of Christ Church, St. Simon's Island; the Rev. Abiel Carter, Rector of Christ Church, Savannah; and the Rev. Hugh Smith, Rector of St. Paul's, Augusta; and five lay delegates, representing the parishes in Savannah and Augusta. Rules of order and a constitution and canons were adopted. The Rev. Mr. Carter was chosen president of the Convention, Dr. I. B. Read, treasurer, and Dr. Thomas I. Wray, secretary. The Convention acceded to the constitution of the Church in the United States; and deputies were chosen to the General Convention. An address to the members of the Church "in the different parts of this State" was adopted and ordered printed in the journal. The diocese was placed under the charge of the Bishop of South Carolina, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Bowen. A "Society for the extension of religion in this State" was instituted, and the journal, together with the constitution and canons, was ordered to be printed.

The second annual Convention assembled in Christ Church, Savannah, on the 3d and 4th of May, 1824. The Rev. Messrs. Smith and Carter of the clergy, and four laymen, representing the two parishes at Savannah and Augusta, were in attendance. The Rev. Hugh Smith was elected president, and Dr. Thomas I. Wray, secretary. Eighty-four persons had been confirmed in Savannah, and eighteen in Augusta. The time of holding conventions was changed from the "third Monday in April" to the "third Monday after Easter." The donation of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was gratefully accepted, and the clerical members of the Convention em-

¹ No reference to this ordination is found in Bishop Burgess's List.

powered to procure a missionary. A standing committee and a deputation to the General Convention were elected. The report of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Georgia was received and approved.

The third Convention met in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, April 18, 1825, the opening sermon being delivered by the Rev. Mr. Carter. The Rev. Samuel Strong, the oldest clergyman in the diocese, was present, and was elected president. The committee appointed to procure a missionary reported the engagement of the Rev. Lot Jones. The parish of Christ Church, Macon, was admitted into union with the Convention. The report of the standing committee gave information that one person had applied to become a candidate for orders.

At the fourth Convention, which met in the parish of Christ Church, Macon, on the 24th and 25th of April, 1826, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Bowen was present and presiding, with three clergymen and four deputies, representing the parishes of Augusta and Macon. Mr. G. McLaughlin was chosen secretary, and Dr. J. B. Barlow, treasurer. The bishop's address noticed the removal of the candidate for orders to another diocese; the appointment of a missionary to St. Simon's and Darien; the confirmation of forty-six persons in Savannah; the success of the missionary labors of the Rev. Mr. Jones at Macon; and gave certain historical *notitia*, practical remarks, and a commendation of Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church" as affording a succinct narrative of the history of our communion. The article of the constitution fixing the time of meeting of the Convention was changed, and the next meeting appointed in January. The Convention sermon was appointed for the "Sabbath" preceding the opening of the Convention.

The journal of the fifth annual Convention, which was held in Christ Church, Savannah, February 12, 1827, was "published by request" in the "Gospel Messenger" and "Southern Episcopal Register," of May, 1827, and, with that of the succeeding year, was not printed in separate form. Bishop Bowen was prevented from attendance by domestic bereavement. The Society for the Advancement of Christianity reported the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Williston, of Delaware, as missionary, and expressed regret at the resignation of the Rev. Mr. Jones. The time of holding the annual Convention was again changed. A letter of sympathy¹ was ordered to be addressed by the president of the Convention to the Bishop of South Carolina.

The sixth Convention of the diocese of Georgia assembled in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, on the 15th of April, 1828. Two clergymen and four laymen, the representatives of two parishes, were present. The Rev. E. Neufville was chosen president, Mr. John F. Lloyd, secretary, and Dr. Read, treasurer. A testimonial of respect to the memory of the late Rev. Abiel Carter was entered on the minutes. A letter of the Rev. Lot Jones, respecting his absence and reporting his official acts, was ordered to be filed and published. The Society for the Advancement of Christianity reported inability to procure a missionary, and a balance of \$197.50 in the treasury. A portion of

¹ The correspondence is published in the South Carolina "Gospel Messenger," of April, 1827, on pp. 127, 128, of Vol. v.

this balance was ordered to be expended in tracts and prayer-books. The establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Sunday-School Union was commended, and a depository established at Augusta. The journal of this Convention, "communicated for the 'Gospel Messenger,'" appears in the same periodical in which the journal of 1827 was printed, and was not issued in a separate form.

The journal of the seventh Convention, which met in Christ Church, Savannah, on the 27th and 28th of April, 1829, occupies pp. 22 to 30, inclusive, of a pamphlet with the following title, viz.: "A Plea for the Church in Georgia. A sermon, delivered in Christ Church, Savannah, on Sunday morning, April 26th, 1829, at the opening of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Diocese of Georgia. By the Rev. Hugh Smith, A.M., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Augusta. Published at the request of the Convention. Augusta: 1829." The text of this discourse was from Amos vii. : 2 "By whom shall Jacob arise? For he is small." "Fidelity to our doctrinal standards, not simply because they are ours, but because they embrace the doctrines of the Bible,—the doctrines of the cross; obedience to canonical authority, established ecclesiastical discipline, and a conscientious adherence to our prescribed formularies of worship," were the "particulars" enforced by the preacher in his effort to indicate the answer to the text so far as it applied to the uplifting of the Church in Georgia. Two clergymen and four delegates, representing two parishes, were in attendance at the Convention. The Rev. Mr. Smith was chosen president, Dr. Read, treasurer, and Mr. A. Gould, secretary. The opening sermon was requested for publication. The alterations in the liturgy, proposed by the House of Bishops at the last General Convention, were agreed to. The delegates to the next General Convention were instructed to offer for consideration the following canon:—

No clergyman of this Church hereafter ordained shall become rector, minister, or assistant minister in a city or populous town until he shall have served for at least two years as a missionary in some destitute part of the country, or shall have been instrumental in building up some new church or congregation.

It was voted that, in the case of the employment of deacons as missionaries, the nearest presbyters be requested to visit the stations of such deacons for the administration of the Lord's Supper, their expenses being defrayed by the Convention. The report of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity reported a balance of \$315.90 in the treasurer's hands. An appropriation for prayer-books and tracts was voted; the Sunday-school depository was discontinued, and the society pledged itself to employ two missionaries on or before December 1.

The eighth annual Convention met at St. Paul's, Augusta, on the 19th of April, 1830, the opening sermon having been preached on the preceding day by the Rev. Edward Neufville, agreeably to appointment. Three clergymen and four laymen, representing two parishes, were in attendance. The Rev. T. S. W. Mott was elected president, and Edward F. Campbell, Esq., secretary. The standing committee

reported one candidate for orders, Mr. Theodore Beekman Bartow. The clerical members of the last Convention reported their inability to redeem their pledge of employing two missionaries.

The ninth annual Convention assembled in Christ Church, St. Simon's Island, on the 18th of April, 1863. The Rev. Edward Neufville was chosen president, Mr. Joseph O. Pelot, secretary, and Dr. Reed, treasurer. The standing committee reported the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Bartow. Resolutions of regret at the decease of Bishops Hobart and Ravenscroft were adopted. On motion, it was

Resolved. That this Convention, feeling a deep interest in the honor of the Church, and in the safety of its members, do recommend to the respective communicants of the Churches in the Diocese, to observe that sobriety and seriousness of deportment, which should ever distinguish the followers of Christ, from the lovers of pleasure, more than the lovers of God. And they would respectfully call the attention of the members of the Church in this Diocese to the following expression of opinion, entered upon the Journal of the House of *Bishops*, in the General Convention, A.D. 1817, and subsequently read in the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies at the same Convention, viz. :—

"The House of Bishops, solicitous for the preservation of the purity of the Church, and the piety of its members, are induced to impress upon the Clergy the important duty, with a discreet but earnest zeal, of warning the people of their respective cures, of the danger of an indulgence in those worldly pleasures, which may tend to withdraw the affections from spiritual things. And especially on the subject of Gaming—of Amusements involving cruelty to the Brute creation, and of Theatrical representations, to which some peculiar circumstances have called their attention—they do not hesitate to express their unanimous opinion, that these amusements, as well from their licentious tendency, as from the strong temptations to vice which they afford, ought not to be frequented."

The tenth annual Convention of the diocese of Georgia met at Macon, on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of May, the opening sermon being delivered agreeably to appointment by the Rev. T. B. Bartow. The Rev. Edward Neufville was elected president, and Mr. William P. Hunter, secretary. The report from Christ Church, Savannah, mentions the addition of thirty-two to the number of communicants, and the missionary at St. Simon's Island alludes to the fact that "there is manifested an eager desire for religious instruction on the part of the blacks, and an increasing attention to the duties of the Sabbath." The standing committee reported that "they did not act in the cases of the Rev. B. B. Smith and Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, in reference to the episcopates of Kentucky and Ohio, respectively, not deeming themselves sufficiently acquainted with all the facts connected with the election of those gentlemen." The Rev. Hugh Smith had removed from the diocese, and the Rev. Edward E. Ford had been called in his place. Such, in brief, is the history of the first decade of the diocese of Georgia.

Still further to the South the beginnings of the Church in Florida claim notice. These beginnings date back to the period prior to the war of independence.

The Rev. John Forbes was "licensed" by the Bishop of London for "East Florida," "St. Augustine," the 5th of May, 1764, at the same time that the Rev. Samuel Hart, to whom reference will be made under the head of Alabama, was licensed for "Mobile," "West Florida."

The records at Fulham, transcripts of which are among the Hawks Collection of MSS., in the keeping of the General Convention, give the names of the Rev. John Frazer as licensed March 23, 1769; the Rev. John Leadbetter as licensed Nov. 8, 1773, for St. Augustine; and the Rev. John Kennedy as licensed for St. Mark's, Dec. 24, 1776, — all under the head of "East Florida."

Following the record of Mr. Hart's license we find the following names for "West Florida:" the Rev. William Dawson, licensed July 2, 1764, for Pensacola; the Rev. William Gordon, licensed August 8, 1767; the Rev. Nathaniel Cotton, licensed March 2, 1768, and the Rev. George Chapman, licensed for Pensacola, May 3, 1773.

Of Leadbetter nothing more is known; Kennedy went to Virginia; Dawson proceeded to Pensacola in 1765, but finding no accommodations for his family the governor permitted his return to Carolina, for a time, on his leaving a curate in his place. He died on John's Island, South Carolina, on the 19th of January, 1767, and his curate died the same day in Pensacola.¹ Nothing is known of Cotton or Chapman, and the name of the "curate" who first of all our clergy in Anglican orders yielded up his life to God within the limits of this State has passed from memory. In an interesting MS. work of John Gerard William De Bahm, in Harvard College Library, the Rev. John Forbes is referred to as residing at St. Augustine, 1771, and as being "Parson, Judge of Admiralty and Councillor," while the "Rev. J. Frazer" is alluded to as "parson at Mosquito."

Woodmason, in his "account of East Florida, made in 1766,"² says curtly "that no face or appearance of religion is there to be seen," and certainly nothing was accomplished the results of which were apparent on the cession of Florida to the United States. Still, the services of the English Church were maintained at the first in a building which stood on the "old church lot" which had been the site of a bishop's palace under the Spanish rule, and were afterwards held in a church situated on George street, which had been repaired and fitted up for the ministrations of the Rev. Mr. Forbes. The lands lying at the north of the city, from the gates to the outer lines of the fortifications, were given to the church by Governor Grant as a glebe. For some time, we are told, previous to the recession of the province to Spain, a number of members of the Greek Church attended the services of the English Church. These Greek Christians were part of a colony introduced by an English company from Minorca, Majorca, the Grecian Islands, and Smyrna, and were first located about sixty miles to the southward of the city, where they built a town, calling it "New Smyrna." After nine years of servitude their grievances were redressed by the British authorities, and their freedom declared. Removing to St. Augustine, they were incorporated among the inhabitants, and their descendants still form a considerable portion of the native residents.

When the province was ceded to Spain, in 1783, there was an immediate cessation of Protestant worship. The Episcopal Church

¹ Dalcho's "History of the Church in South Carolina," pp. 362, 363.

² The Hawks MSS., "South Carolina," XVIII.

was torn down and the stones used in the erection of a Romish place of worship. A German church at a settlement called Tolomata shared the same fate.

But, while the Church seemed extinct, there were, here and there, individuals who still clung to the worship of God in the use of our liturgy, and in one instance the morning prayer was regularly used by a large family of churchmen during forty-five years.

In July, 1821, Florida was ceded to the United States, and almost immediately the American residents of St. Augustine determined to secure the service of a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. On the 20th of October, 1821, the Rev. Andrew Fowler, of the diocese of South Carolina, and acting under the appointment of a missionary organization of that diocese, entered upon his labors. Mr. Fowler continued in charge of the mission at St. Augustine until May, 1823. He was succeeded by the Rev. Mellish J. Motte, who remained but seven months. The Rev. Dr., afterward Bishop, Gadsden ministered to the little congregation during the months of October and November, 1824. He was succeeded by the Rev. E. Phillips in the spring of 1825, and he in turn by the Rev. Philip Gadsden, each remaining but three months. With the departure of Mr. Gadsden efforts for the introduction of the Church ceased.

The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society did not lose sight of this important and interesting field, and under their auspices the Rev. Ralph Williston visited Florida, under appointment as missionary in Tallahassee. Being hindered by the unhealthiness of the season from proceeding to his destination, in 1827 he effected the organization of a parish in Pensacola, by the name of Christ Church, and at the close of the year succeeded in establishing St. John's parish, Tallahassee, and on his return North visited St. Augustine, where he found Trinity parish in the possession of a lot of ground,—the very "site where stood the first church erected by Europeans in this country," together with \$3,000 toward the erection of their church. In 1829, January 26, the Rev. Raymond Alphonso Henderson had reached St. Augustine, and so successful were his labors that by the close of 1830 he entered upon the work of erecting a church of stone, which was consecrated in 1833 by the Rt. Rev. Nathaniel Bowen, D.D., Bishop of South Carolina. The growth of the church was gradual, and it was not until January, 1838, that a Convention was organized, at which time there were parishes at Pensacola, Apalachicola, Tallahassee, Jacksonville, St. Joseph, Key West, and St. Augustine; and six clergymen.—the Rev. David Brown, the Rev. Robert Dyce, the Rev. R. A. Henderson, the Rev. Charles Jones, the Rev. Joseph H. Saunders, and the Rev. J. Loring Woart.¹

Notices of the introduction of the services of the Church in Alabama are found in the Rev. Charles Woodmason's "Account of West Florida, made in 1766," a MS. in the archives of the General Convention transcribed from the original at Fulham, and as yet never printed in full.

¹ Proceedings in Organizing the Diocese, Protestant Episcopal Church in Florida, January, 1838, p. 3. Tallahassee, 1838.

Mobile is a Fort seated on a river of that name, distant, at its mouth, 60 miles from Pensacola, and lyes about 40 miles from the river's mouth. There is a Chapel in this Fort, but no chaplain. The inhabitants, copying after the pattern set them by their principal,¹ are strangers to the paths of virtue and sunk in dissoluteness and dissipation. No forms of government are yet fixed or carried into execution, whereby numbers who went there to settle have been ruined or have retreated to the French settlement of New Orleans.

A person who calls himself a clergyman patrols about this place and officiates occasionally. But if he is one, they say that he is such a disgrace to the character, that they, bad as they are, hold him in detestation.

This was the place to which Mr. Harte,² now lecturer of St. Michael's, Charles Town, was destin'd, and which he visited, but he found both place and people too disagreeable to be preferred to so agreeable a situation as he now enjoys. Mr. Harte was there when the General Congress with the Indians was held, and at their departure he gave them a sermon, the interpreter explaining his words to them sentence by sentence. The Indian chief was very attentive, and after dinner asked Mr. Harte where this Great Warrior God Almighty, which he talked so much of, lived; and if he was a friend of his Brother George over the Great Water! Mr. Harte then expatiated on the Being of God and his attributes, but could not instil any sentiments into the Indian, or bring him to even the least comprehension of these matters, and dwelt so long on the subject as to tire the patience of the savage, who at length took Mr. Harte by the hand with one of his, and filling out a glass of rum with the other, concluded by saying, "Beloved Man, I will always think well of this Friend of ours, God Almighty, whom you tell me so much of, and so let us drink his health," and then drunk off his glass of rum.

In November, 1826, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church appointed the Rev. Robert Davis "to visit the State of Alabama and advance the interests of the society and religion there."³ Detained on his way by ill-health, it was not till the autumn of 1827 that he reached Tuscaloosa, where he organized a congregation, January 7, 1828,⁴ and made arrangements for the erection of a church. In December of the following year the Rev. William H. Judd was appointed missionary at this station, the Rev. Mr. Davis having left the field. On his arrival at Mobile, January 21, 1829, he found the Rev. Henry A. Shaw settled as Rector of this parish in that city, where he had been for two or three weeks.⁵ Proceeding to the place of his appointment, Mr. Judd labored with success and zeal till his decease, August 7, 1829, leaving the church edifice nearly complete and the congregation in a flourishing condition. In 1830 Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, visited Alabama, administered confirmation at Mobile, and presided at a meeting for organizing the Church in the State. This primary Convention assembled on the 25th of January, and was composed of the Rev. Mr. Shaw and the Rev. Albert A. Müller, who had been transferred from the diocese of Mississippi, and was officiating at Tuscaloosa, and "the principal Episcopalians of the city, and from other parts of the State."⁶ A constitution was adopted and the following action taken:—

Resolved, That it is expedient to form a South-western Diocese, to comprise the Dioceses of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama, and that for this purpose the

¹ The Governor whose dissolute life is earlier referred to in Mr. Woodmason's account.

² The Rev. Samuel Harte, A.M., Licensed to "Florida, Mobile," 1764. *Vide* "Gen. Conv. MSS., So. Car., 1765-1779;" also, Dalcho's "Hist. of the Epis. Ch. in So. Car.," pp. 193, 216, 272, 3, 434; also, Sprague's "Annals of the Am. Epis. Clergy," p. 171.

³ Proceedings of the Board of Directors, etc., 1828, p. 36.

⁴ Quarterly Miss. Paper, July, 1829, p. 43.

⁵ Proceedings of the Board of Directors, etc., p. 43.

⁶ Bishop Brownell's Report, Missionary Paper, June, 1830, p. 70.

next Convention of the Church in this State will choose six delegates from the Clergy and Laity, to meet an equal number from each of the States of Mississippi and Louisiana at such time and place as the said delegation by correspondence may determine."¹

Agreeably to the constitution, the first annual Convention met on the 12th of May, 1830, and adjourned, without action, to meet the first Monday of January, 1831. Meantime a parish was organized at Greensburg, through the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Müller, and a congregation gathered at Huntsville. The bishop himself held services at Selma and Montgomery, and in his report speaks of Florence as presenting an "opening for the services of a missionary." In each of these places a church was subsequently established. In 1835 the diocese united with the diocese of Alabama and the clergy and churches of Louisiana in the formation of the South-western diocese, and in the election of the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D.D., to the episcopate thereof. In 1840

Bishop Brownell, who had been recognized as the episcopal authority in the diocese for ten years, claimed a release from his charge, and the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, D.D.,

Very truly Yours
Francis L. Hawks

Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, was chosen bishop, which office he held till 1844. The Rev. Martin P. Parks, afterwards D.D., and one of the ministers of Trinity Church, New York, was elected to the episcopate of Alabama in 1842, but declined the invitation. The following year the Rev. James T. Johnson, of Virginia, was elected to this office, but with a similar result. In 1844 the Rev. Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, D.D., of the diocese of Ohio, was chosen bishop, and was consecrated Oct. 20, 1844. Bishop Cobbs, after a singularly pure and holy life, died Jan. 11, 1861.

On Sunday, the 29th of June, 1823, at Christ Church, Cincinnati, Bishop Chase, of Ohio, admitted to the diaconate Mr. James Angel Fox, of Pinckneyville, Mississippi.² Soon after his ordination Mr. Fox returned to his family home at Pinckneyville, at which place and at Woodville he pursued the work of the ministry in connection with teaching. The congregation gathered through his instrumentality at Woodville erected a commodious church, "in dimensions forty-two by thirty-seven feet, built with a convenient vestry."³ In his report to the Bishop of Ohio, the following year, Mr. Fox alluded to the parish at Natchez as in a flourishing state, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Pilmore.³

The possessions of Great Britain in "West Florida," extending to the Mississippi river on the west and to the thirty-first parallel of north latitude on the south, and embracing "the Natchez district," which were acquired by treaty from France, in 1763, were forcibly wrested from her by Spain in 1779. By the treaty of Madrid, in 1795, Spain stipulated to surrender this territory to the United States within

¹ Journal of Primary Convention, first published at the end of the Journal of 1855, pp. 41-45.

² Journal of Ohio, 1823.

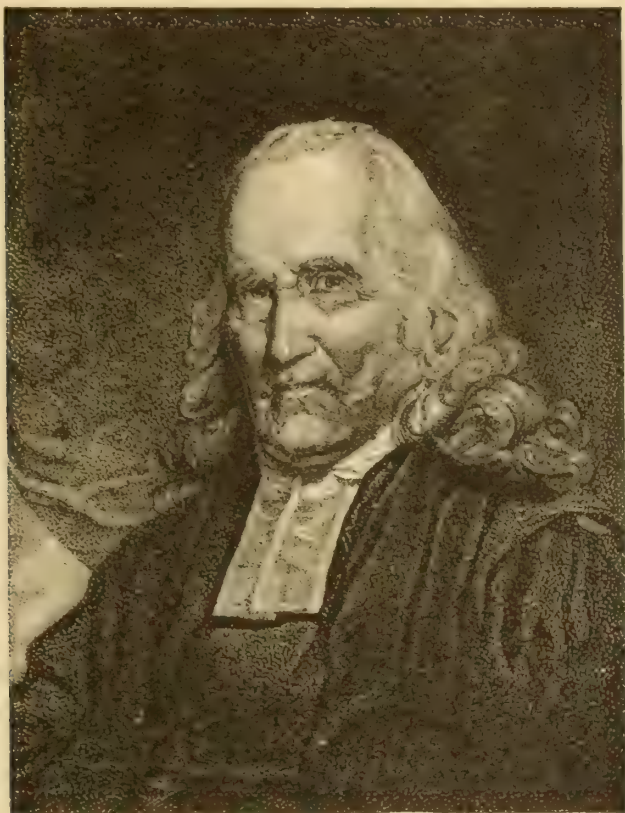
³ Ohio Journal of 1829.

six months, but the formal delivery of possession was not accomplished until 1798. Immediately on the termination of the Spanish domination a territorial government was formed, which went into force on the 7th of April, 1798.

Prior to this any religious worship other than that of the Romish communion had been rigorously interdicted. There had come to the Natchez district as early as 1792, six years before the close of the Spanish rule, a clergyman of the Church, — the Rev. Adam Cloud, — said to have been in deacon's orders, who brought with him to his new home a wife and one or two children. He was the first and only minister of the Church who came to Mississippi under the provincial government. Mr. Cloud settled on St. Catherine's Creek, about two miles below Natchez. He had come from Newcastle, Delaware, where he was born on the 30th of December, 1759. In 1781 he was admitted on trial as a travelling preacher among the Methodists, and appointed on the Roanoke circuit. In 1788, on the 31st of January, he married Mary Grandine, near Morristown, New Jersey, and shortly after entered the ministry of this Church. No notice of his ordination appears in the carefully prepared "List of Deacons" made by the late Bishop of Maine, Dr. Burgess, but of his being in orders there can be no doubt. Bringing with him his slaves, he soon acquired a title to one thousand seven hundred acres of land in the district, where his settlement was hailed by all the adherents of the Church, and all in fact who were not Romanists, as affording them the opportunity for the baptism of their children and for such services as could be rendered without incurring the penalty of the law. But Mr. Cloud's ministry brought upon him persecution, and he was cruelly driven from this district, to which he did not return until 1816, when he came back to the scene of his first labors. In 1801, or 1802, a clergyman of the Church of England visited the newly organized territory and officiated at different localities. Among other places he preached at the site of the old Spanish military post of "Gayosa," about three miles distant from "Church Hill." Only one person in the congregation, a Mr. William Moss, who had been brought up in the Church, was sufficiently acquainted with the services to respond.

On the 9th of March, 1822, the Rev. James Pilmore arrived at Natchez, Miss., with the view of establishing a parish of the Church. On the 26th of the same month an organization was effected, and on the 9th of the following month Mr. Pilmore accepted the rectorship of the new parish. In May a lot was purchased. The church, an oblong building with an immense dome, was ready for occupancy in May, 1823. Mr. Pilmore resigned in 1825, and, removing to Laurel Grove, he officiated as minister of Christ Church, Jefferson county. He died November 1, 1827, aged fifty-six years. He was succeeded by the Rev. Albert A. Müller. At this time there were but three churches in the State, — St. Paul's, at Woodville; Christ Church, Jefferson; and Trinity, Natchez. The Rev. James A. Fox, the Rev. Mr. Müller, and the Rev. Adam Cloud, who was now superannuated, made up the list of clergy. A visit made by the Rev. Mr. Fox to Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, in the summer of 1829, resulted in the coming of that excellent prelate to the State on an extended visitation.

On the 17th of May, 1826, clergy and lay delegates met in Trinity Church, Natchez, for the purpose of organizing a diocese of the Church in the State of Mississippi. The Rev. James Pilmore preached the opening sermon. The Rev. Albert A. Müller¹ was chosen president. Besides these clergymen there were present



REV. JOSEPH PILMORE.²

the Rev. James A. Fox and the Rev. John W. Cloud.³ The Rev. Adam Cloud,⁴ residing in the State, did not attend. Delegates, eleven in number, and representing four parishes, — those at Natchez, Woodville, Port Gibson, and Christ Church, Jefferson county, — were present, one of them being the Hon. Joshua G. Clarke, the chancellor of the State. The Convention formally acceded to the constitution and canons of the Church in the United States. A constitution and canons were adopted. The Committee on the State of the Church reported the details of parochial work in the various parishes. A committee was appointed to correspond with the Domestic and Foreign

¹ Ordained by Bishop Kemp, in 1821.

² Referred to on p. 192.

³ Ordained by Bishop Dehon, Feb. 22, 1815.

⁴ Ordained by Bishop Brownell, Jan. 4, 1826.

Missionary Society "on subjects concerning the present state of the Church in this Diocese." The clergy were earnestly requested to visit the parishes destitute of ministers. Diocesan officers and delegates to the General Convention were appointed. Thus was inaugurated the diocese of Mississippi.

At the time of the cession of Louisiana to the United States, in 1803, there were a number of Protestant residents in the city of New Orleans, who at once set about the organization of a religious society. The record of these proceedings are preserved in the minutes of Christ Church parish,¹ from which it appears that on the 2d of June, 1805, a number of gentlemen assembled for the purpose "of obtaining as speedily as possible a Protestant clergyman, to come and reside in New Orleans to preach the Gospel." On the 9th of June of the same year a second meeting was held, at which it was resolved to convene a general gathering of all interested in this effort on the 15th of that month, "to determine the religious denomination of the clergyman to be invited." At this meeting, the question being put to vote, out of fifty-three ballots which were cast forty-five were in favor of a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and of the remaining eight seven were for Presbyterian ministrations, and one for those of the Methodist body. At this meeting a parochial organization was effected, and the name of "Christ Church Parish" determined upon for its corporate title. A committee of correspondence was immediately appointed to confer with the bishops of the Church at the North, and on the recommendation of Bishop Moore, of New York, the Rev. Philander Chase became the first minister of the Church, and, in fact, the first of any religious body, other than the Church of Rome, that ever officiated in the newly ceded territory. On the 3d of July, 1805, the territorial legislature granted an act of incorporation to "The Church Wardens and Vestry-men of Christ Church, in the County of Orleans." The Rev. Mr. Chase arrived in New Orleans on the 13th of November, and on the 16th of that month the organization of the vestry was completed by the election of T. B. Provoost, D. A. Hall, Benjamin Morgan, Joseph Saul, William Kenver, Joseph McNeil, George T. Ross, Charles Norwood, Andrew Burk, R. D. Shepherd, Richard Relf, Edward Livingston, J. McDonough, John P. Sander-son, and A. R. Ellery, of whom Joseph Saul and Andrew Burk were subsequently elected wardens. The first services were held in the "Principal," on the 23d Sunday after Trinity, November 17, 1805, and shortly after the arrangements were perfected, securing to the new parish the faithful ministrations of one whose praise was yet to be in all the churches, for a life of labor, self-sacrifice, and zeal. Agreeably to the suggestions of the new rector the title of the parish, as given in the act of incorporation, was changed to that of "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestry-men of Christ Church, in the County of Orleans, in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and the charter itself made conformable to the usages of the Church. In 1808 the rector, church-wardens, and

¹ *Vide* Journals of the Conventions of the of the Early History of the Church in Louisiana," Diocese of Louisiana, 1833-1842; with "A Sketch pp. 37-39.

vestry-men of Christ Church, New Orleans, memorialized the bishop and Convention to recognize their church "as part of the ecclesiastical diocese of New York." This request was deemed incompatible with the thirty-seventh canon of the General Convention, but the bishop was requested "to extend to them, as far as may be in his power, his Episcopal care and counsel." In March, 1811, Mr. Chase removed to Connecticut, and the



RT. REV. PHILANDER CHASE AND WIFE.

church was without a rector until 1816, when the Rev. James F. Hull took charge of the parish, where he continued until his decease in 1833. On the 16th of March, 1825, "The Episcopal congregation of Baton Rouge" was incorporated. On the 7th of February, 1829, Grace Church, St. Francesville, was incorporated, a congregation having been previously gathered by the labors of the Rev. William R. Bowman, who remained there until his death, in 1838. In the autumn of 1834, the Bishop of Connecticut, Dr. Brownell, visited New Orleans, and remained through the following winter, discharging the duties of rector of the parish. On the 4th and 5th of March, 1835, "a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, composed of delegations from the dioceses of Mississippi and Alabama, and the clergy and churches of Louisiana," was held in Christ

Church, the Bishop of Connecticut being present, and administering the holy communion at the opening service. The Rev. Pierce Connolly was chosen chairman of this Convention, which proceeded to complete its organization, "for the purpose of associating and joining in the election of a Bishop," pursuant to a special canon enacted by the General Convention of 1832. A constitution for "a general Diocese, to be composed of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana," was adopted, and a standing committee chosen. The Convention then proceeded to elect a bishop, and the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D.D., was unanimously chosen by

the clergy and laity. The testimonial of the bishop-elect was prepared and signed, and the minutes and testimonials were ordered to be sent to the two houses of the General Convention, with a request for the consecration of the Rev. Dr. Hawks. The bishop-elect was requested to visit the church in Pensacola, Florida, which was understood to wish to be placed under his episcopal care. The thanks of the Convention were tendered to the Bishop of Connecticut, "for his generous services and zealous exertions in the organization of the South-western Diocese."



REV. FRANCIS L. HAWKS.

Dr. Hawks had earlier been called to the rectorship of Christ Church, New Orleans, and the General Convention of 1835 confirmed the choice of the Convention of the South-western diocese by appointing him Bishop of Louisiana, with jurisdiction in the territories of Arkansas and Florida. But, although the bishop-elect had declared his readiness to accept this position, "provided provision was made to his satisfaction for the support of his family," on the 14th of October the presiding bishop announced that he had finally declined the post.

During parts of 1835 and 1836 Christ Church, New Orleans, had occasional ministrations; but in the autumn of 1836 Bishop Brownell again accepted the invitation of the vestry to visit them, and continued through the winter. In the spring of 1837 the bishop consecrated the new church erected on Canal street, and on the 15th of February of

the same year the wardens and vestry unanimously elected the Rev. Nathaniel S. Wheaton, D.D., then President of Washington (now Trinity) College, in Connecticut, to the rectorship, who entered upon his duties in November, and was instituted early in the following year.

On the 28th of April, 1838, the primary Convention of the clergy and churches of the State of Louisiana met, after divine service, in Christ Church, New Orleans, the Rev. Dr. Wheaton in the chair. Besides the chairman, the Rev. Roderick H. Ranney was present, and the representatives of three parishes, — Christ Church, New Orleans, Grace Church, St. Francesville, and St. Paul's Church, New Orleans, which had been lately organized, and was incorporated February 14, 1840. The adoption of a constitution; the appointment of a standing committee, and a deputation to the General Convention; the formal vote of the Convention soliciting admission into union with the Church in General Convention; and the delegation to the standing committee of the authority to prepare canons to be laid before a future meeting; comprised the proceedings of this initial meeting of the Church in this diocese.

The first annual Convention met in Christ Church, New Orleans, January 16, 1839, two clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Wheaton and Rev. Mr. Ranney, and delegates from the two parishes in New Orleans, being present. Canons were proposed by the standing committee and adopted, and the diocese placed "under the full Episcopal charge and authority" of the Missionary Bishop of Arkansas.

The second annual Convention assembled in Christ Church, New Orleans, on the 16th of January, 1840. The Bishop of Illinois, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Chase, was present, and at the request of the Rev. Dr. Wheaton, president, presided at the meeting. Two parishes were represented by six delegates, and the number of resident clergy had increased to five.

The third annual Convention met at the same place, on the 21st of January, 1841. Delegates from two parishes, and apparently but two clergymen, the rectors and parishes of New Orleans, made up the Convention, the business of which was simply to elect a standing committee and deputies to the General Convention.

A special Convention met at the same place on the 20th of May, 1841, its object being to memorialize the General Convention to elect a bishop for the diocese.

At the fourth annual Convention, January, 1842, the bishop chosen by the General Convention, in response to the request of the diocese, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Leonidas Polk, was present and presiding. It was thus that the diocese of Louisiana was brought into a condition for work and growth.

The first missionary of the Church in the republic of Texas was the Rev. Caleb S. Ives, sent in 1838 by "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" of the Church in the United States. Mr. Ives settled at Matagorda, an old Spanish town near the mouth of the Colorado river, and by his godly life, his earnest zeal, and faithful teaching laid the foundations of the Church in Texas. His church building was framed and shipped from New York in 1839, and was a neat and

commodious edifice consecrated by Bishop Polk, of Louisiana, in 1844. Mr. Ives died after abundant labors, towards the close of 1849 and was succeeded by the Rev. S. D. Denison, who was in after years the able and devoted secretary of the foreign committee of the Board of Missions. Resigning his charge in 1850 he was followed by the Rev. D. D. Flower, of Alabama, and shortly after by the Rev. Henry N. Pierce, now Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian Territory. During the rectorship of the Rev. S. R. Wright the church was destroyed by a tornado, but the faithful clergyman, who had just entered upon his charge, secured at the North and East the means of rebuilding the dismantled structure, and continued at his post till his death, in 1857. The Rev. R. M. Chapman was the second appointment of "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" to Texas, and was assigned, in October, 1838, to Houston. In 1839 Bishop Polk made a visitation to this post, which had been relinquished by Mr. Chapman; but it was nearly two years ere the vacant cure was filled, first by the Rev. Benjamin Eaton, for thirty years the devoted rector of Galveston, which he founded, and the Rev. Charles Gillette, under whose rectorship the church at Houston, was erected. In 1844 Bishop Polk again visited Texas, administering confirmation at Houston, and proceeding through the country to Matagorda, and thence along the coast to Galveston. Feeling the need of more frequent episcopal care, the three presbyters in the republic, the Rev. Messrs. Ives, Eaton, and Gillette, memorialized the General Convention to provide for their needs. In response to their request Texas was assigned to the Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, appointed in 1844. On the first of August, 1849, under the presidency of Bishop Freeman, the diocese of Texas was organized, and since that time the progress of the Church in this empire State has been uniform and encouraging. Efforts to secure a diocesan were made again and again in vain. In 1852 Bishop Freeman was unanimously elected. On his declining this appointment, in 1856, the Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, of Maryland, was first elected; in 1857 the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, of Massachusetts; in 1858 the Rev. Sullivan H. Weston, of New York, and finally, after the death of Bishop Freeman, in 1859, the Rev. Alexander Gregg was chosen to this office and administration. At length one had been found to take up this important work, and the wisdom of the choice, and the faithfulness of the first Bishop of Texas, are seen in the rapid development of the See. After the civil war the division of the diocese was found to be imperative. At the General Convention of 1874 the northern and western portions of the State were set apart as missionary jurisdictions, and on the 15th of November the Rev. Robert W. B. Elliott, D.D., was consecrated Missionary Bishop of Western Texas, and on the 20th of December, 1874, the Rev. Alexander C. Garrett, D.D., was consecrated Missionary Bishop of Northern Texas, each of these sees embracing an area of a hundred thousand square miles, or more.¹

¹ The facts of the early history of the Church in Texas are condensed by permission from various sources, among which may be noticed an extended sketch of the history of the diocese prepared by the Right Rev. Dr. Gregg for "The Church Cyclopædia," Philadelphia, 1884.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FOUNDERS AND FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH AT THE WEST.

TURNING to the rapidly developing West, we find traces of the presence of an English chaplain at Detroit as early as 1770, while the Territory of Michigan, unlike most of the Western States, is indebted to "the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" for the first efforts to establish the services of the Church within its vast territory. A missionary of that society, the Rev. Richard Pollard, whose charge was the scattered sheep in the wilderness, on the English side of the Detroit river, occasionally visited the little town of Detroit, preached to the very few Protestants to be found, baptized their children, and buried their dead. Mr. Pollard died early in the present century. After his decease and up to the breaking out of the war of 1812, efforts were made from time to time by the few church residents in Detroit to keep up services by lay-reading, but after the war the members of the Church united with those of other faiths in an organization entitled "The First Protestant Society." In the summer of 1821 an American clergyman, the Rev. Alanson Welton, established himself in Detroit as a missionary, and seems to have won much regard, but he died in the autumn of that year, after about three months' service. Three years later, the Rev. Richard F. Cadle, a missionary of "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" of the Church, entered upon his work in the same city, then containing about two thousand inhabitants. In his first report to the society he says, "The number of persons attached to our Church is about forty; the communicants, I believe, are not more than three or four." But the earnest and godly missionary soon began to see an increase of strength in his mission. He arrived in Detroit, after a twelve days' journey from New York, on the 12th of July, 1824, and on the 22d of November, the same year, he presided over the little company which met in the Indian Council House—the earliest cradle of the Church in Michigan, and its only place of worship for a few years—to organize a parish, under the name of St. Paul's Church, Detroit. On the 22d of March, 1825, the parish felt strong enough to call the good missionary to become its rector, and to pledge him \$150 salary per annum, he still retaining his connection with the parent society. In 1827 Mr. Cadle had the satisfaction of seeing a small brick edifice, forty feet by sixty, commenced. His tried friend and patron, Bishop Hobart, came all the way from New York to lay the corner-stone, and the following year he consecrated the church and administered the rite of confirmation, the first time it had been done in the territory.

By the summer of 1832 three or four other parishes¹ had sprung into being, and on the 10th of September, a Convention was held at Detroit, at which it was resolved to apply to the General Convention, to meet in October, for admission as a diocese. This application was granted. The proceedings of this preliminary Convention, and also that of 1833, have only within a few years been printed. From the records of the standing committee,² it would appear that the committee held its first meeting on April 9, 1833, and entered with much vigor on its work. At its very first session, measures were taken to clear the Church from a prevailing charge of collusion with the heresy of Universalism; to secure thorough and conscientious preparation for confirmation, and to place the diocese under the charge of Bishop Mellvaine, the newly consecrated Bishop of Ohio. The diocese of Michigan, judging from its clergy list at the time of its admission into union with the general Church, presented an appearance not very cheering to its friends nor formidable to its foes. The list is headed by the name of Bishop Chase, who had withdrawn from Ohio, and was residing without charge in a little hamlet in Southern Michigan, called Gilead. One other clergyman seems to have been canonically resident, but without cure, while the four remaining names represent only Detroit, Monroe, and the Indian mission at Green Bay, then within the territory and diocese of Michigan. It was certainly the day of small things.

The first and only visitation which the bishop in charge made of the new diocese began on Saturday, the 19th of April, 1834, with the institution of the Rev. Addison Searle, into the rectorship of St. Paul's, Detroit, followed on Sunday by the administration of confirmation in the same church. "Over a most difficult and dangerous road we were brought at the close of day, on Monday," says the bishop, in his address to the Convention, "to the village of Troy, twenty miles from Detroit, the scene of the first episcopal visitation outside of Detroit, in the territory of Michigan." The fatigue and exposure of the return the next day, during which the vehicle was overturned, caused such serious indisposition, that the whole plan of the visitation was changed, and the infant parishes at Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, and Dexter, as well as the distant, but most important station at Green Bay, were not reached. Detroit was revisited, and also the parish at Tecumseh. On the 3d of May the bishop consecrated Trinity Church, Monroe, and within its walls met the Convention, which is recorded as the first annual Convention of the diocese. With its adjournment the visitation terminated. The Bishop of Ohio had already impressed on the minds of the clergy and laity the wisdom of seeking a bishop of their own, and at the annual Convention, in Tecumseh, June, 1835, the Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, D.D., of the diocese of New York, was elected

¹ St. Andrew's, Ann Arbor, in 1829, founded by the Rev. R. F. Cadle; St. John's, Troy, in 1829, by the same; St. Luke's, Ypsilanti, in 1830, by the Rev. Silas C. Freeman; Trinity, Monroe, in 1831, by the Rev. Richard Bury; and St. Peter's, Tecumseh, in 1832, by the Rev. Mr. Freeman.

² The first standing committee consisted of

the Rev. Richard Bury, the Rev. S. C. Freeman, and the Rev. John O'Brien, and Messrs. Henry Whiting, Elon Farnsworth, Henry M. Campbell, Charles E. Trowbridge, and Seneca Allen. Mr. Trowbridge was reelected a member of this body until his death in 1883.

as the first Bishop of Michigan. He declined the appointment, and a special Convention in St. Paul's, Detroit, in November of the same year, finding itself canonically incompetent by reason of recent clerical removals, to elect for itself, took advantage of the new general canon ("of the election of Bishops," Sect. 2) and made application to the House of Bishops to elect a bishop for the diocese. The Rev. Samuel A. McCoskry, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia (the expressed choice of the diocese), was thus elected, and was consecrated in that church, on the 7th of July, 1836, by Bishops Onderdonk, of New York, Doane, of New Jersey, and Kemper, the missionary bishop of Missouri and Indiana. On the 25th of August, after a ten days' journey, Bishop McCoskry arrived in Detroit, and was the recipient of a cordial welcome from the parishioners of St. Paul's Church, whose rectorship he had accepted, and a month later, in company with a devout and energetic layman, Charles C. Trowbridge, a member of the standing committee, and a warden of St. Paul's, Detroit, he entered upon a thorough visitation of the diocese.

The distance travelled, often over difficult roads, was nearly five hundred miles, and during the month consumed by the journey services were held in Monroe, Detroit, Ypsilanti, Dexter, Ann Arbor, Jacksonburg, Marshall, Kalamazoo, Albion, Constantine, White Pigeon, Niles, Edwardsburg, Tecumseh, and Clinton — in some of these places for the first time, and by way of missionary exploration and experiment. On his return, the bishop met his Convention in special session, in St. Paul's, Detroit, October 28th, and was thus fully introduced to the work and workers of the diocese. Of the eleven clergy canonically resident, including the Green Bay missionaries, six were present.

Thus was the diocese fully and happily entered upon its career.¹

The planting of the Church in the vast territory lying west of the Alleghanies was done by faithful laymen. In the new settlements which included churchmen among their numbers, the prayer-book services were read in log cabins or rude school-houses, and thus the way was prepared for the coming of the missionary priest. Notably was this the case in the town of Boardman, Trumbull county, Ohio. A formal organization took place as early as September, 1809, and lay services were maintained alternately at Boardman and Canfield, and all the forms of parish corporate life observed² until eight years later the Rev. Roger Searle came from Plymouth, Connecticut, to minister to these pioneer settlers in the great West. It was under this missionary

¹For the particulars of this sketch we are chiefly indebted to "The History of the Episcopal Church in Michigan," by Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, and to a historical sketch, by the Rev. Dr. B. H. Paddock, contained in "A Manual for the use of Rectors, Wardens, and Vestrymen, in the Diocese of Michigan, with Annals of the Diocese, Compiled by the Rev. George D. Gillespie, Secretary of the Convention," a most accurate, useful and valuable work.

²The original record is as follows: —

"BOARDMAN, Sept. 4th, 1809.

"At a meeting of the professors of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, Inhabitants

of Boardman, Canfield, and Poland, in the County of Trumbull and State of Ohio, holden at the School-house, near the centre of Boardman, by appointment afore^d, for the purpose of forming themselves into a regular Episcopal Society and investing the Parish with proper Society Officers,

"Voted at this meeting unanimously —

"Tirhound Kirtland, Moderator.

"Ethel Starr, Clerk.

"Joseph Platt, Warden.

"Tirhound Kirtland, } Vestry.

"Ethel Starr and

"Lewis Hoyt, }

"ETHEL STARR, Clerk."

laborer's direction that the parish adopted the name of St. James, and appointed delegates to attend the primary Convention at Windsor.

At Worthington, Franklin county, on the Scioto river, about nine miles from the seat of government, there was early in the century a colony, chiefly from Hartford county, Connecticut, and comprising among its few families a number of churchmen, who carried with them to their new home their fondness for the Church of their childhood. This little company of church-folk was wont to gather together on Sundays, and, after reading the prayers, to listen to a sermon read by one of their number. There was a clergyman of the Church resident in Worthington, the Rev. James Kilbourn,¹ who had received deacon's orders a number of years before. Mr. Kilbourn, although the only clergyman of the Church for a number of years in that section of the country now comprised within the limits of the State of Ohio, had become secularized, and at the time of the settlement of Worthington he was the agent of the Emigration Company; had personally surveyed, "located," and purchased the lands on which the town had been laid out, and was now devoted to business and politics, with the military rank of colonel and the political preferment of a seat in Congress. Constantly occupied in business, it was only on rare occasions, when at home, that he found opportunity to conduct the services for this band of devout and devoted churchmen, and in his absence the prayers and sermon were read by Ezra Griswold, the brother of the bishop of the Eastern diocese. In 1814, after the services had been continued for a number of years, Captain Charles Griswold, who had aided the venerable Father Nash in his missionary labors in the State of New York as a lay-reader and fellow-worker, joined the little company of churchmen at Worthington, and under his guidance a parish was speedily organized. For four years after his coming to Ohio Captain Griswold read the service, and, when at the expiration of this time the services of the Rev. Philander Chase, of Hartford, Connecticut, were secured, the church at Worthington was in its comparative strength and interest a notable instance of the value of lay ministrations where the services of a clergyman cannot be had. Prior to the coming of the Rev. Mr. Chase three clergymen had visited Worthington and other portions of Ohio, preaching, baptizing, and administering the holy communion to those who but for their presence must have lived and died without the ministrations of the word and sacraments. These were the Rev. Joseph Doddridge, M.D., of Western Virginia; the Rev. Robert Ayres, of Pennsylvania,² and the Rev. Jacob Morgan Douglass, who was only in deacon's orders.³ But even with this lack

¹ Ordained deacon by Bishop Jarvis, January 24, 1802, but subsequently displaced from the ministry. *Vide* Bishop Burgess's "List of Persons ordained to the Order of Deacons," p. 6, and Ohio Conv. Journal, June, 1821. He had entered the ministry at the age of thirty-one, having been before his ordination successively engaged in farming, as a mechanic, a merchant, and a manufacturer. In 1803 he was instrumental in organizing the "Scioto Company" for the settlement of Central Ohio, and it was under the auspices of this company, of which Kilbourn was the leading spirit, that Worthington was set-

tled. He was a member of House of Representatives of Congress from 1813 to 1817. He filled many public offices, and died at Worthington, April 24, 1850. *Vide* Lanman's "Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States during its first Century." Washington, 1876, p. 240.

² Ordained to the diaconate by Bishop White, June 5, 1789. *Vide* Bishop Burgess's "List of Deacons," p. 4.

³ Ordained by Bishop White, June 9, 1816. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

of clerical service the parish increased, and many were "made ready" for the subsequent reception of the holy communion. So that Mr. Chase had on his coming a large number of adult candidates for baptism, and shortly numbered between forty and fifty communicants in this single parish. When at length there was a bishop to administer the rite of confirmation, at its first administration in the State, seventy-nine received the laying on of hands in St. John's, Worthington.¹

It was on the fourth Sunday in Lent, March 16, 1817, that the Rev. Philander Chase preached his first sermon in Ohio, at Covenant Creek, a hamlet of log houses now known as Salem. The service of the Church, so far as was possible, when there were neither prayer-books nor churchmen for the responses, preceded the sermon, and the worthy mission-priest proceeded first to Ashtabula, where he remained and officiated for a week, and then to Windsor, where Judge Solomon Griswold, a cousin of the bishop of the Eastern diocese, gladly received the minister of God. The judge had read "prayers here in the woods for several years," and, now that the Church had come to the frontiers, the faithful priest found in this little settlement nearly fifty to baptize, while on Easter day, April 6, seventeen received the holy communion of the Body and Blood of Christ in the parish of Christ Church, Windsor.

It was at Windsor, and during this visit of the Rev. Philander Chase, that the first attempt at organization of the Church at the West was made. The Rev. Roger Searle,² who had been the pioneer-priest of Ohio, and had organized the parishes at Ashtabula, Cleveland, Liverpool, Columbia, Medina, Ravenna, and at Boardman, had preceded his brother clergyman by a few weeks, and had found at all these points churchmen and communicants waiting for the clergyman's presence to organize into parishes, and gladly receiving at his hands the sacraments so long denied them in this newly-settled land. Bishop Chase, in his "Reminiscences,"³ refers to this meeting "as a consultation of persons from various townships in the neighborhood as to the expediency of holding a Convention, in the beginning of the coming Year at Columbus," and he adds that the proposition "was agreed to with great unanimity and zeal." The original minutes of this primary meeting are as follows:—

PROVISIONAL CONVENTION, 1817, HELD IN WINDSOR, ASHTABULA CO., APRIL
2D. — JOURNAL.⁴

At a meeting of a Provisional Convention of the Deputies from such parishes on the Reserve Lands in the State of Ohio as have, by the Divine blessing on the pious zeal and active exertions of the Rev. Roger Searle, Rector of St. Peter's

¹ Many of these facts are found in an interesting paper by the Rev. B. B. Griswold, D.D., entitled "An Unwritten Chapter of the History of the Church in the West," published in the *Churchman*, Vol. XVIII., No. 22 (1858).

² Ordained to the Diaconate by Bishop Jarvis, of Connecticut, June 6, 1805.

³ Second edition, Boston, 1848, Vol. I., p. 131.

⁴ "This Journal was never before in print, and but few persons now living are aware that

such a Convention was ever held. By request of the present Secretary, this Journal was copied by the venerable and Rev. John Hall, from the original MSS., in the handwriting of the Rev. Roger Searle, President of the Convention.

"W. C. F.

"OBERLIN, O., July, 1862."

— *Note appended by the Rev. W. C. French to these Minutes, as printed in the Appendix to the Convention Journal of 1862.*

Church, Plymouth, State of Connecticut, formed themselves into organized bodies, and adopted the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, at the house of the Hon. Solo. Griswold, in the township of Windsor, county of Ashtabula, State of Ohio, on the 2d day of April, A.D., 1817.

Divine service was performed according to the Liturgy of the Church, prayers being read by the Rev. Phil'r Chase, late Rector of Christ Church, city of Hartford, State of Connecticut.

A sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Searle.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Chase, the Rev. Mr. Searle was called to the chair.

On motion of the Hon. Solo. Griswold, the Rev. Mr. Chase was appointed Secretary.

The following persons presented their certificates and took their seats in the Convention, viz., from

St. Peter's Church, township of Ashtabula, Mr. Warner Mann.

St. John's Church, township of Liverpool, Mr. Justus Warner.

St. Luke's Church, township of Ravenna, Wm. Tappan, Esq.

St. James's Church, township of Boardman, Mr. Joseph Platt and Tryal Tanner.

Christ Church, township of Windsor, Hon. Solo. Griswold and Mr. — Cook.

A statement of the views of this Provisional Convention was made by the Rev. Mr. Searle; whereupon,

1st. *Resolved, unanimously*, That it is the object of this Provisional Convention to consult the welfare of the Church of Christ, according to the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; and we do now, in a body, as we have done by parishes, separately, adopt and own ourselves bound by the same.

2d. *Resolved, unanimously*, That we, the members of this Provisional Convention, are sincerely desirous to unite ourselves, and coöperate with all other parishes of this State of Ohio, who are found to have adopted the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in order to concert measures and further the organization of the Church in this State, by appointing and meeting in a State Convention for the formation of a Constitution, at any time and place which may be thought most convenient.

3d. *Resolved, unanimously*, That in the mean time, and for the present, it is our ardent desire to be known and represented in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to meet in the month of May next, in the city of New York, and that the Rev. Roger Searle, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Plymouth, State of Connecticut, who, under God, has been so usefully instrumental in our formation, be, and he is hereby, appointed and authorized to represent us, and to solicit from that right reverend, reverend and honorable body, the fostering care and assistance which we greatly need.

4th. *Resolved*, That the Rev. Mr. Searle be respectfully desired to give a statistical account of the parishes lately formed on the Reserve. By which it appears that St. Peter's Parish, Ashtabula, consists of about 16 families and about 16 communicants; Trinity Church, Cleveland, consists of about 30 families and about 10 communicants; St. John's Church, in Liverpool, consists of about 12 families and about 8 communicants; St. Mark's Church, in Columbia, consists of about 14 families and about 5 communicants; St. Paul's Church, Medina, consists of about 10 families, but the Holy Communion has not, as yet, been administered in the parish; St. Luke's Church, in Ravenna, consists of about 12 families, — the Holy Communion has not, as yet, been administered in this parish; St. James's Church, in Boardman, consists of about 22 families and about 17 communicants; Christ Church, in Windsor, consists of about 30 families and about 15 communicants. All of which parishes were formed by the Rev. Mr. Searle since his arrival on the Reserve, in the month of February last, except the last named parish, Christ Church, Windsor, which was organized by the Rev. Philander Chase, from Hartford, Connecticut, recently arrived. The reasons why so few among these parishes have attended this Convention are evident, viz.: their great distance from the place of meeting, and the extreme badness of the roads.

5th. *Resolved*, That although this Provisional Convention assumes no right of appointing the time and place of the State Convention of Ohio, yet with a view of bringing to pass so desirable an object as the union of the whole interests of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this State, we now declare our willingness to meet, and that we will meet our brethren of the Church, by delegation, at Columbus, in

the month of January next, the 5th day, being the first Monday in January, A.D. 1818, there and then to carry into effect the spirit of the second resolve of this meeting: and that the Rev. Philander Chase, and Alfred Kelly, Esq., of Cleveland, be and they are hereby appointed a Committee of Correspondence on the subject matter of this resolution.

6th. *Resolved*, That the Committee of Correspondence, namely, the Rev. Philander Chase and Alfred Kelly, with the addition of the following gentlemen, viz.: Mr. Noah M. Bronson, of Ashtabula; the Hon. Solo. Griswold, of Windsor, and Mr. Joseph Platt, of Boardman, be and they are hereby appointed delegates to represent the Episcopal parishes on the Reserve, in the State Convention of Ohio, to meet in Columbus on the first Monday in January, 1818.

7th. *Resolved*, That this Convention adjourn until to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

APRIL 3, 1817.

The Convention met agreeably to adjournment. Present — as in Convention yesterday.

8th. *Resolved*, This Convention, anxiously desirous to promote the glory of God, and their own spiritual welfare through the regular and authorized administration of the ordinances of our Holy Church on the Reserve, do earnestly recommend it to the several parishes thereof to set on foot, as soon as may be, a *subscription*, to be as widely diffused as possible, for the raising of money to remunerate an Episcopal clergyman, who may come among us duly recommended and approved, whose services are to be distributed, or apportioned, in the ratio of the sums respectively subscribed by the parishes.

9th. *Resolved*, That the Rev. Philander Chase, now present, most respectfully present to the Rev. Roger Searle, the thanks of this Convention, for his pious and active exertions in establishing and promoting the welfare of our Primitive Church in this Western country, and that he assure him of our affectionate regard, and our ardent prayers for his temporal and eternal welfare.

10th. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Provisional Convention be presented by the President to the Rev. Philander Chase, for his very able services in counsel, and as Secretary to this Convention.

11th. *Resolved*, That this Provisional Convention adjourn without day.

ROGER SEARLE, *President*.

PHILANDER CHASE, *Secretary*.

Proceeding in his pioneer work through the various towns on the "Connecticut Reserve" Mr. Chase visited in quick succession Ravenna, — where a parish already existed, — Middlebury, Zanesville, and Columbus, where he gathered the church people together for the organization of parishes, and after officiating at Springfield and Dayton on his way, by the fourth Sunday after Easter was in Cincinnati. Here, after service in the "brick meeting-house with two steeples,"¹ a meeting with a view to the organization of a parish was held at the residence of Dr. Drake, and among those who responded to the invitation to be present, as friendly to the Church and desirous of her services, was the celebrated General Benjamin Harrison, subsequently President of the United States.

On Monday, the 5th of January, 1818, the Convention for organizing the diocese of Ohio met at Columbus, at the residence of Dr. Goodale, in the room subsequently used as the reception-room of the capitol-house, on High street. The two missionary priests, Messrs. Searle and Chase, the only clergymen in full orders resident in the State, were present, and representatives from eight parishes, — Trinity, Columbus; St. John's, Worthington; St. James's, Boardman;

¹ Reminiscences, I., p. 132.

Christ, Windsor; Grace, Berkshire; St. Paul's, Chillicothe; St. James's, Zanesville; and Christ, Cincinnati, — were in attendance. There had been a score of parishes organized, and at the first annual Convention, held at Worthington, June 3-5, in the same year, by the votes of three clergymen, the Rev. Messrs. Roger Searle, Samuel Johnson, — lately come to Christ Church, Cincinnati, — priests, and James Kilbourn, deacon, together with the suffrages of the representatives of ten parishes, the Rev. Philander Chase¹ was elected bishop.

Some opposition was made to the consecration, but after careful scrutiny the action of the diocese of Ohio was approved, and its first bishop received the laying on of hands, February 11, 1819, at St. James's Church, Philadelphia. The presiding bishop, Dr. White, was consecrator, and the Bishops of New York, Maryland, and New Jersey, Drs. Hobart, Kemp, and Croes, were present and assisting. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Frederick Beasley. The newly-made bishop at once set off for his distant see, returning, as he came, *on horseback*, and officiating for the first time in his diocese at Zanesville, on Quadragesima Sunday, February 28, 1819. His welcome to his see was full and hearty. His first episcopal address to his Convention, the following June, was full of incident and interest. The story of his ministrations among a little colony of English immigrants is characteristic and touching. He was journeying "towards Cadiz, where divine service had been appointed on the morrow," "in company with a Mr. Finley and a Mr. Henderson," whereupon the bishop proceeds, —

I reached that night the neighborhood where they lived, about nine miles from St. James's, nearly west. I had been told that old Mr. Finley was sick, that he desired the consolations of religion, and that the neighborhood would be glad of my ministrations. I complied with the request, and the event proved that there was a particular providence in so doing. These people were principally from Ireland, and in their own country were what are called *English Protestants*, bred to a liberal and pious way of thinking, and to a more than ordinary courteousness of deportment. Emigrating from their own, and coming to this country, in the early settlement of Ohio, they fixed themselves here in the woods, and underwent the many deprivations and hardships incident to a new establishment; their children grew up and their families increased.

Ardently attached to the Church, they could not but think of *her* and *her pleasant things*; though they had but little prospect of seeing her prosperity. The Rev. Dr. Doddridge, the nearest, and for many years the only, Episcopal clergyman in the country, lived some twenty miles from them, on the Virginia side of the Ohio. Such were his avocations, that he had never been among them. Here they were isolated and alone, as sheep having no shepherd. Finley the elder, "the old man of whom I spake, was yet alive;" yet only so alive as that they were obliged to raise him up to salute me, as I approached his bed. As I took his hand, trembling with age and weakness, he burst into tears, and sobbed aloud. The grateful effusions of his heart, at the sight of a minister of the blessed Jesus, were made intelligible by the most affecting ejaculations to God, His Maker, Saviour and Sanctifier. "I see my Spiritual Father," said he, "my Bishop, the Shepherd of the Flock of Christ, of which I have always considered myself and my little lambs about me, the members, but too unworthy, I feared, to be sought and found

¹ His own vote appears to have been cast for the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, of Western Virginia, who was present at the Convention and had been voted an honorary seat. Bishop Chase, in his "Reminiscences," speaks of himself as "unanimously elected." There appears to be no ground for the charge that Mr. Chase voted for himself. *Vide* "The Life of the late Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins, First Bishop of Vermont, and Seventh Presiding Bishop," p. 98, *foot-note*.

VIEW OF GAMBIER.



in this manner. O Sir! do I live to see this happy day? Yes, 'tis even so; Blessed Lord! Holy Jesus! Thou who once camest in great humility, to seek and to save that which was lost, receive the tribute of my grateful heart. Now let thy servant depart in peace." As the venerable man spake forth the effusions of his mind in words like these, he bowed his grey hairs, and begged the prayers and benedictions of the Church. They were afforded; and cold must that heart be, which, under such circumstances, could refuse to be fervent. The Visitation Office was performed; in which the family, joined by the neighbors hastily assembled, participated.

The good effects of this Office, not only on the person to whom and for whom it was prepared, but on all who witnessed it, were apparent. . . . The branches of the Family, and other persons in the vicinity, being, though at a late hour, sent for, I proceeded to the work of instruction. The nature and obligation of the Christian Covenant in Baptism, and as renewed in Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper, were dwelt upon; and the little assembly were dismissed with earnest exhortations, to seek in their prayers the aid and direction of God's Holy Spirit, to guide them in the solemn duties to be performed in the morning.

I went home with one of the sons of Mr. Finley, and after a short time devoted to sleep, at dawn of day I returned to the sick man's bed. The family and friends came as quickly together, and the sun had scarcely begun to enliven the woods, when I again addressed my interesting audience. With what heartfelt pleasure — with what grateful exultation, did I now read in the countenances of this little flock the effects of Gospel truth. Every face beamed with holy *fear* and *love*, that blessed compound which speaks at once the modest, and believing, and the obedient Christian. And when I examined and called for the persons to be confirmed, eleven out of this little circle presented themselves. The Office was begun and they received the laying on of hands; after which the Holy Supper of our Lord was administered to the like number, though not entirely to the same persons — some having been confirmed before, and some who were now confirmed, being not yet duly instructed for the Sacrament. In a cabin with scarcely a pane of glass to let in the light of day, and on a floor of roughly-hewn planks, we knelt down together, and there the holy Offices were performed. The patriarchal old man, having caused himself to be raised in his bed, gazed with unspeakable rapture on the scene before him. His tears only indicated what he felt. The symbols of his dear Redeemer were given and received. They were pledges of eternal joys, in that world whither he was so fast hastening. Giving him the Episcopal blessing, I took my leave and departed.

Such were the touching and inspiring experiences of this pioneer Western bishop at the very outset of his work. The labor he had undertaken was apostolic, indeed, and the cry for services and spiritual gifts came to him from every quarter of his vast see. Pitiful is the confession with which his first Episcopal address concludes. "The Episcopate of this Diocese having no means of support and my own personal funds being considerably exhausted," — with these words the bishop who had already, like the apostle, labored with his own hands that he might not be chargeable to any, commended to his Convention the consideration of the important matter of his support. Years passed before the diocese could in any effectual manner respond to the appeal. The lack of clergy for the mission field was keenly felt. Of the few in orders who had come into Ohio, one, the secularized "Colonel" Kilbourn, was displaced in 1821, and another clergyman, the Rev. Joseph Willard, ordained by Bishop Provoost in 1795, though residing at Marietta, is reported to the Convention of the same year as having "no intention of pursuing the design of his ordination." Two young clergymen, one the bishop's son, a promising youth, just graduated from Harvard, died almost immediately on taking orders, and some, attracted by the bright promise of the work, turned back after

putting their hand to the plough. A missionary society was formed, and help was liberally extended from the East, but the necessity for the provision of an intelligent and educated ministry compelled the bishop to seek for aid in the old home across the sea, whence had come the Church and clergy in the past. The need was pressing. "Forced," as he says, "to see the field of God's husbandry lie waste for want of laborers" he determined to proceed to England "to solicit means for the establishment of a school for the Education of young men for the Ministry." In communicating his design to the bishops of the American Church, he stated the "imperious necessity" which impelled him to take this resolve. He saw "the whole community of the Western settlements" "sinking fast in ignorance, and its never-failing attendants, vice and fanaticism." "The members of our own Church," the bishop proceeds to say, "scattered like a discomfited army, are seeking for strange food in forbidden fields, or, in solitary groups by the wayside, are fainting, famishing, dying, for the lack of all things which can nourish them to eternal life." "No missionaries make their appearance, nor are there even the most distant hopes of obtaining any from the East." "The few clergy we have may keep us alive, under Providence, a little longer; but when they die or move away, we have no means to supply their places." "We may think of the privileges of the East, of the means of education there; but this is all; they are out of our reach." "Unless we can have some little means of educating our pious young men here, and here being secure of their affections, station them in our woods, and among our scattered people, to gather in and nourish our wandering lambs, we have no reason to hope for the continuance of the Church in the West." It was in this spirit and with the wish "to institute a humble school, to receive and prepare such materials" as were at hand, that the bishop started for England, after asking the prayers of his brethren in the episcopate "for his preservation from all evil, and that it would please Him, who had the hearts of all men in His hands, and all events at his control, to prosper the endeavors of His servant, to the glory of His great name." Nothing short of an "imperious necessity," as he well styles it, would have led him to take this course. His clergy thought the scheme visionary. The laity saw in it no prospect of success. He left behind him a beloved son nigh unto death. His private means were barely sufficient for the outward journey, leaving him nothing with which to return if unsuccessful, disappointed, "cast down." He knew no one to whom to apply for the needed introduction and indorsement when he had reached the mother-land, and nothing was his but a simple trust in God and the confident assurance that "God will provide,"—the "Jehovah-jireh" motto of his life. Resigning the presidency of the college in Cincinnati to which he had been elected, and over which he had presided with success, and bearing the unanimous indorsement of his plan from the clergy of his diocese, he journeyed eastward to find to his surprise and sorrow on reaching the seaboard that his project was disapproved by those who thought they detected in the scheme an implied opposition to the General Theological Seminary just established for the supply of clergy for the whole Church, and that its author was threatened with ruin if he

persisted in his efforts to obtain aid from abroad for the Theological School of Ohio. The Bishops of North and South Carolina, the apostolic Ravenscroft, and the excellent Bowen, alone furthered the plan of applying to England for help. The other bishops were either opposed or indifferent. But the Bishop of Ohio was not to be moved, though the Church's prayers were denied him on his "going to sea." He embarked at New York in October, 1823, and, after experiencing on his arrival in England that anticipated and threatened opposition from his opposers, succeeded in obtaining from the generosity of the British public funds to the amount of upwards of \$30,000.

Even this unexampled success did not free the worthy bishop from his troubles. The jealousy of rival settlements, each seeking to have the school "located" in their immediate vicinity, prevented the bishop



ON THE KOKOSING, NEAR KENYON COLLEGE.

from receiving any hearty support from the diocese. He had at the outset determined to establish his institutions on a domain under his own exclusive control, and after vexatious delays and petty and provoking opposition from those who should have been his supporters and friends, he purchased eight thousand acres of land in Knox county, Ohio, on the banks of the Kokosing river, and began with tireless energy the founding of a college and a town to which, in remembrance of his noble and most beneficent friends in England, he gave the names of Kenyon and Gambier.

In the prosecution of this work the bishop's indomitable will and unconquerable perseverance were fully shown. He was the chartered president of the new institution; but he was more than this. Nothing was too small to escape his attention; nothing so difficult as to dampen

his energy or prevent his speedy success. In the words of one who penned the results of his own observation, —

Within two years from the time when the lowest story was yet incomplete, and tall trees covered the ground, whilst the students occupied temporary wooden houses, in which the frost of winter and the heat of summer alternately predominated, and the laborious Bishop inhabited a little cabin of rough logs, the interstices of which were filled with clay, — the massive stone walls of the college, four feet thick and four stories in height, lifted themselves almost to the elevation of the surrounding woods, and a tall steeple indicated its situation to the distant wanderer.¹ It was not alone a School of Theology that the far-seeing Bishop had founded. While the training of ministers and missionaries for the rapidly-developing West was a primary cause in the establishment of the institutions at Gambier, many of the students were destined for the various walks of secular life. To the President and Professors of Kenyon College full academic powers were granted by the legislature, and side by side with the future clergy of the West were trained their professional and political compeers. The students of theology found opportunities for the exercise of their destined calling among the spiritually destitute settlers on every side. They conducted Sunday schools for the children, and read the service and sermons for their parents, thus supplying the religious needs of the inhabitants within a circuit of some miles around the College. We have the details of this interesting work as given by one of themselves: "We rise early, on a summer morning, and sally forth with a few books and some frugal provision for the day. We proceed about half a mile through the noble aboriginal forest, the tall and straight trees appearing like pillars in a vast Gothic cathedral. The timber consists of oak, hickory, sugar-maple, sycamore, walnut, poplar, and chestnut, and the wild vine hangs from the branches in graceful festoons. Occasionally we hear the songs of birds, but less frequently than in England. Generally deep silence prevails, and prepares the mind for serious contemplation. We soon arrive at a small clearing, where a cabin built of rough logs indicates the residence of a family. Around the cabin are several acres upon which gigantic trees are yet standing, but perfectly deadened by the operation called 'girdling.' Their bark has chiefly fallen off, and the gaunt white limbs appear dreary, though majestic, in decay. Upon the abundant grass which has sprung up since the rays of the sun were admitted to the soil, a number of cattle are feeding, and the tinkling of their bells is almost the only sound which strikes the ear. We climb over the fence of split rails piled in a zigzag form, cross the pasture and are again in the deep forest. The surface of the ground is of an undulating character, while our pathway carries us by a log-hut, surrounded by a small clearing. After an hour we arrive at a rudely constructed saw-mill erected on a small stream of water. The miller is seated at his cabin-door in his Sunday clothes, and is reading a religious book which we have lent him before. We now talk to him; his interest in the Church is growing, and he offers us his horse for our future expeditions; we accept it, and proceed with its assistance on our course. After another hour we reach a village of log-cottages, at the end of which is a school-room, around which a temporary arbor is constructed covered with fresh boughs. In this the children of the neighbors soon gather around us, and with them often come their friends and parents. When a goodly company is thus assembled a hymn is given out and sung; then all kneel for prayer, and a large portion of the Church-service is repeated from

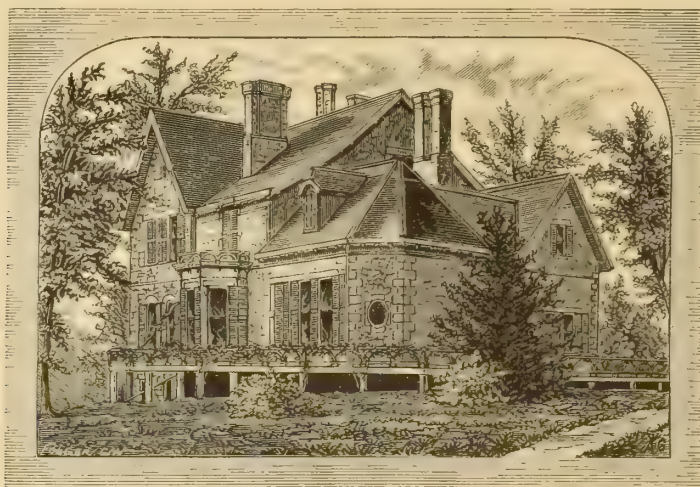


BISHOP CHASE'S LOG HUT.
THE FIRST "EPISCOPAL PALACE" OF OHIO.

¹ America and the American Church, by the Rev. Henry Caswall, M.A., p. 26.

memory, from a tender regard to the prejudices of many who, until they have learned a better lesson, would turn away if they were told that they listened to the Church's voice. Then, under the sanction of the Bishop, a few words of exhortation are added where the student is a candidate for holy orders. We then instruct the children, and, having finished this, set out upon our journey homeward."¹

The presence and services of these young heralds of the cross were universally welcomed. Though in the imperfect civilization of the backwoods here and there were found those who were apprehensive of some sinister design in the minds of the English friends who had enabled the bishop to build the massive walls of Kenyon and gather about him these possible emissaries of monarchical government, as well as propagandists of the English establishment, still, the labors of these young men did much for Christ and his Church in the new settlements of Ohio. "We have scarcely left the village," recounts the narrator of these early days, "when a blacksmith runs after us

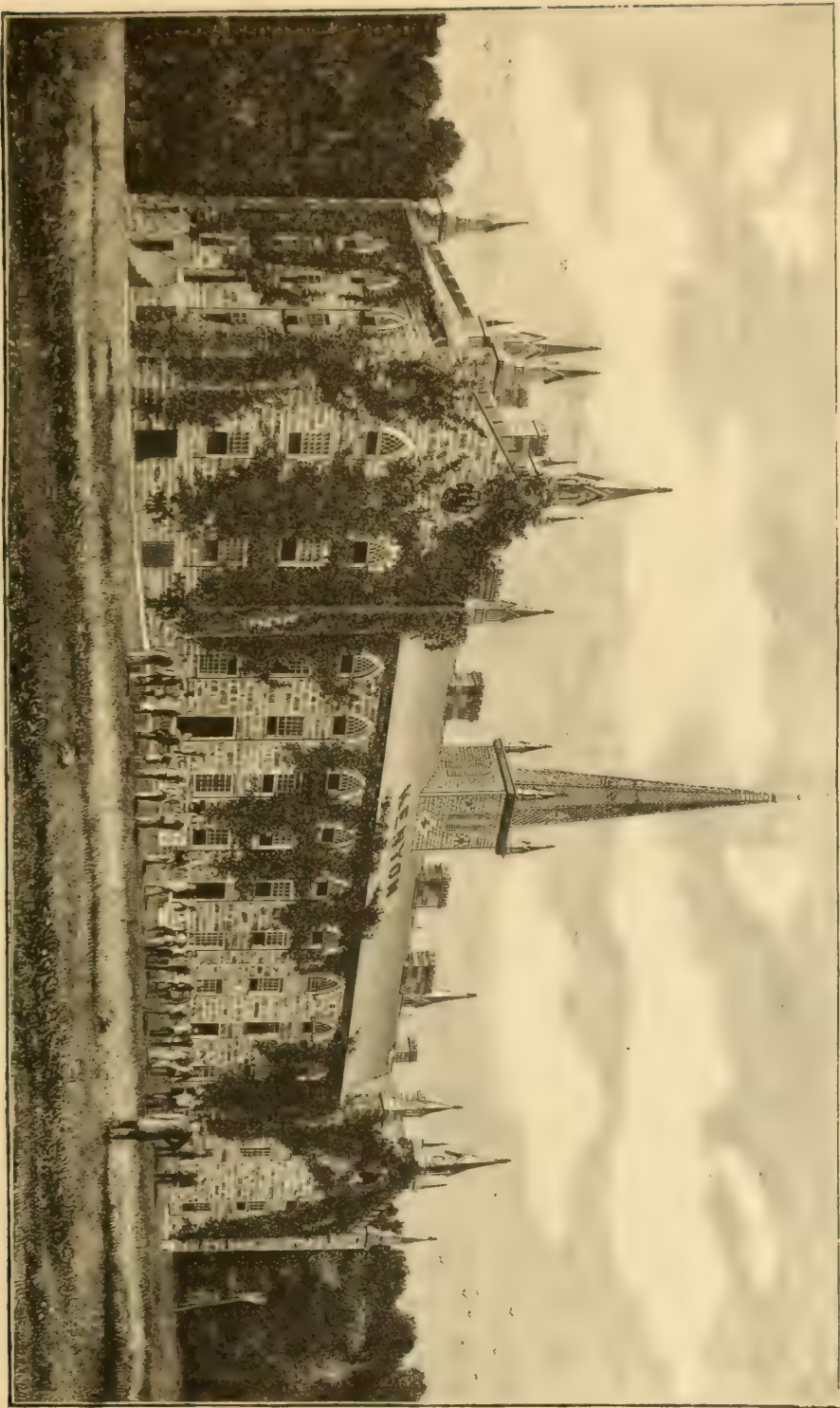


"KOKOSING," THE HOME OF BISHOP BEDELL.

and requests us to stop. He tells us that he has felt deeply interested in the services; that he desires more information, and that he wishes us always to dine with him in future. We accordingly return to his cabin; and his wife sets before us a plentiful repast of chickens, potatoes, hot bread, apple pies, and milk. After some profitable conversation, we depart, and at about three o'clock arrive at the miller's house, almost overcome by the excessive heat. When we have somewhat recovered from our fatigue we proceed to a spot on the bank of the stream where the grass is smooth and the thick foliage produces a comparative coolness. Here we find about one hundred persons collected in the hope of receiving from us some religious instruction. We conduct the service much in the same way as in the morning. The effect of the singing in the open air is striking and peculiar; and the prayers of our liturgy are no less sublime in the forests of Ohio

¹ Caswall's "America and the American Church," pp. 35, 36.

OLD KENYON.



than in the consecrated and time-honored minsters of York or Canterbury."¹ In these groves — "God's first temples" — the sacraments were administered, as well as the services and sermons read. "The place of worship was a beautiful orchard," continues the eye-witness, whose words we have already quoted, "where the abundant blossoms of the apple and the peach filled the air with their delicious odor. A table for the communion was placed on the green grass, and covered with a cloth of snowy whiteness. Adjoining the rustic altar a little stand was erected for the clergyman, and a number of benches were provided for the congregation. A large number attended, and behaved with the strictest propriety. Besides the service for the day baptism was administered by the missionary to three or four adults, a stirring extempore sermon was delivered, and the Lord's supper completed the solemnities."²

It was by means such as these that the Church was brought to the settler's fireside, and the struggling parish formed on the very outskirts of civilization. Not only this. Through the wise foresight and indomitable energy of this pioneer bishop provision was made, while the great West was yet in its infancy, for the education of the "sons of the soil" at a cost within their reach and in habits of life suited to their future home and work. Friends were found in America to supplement the charity of those in the Old World, to whom is due the credit of giving to the good bishop the means of realizing his purposes and plans. The massive walls of "old Kenyon" yet remain to attest the broad foundations made by the first bishop of Ohio, and the work he did so wisely and so well, for all time to come is his sufficient memorial.

Difficulties connected with the management of the college culminated in the resignation of episcopate and presidency by the good bishop and his removal temporarily to Michigan, and subsequently to Illinois.

On the 9th of March, 1835, three clergymen, — the Rev. John Batchelder, the Rev. Palmer Dyer, and the Rev. James C. Richmond, — and six laymen, representing three parishes, — Peoria, Rushville, and Beardstown, — met in Peoria, for the purpose of organization. Two other clergymen, resident and laboring in the State, were not in attendance, — the Rev. Henry Tullidge, of Galena, and the Rev. Isaac W. Hallam, of Chicago. The Rev. John Batchelder, of Jacksonville, was chosen president; the Rev. Palmer Dyer, of Peoria, secretary. A standing committee and delegates to the approaching General Convention were chosen. "After a long and full discussion of the subject of the following resolution by the Rev. Messrs. Dyer and Richmond, and Judge Worthington, in which the views of the Convention appeared perfectly to harmonize, it was *Resolved*, unanimously, that this Convention do hereby appoint the Right Reverend Philander Chase, D.D., a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to the Episcopate of Illinois; and that he be, and hereby is, invited to remove into this Diocese, and to assume

¹ Caswall's "America and the American Church," p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

Episcopal jurisdiction of the same." After some further deliberations, in which, as well as in all the proceedings of the Convention, a most desirable harmony of feeling and unanimity of sentiment were, by the blessing of God, apparent among its members, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

The second Convention of the diocese of Illinois met at Trinity Church, Jacksonville, May 16th and 17th, 1836, the Right Rev. Bishop Kemper being present, and presiding, in the absence of Bishop Chase. Three clergymen were in attendance, and another arrived just after the Convention rose. Five lay delegates, representing three parishes, were recorded as present. Bishop Kemper's address alluded to the acceptance of the diocese by Bishop Chase, the welcome of the diocese to union with the General Convention and their diocesan's visit to England, with a view to secure the means for the establishment of a theological school. It was to be the story of Ohio repeated, and the indomitable bishop forgot his added years and abundant labors in his longing to equip his new see for efficient work for Christ and his Church. It was not long before the corner-stone of the chapel of Jubilee College was laid and its school-house was shortly raised. The college building was ere long erected, and contributions from England and America flowed in as of old. Robin's Nest, the bishop's home, was the scene of ceaseless activity. Building after building, requisite for the life and well-being of the little collegiate community, were erected, and on the 7th of July, 1847, the first commencement exercises of jubilee were held, and five graduates received the bachelor's degree. There had been an election of an assistant bishop at the Convention in June of this year, and the choice of the Rev. James B. Britton had been made, but the General Convention failed to approve the election, and it was not until 1851 that the Rev. Henry John Whitehouse, D.D., was elected to the assistantship of the aged and infirm diocesan. On the 27th of September, 1852, the venerable bishop, then presiding bishop of the American Church, "fell asleep." As the pioneer bishop of two dioceses, and the founder of two colleges, his name is worthy to be held in perpetual remembrance.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

AMONG the numerous volumes and pamphlets illustrating the annals of the Church in the West, especial attention should be called to a unique volume which, though concerned with the history of a single parish, is a most interesting and valuable contribution to the history of the Church beyond the Alleghanies. We allude to the "History of Saint Luke's Church," Marietta, Ohio, by Wilson Waters, M.A. With illustrations by Harry Eggleston. Printed for the author by J. Mueller & Son, Marietta, O., 1884. 8vo, pp. 282.

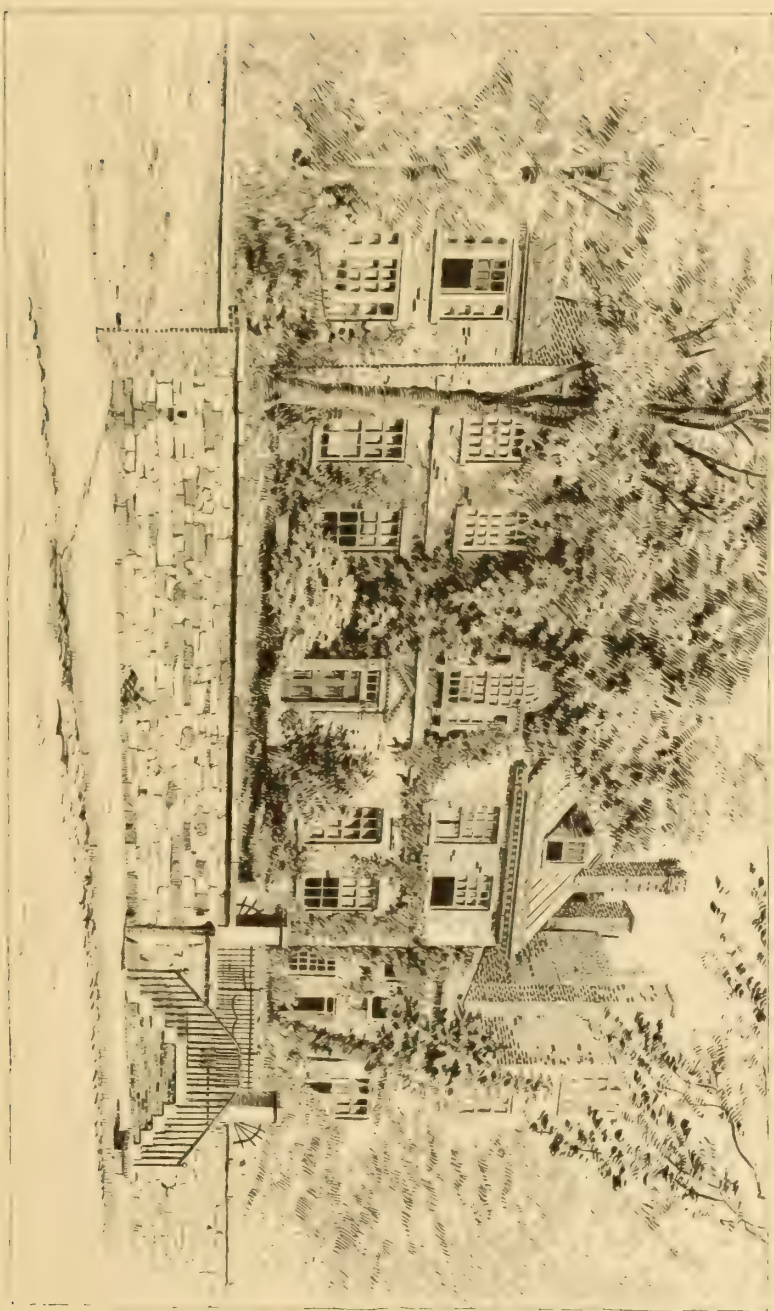
CHAPTER XIV.

THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT IN THE CHURCH.

THE Church in the United States has added to her numbers from the countless converts who have been attracted to her membership, and from the love and loyalty of those whom she has trained in childhood, rather than by immigration. Of the tens of thousands who have come to our shores from the mother-land and the mother-church, comparatively few have shown that devotion to the Church of their baptism leading them to make sacrifices for their faith, or to be at pains and cost to surround themselves with the institutions of religion with which they had been supplied at home by the "establishment." The spiritual declension and indifference of the last century, to which Methodism was a reaction, and against which the evangelical school so strongly protested in its efforts to awaken the Church to a higher life, had lessened the hold of the Church upon the masses, and of those who sought new homes in the New World few cared for the religion of their fathers, or felt drawn towards the body representing in their view the State-supported and the State-controlled Church of England. There can be no questioning the fact that the immigrant churchmen who claim at their convenience, or in their temporal need, the offices and charity of our clergy and people, when their necessities are provided for too often neglect both the Church and religion itself. There has been in the past, and there still exists, the need of such home training as shall yield some higher appreciation of faith and duty on the part of those who come to us from abroad.

With the withdrawal of the aid received from the venerable society at the breaking out of the Revolution and the disestablishment of the Church in the colonies, where it had been maintained by law, the Church throughout the newly-created States of America became, with few exceptions, missionary ground, and it was only by degrees that the lesson of self-support was learned. It is greatly to the credit of the Church, thus deprived of foreign aid and crippled in its resources at home, that at the first General Convention following the union of the churches in one ecclesiastical confederation, a committee of the two Houses was appointed "for preparing a plan of supporting missionaries to preach the Gospel in the frontiers of the United States." This plan, as reported to the Convention, provided for the collection of offerings for missions and the preaching of sermons in behalf of this cause annually throughout the Church. The next Convention, that of 1795, relegated the prosecution of this work of missions to the State Conventions, and, although individual efforts for Church extension appear to have been made in various directions among the new settlements then springing up on every side, there was no

THE RECTORY OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BALTIMORE.



concerted action advised or contemplated until the bishops assembled at the Convention of 1808, two only in number, White, of Pennsylvania, and Claggett, of Maryland, in their pastoral letter, called the attention of the Church to what was "due," as they expressed, "to our western brethren, and especially to those of them professing themselves of our communion." The bishops invoked the aid of the members of the Church to encourage the removal of "suitable ministers of the Church from the older States into this vast field of labor," and the Convention responded to these words by the adoption of resolutions urging the clergy resident and officiating in States and territories where the Church was unorganized to organize and accede to the general constitution, that measures might be taken for the election and consecration of bishops for the States and territories where the Church was still without a head.

The action of the Convention of 1811 with reference "to the introduction of Episcopacy into the Western States," as we learn from Bishop White, "arose from a correspondence which had been entered into between the bishop and the Rev. Joseph Doddridge, who had been ordained¹ by him many years before, and who lived near the western line of Pennsylvania which divides it from Virginia." Early in the century there had been a gathering of the few clergy of the Church in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia at Washington, Penn., for consultation with relation to Church affairs. It was resolved at this meeting that the Rev. Dr. Doddridge should correspond with the Bishop of Pennsylvania with a view of securing action on the part of the General Convention permitting the formation of a diocese in what was then spoken of as "the western country." A year and a half passed without any reply to this appeal for episcopal supervision, and then the chilling intelligence was received that the project had been abandoned in consequence of the death of Bishop Madison, of Virginia. "I then," writes Dr. Doddridge, "lost all hope of ever witnessing any prosperity in our beloved Church in this part of America. Everything connected with it fell into a state of languor. The vestries were not reelected, and our young people joined other societies. Could I prevent them," continues the writer, "when I indulged no hope of a succession in the ministry?" So dark was the prospect that Dr. Doddridge writes, "I entertained no hope that even my own remains after death would be committed to the dust with the funeral services of my own Church." "How often," he continues, "have I reflected, with feelings of the deepest regret and sorrow, that if anything like an equal number of professors of any other Christian community had been located in Siberia, or India, and, equally dependent on a supreme ecclesiastical authority at home, had been so neglected, that a request so reasonable would have met with a prompt and cheerful compliance!" Notwithstanding "that large portions of Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Kentucky, and Ohio have been settled by originally church people, emigrants from Maryland, Carolina, or Virginia," and although "they had had Methodist bishops and Roman Catholic bishops," it was sadly true "that

¹ March 4, 1792. *Vide* Burgess's "List of Deacons," p. 4.

they had never seen one of our Church," nor did they until, in 1819, the pioneer Bishop of Ohio crossed the mountains to his Western see. In a letter addressed to Bishop Hobart, in 1816, the excellent Dodridge truly declared: "Had we imitated at an early period the example of other Christian communities, — employed the same means for collecting our people into societies and building churches, and with the same zeal, — we should by this time have had four or five bishops in this country,¹ surrounded by a numerous and respectable body of clergy, instead of having our very name connected with a fallen Church. Instead of offering a rich and extensive plunder to every sectarian missionary, we should have the first and highest station among the Christian societies of the West." The hindrances to the scheme proposed, as we learn from Bishop White, "were the difficulty of selecting a suitable person, and that of supporting him."²

In 1812 Bishop White brought the matter of a Western episcopate before the Convention of Pennsylvania, and, after alluding to the decease of the Bishop of Virginia as rendering "all further proceeding impracticable for the present," he submitted for the consideration of the Convention "the inquiry how far it may be expedient to declare their consent, in the event of there being consecrated a bishop for one of the Western States, that the churches in this State lying beyond the Alleghany Mountains may have the benefit of his superintendence."³ The Convention consented to the transfer of jurisdiction in the event of such consecration on such terms as might be approved by the bishop and standing committee. Once only did Bishop White cross the Alleghanies; and this was not done for many years. In June, 1825, the venerable Bishop of Pennsylvania made his only episcopal visitation to the western portion of his see. It was then too late to repair the loss to the Church occasioned by the neglect to enter earlier upon this great and growing field. Had the plea of the faithful Dodridge and his few associates been listened to, and its request for a bishop granted, the Church would have been a leader in the van of the country's progress, and much of the great West would have been moulded from the start in her holy ways.

At the General Convention of 1814 Mr. John D. Clifford "presented a certificate, signed by the clerk of the vestry of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Lexington in the State of Kentucky," of his appointment "to represent the Church of that State." The Convention could only admit Mr. Clifford to an honorary seat, as the Church in Kentucky had not organized or acceded to the general constitution. For the first time the Church in the West had a representative in the great council of the Church at large. It was fifteen years before the Church in Kentucky had fulfilled the constitutional requirements entitling her representatives to admission as full members of the General Convention; and during these years of deferred action the number of the clergy in the State, and the number of churchmen as well, had decreased. Who can tell what a wonderful difference

¹ West of the Alleghanies.

² *Memoirs of the Church*, p. 249.

³ *Journal of the Twenty-eighth Convention*

of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania, 1812, p. 5.

would have been seen had a bishop been sent out to these few sheep in the wilderness when Kentucky, for instance, first claimed a place for her accredited representative on the floor of the General Convention?

There had been a serious hindrance to the planting of missions in our new States and territories, growing out of our structural peculiarities. The organization of the Church had proceeded from the start in accordance with the principle that the clergy and laity in each State or Commonwealth were independent of foreign control, and were not only competent for organization, but also for securing the completion of our ecclesiastical system in obtaining the episcopate. The language of the general constitution, and the records of our organization and convention history, keep before us, with uniform and explicit directness, this idea of the "Church in the State," coterminous with the State, and, like the State, an independent sovereignty. It was not until 1838 that this phrase disappears from the constitution, and the word "State" was replaced by the word "diocese;" and even this change, occasioned by the necessity of the division of the overgrown see of New York, was rendered well-nigh inoperative by the adoption of restrictions of a territorial nature and requirements of a certain number of "self-supporting" parishes, making the division of dioceses almost impossible. It was in consequence of this structural obstacle to the establishment of a missionary episcopate that for years the Church witnessed the anomaly of dioceses without a bishop, because too feeble to secure or support one; the General Convention feeling itself unwarranted in imposing bishops on independent churches or on States where there was the inherent right of organization and the choice of their own episcopal head. The General Convention of 1808, recognizing this theory of State independence, called upon the churchmen, in the States and territories where the step had not been taken, to organize, and thus be able to perfect their ecclesiastical system. But this advice, even when followed, resulted in the creation of a number of acephalous dioceses, whose independence could not compensate for their feebleness. Some of these independent dioceses, as in the case of the New England States other than Connecticut, found themselves obliged to unite, in order to provide for the support of their bishop, and the Eastern diocese was the product of this impotent autonomy. Elsewhere, New Jersey, dating its organization back to the year 1785, had no bishop until 1815. A generation had come and gone ere this independent Church had obtained a head. Delaware, represented in the earliest Conventions, and contributing to the general councils of the Church one of the most learned and godly of its members,¹ had no bishop until 1841. North Carolina organized at the start, in 1790, on the principle that a bishop should be at once secured; failing in its effort, had no bishop until 1823. Maine, organized in 1820, secured the episcopate in 1847. Georgia waited from 1823 to 1841 for this boon; having lost in the period preceding organization and subsequent to the Revolution, from the lack of this primal element

¹ The Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, D.D.

of church life and growth, more than could be regained in many years. Mississippi, where the Church had been introduced during the days of Spanish domination, in 1792, waited for a quarter of a century after organization, in 1825, for its first bishop, the apostolic William Mercer Green. Tennessee organized in 1828, and received the episcopate in 1834, and its growth and development attested the wisdom of the comparatively speedy completion of the order and system of the Church. Kentucky, which had received the Church at its earliest days, and had never been wholly destitute of clerical ministrations since its settlement, was not able to organize until 1829, and then waited till 1832 for a bishop. Michigan, where the first service of the Church was held prior to the Revolution, was only able to organize in 1832, and received its bishop four years later. Missouri waited five years, and Indiana eleven, ere these feeble organizations respectively received a head.

These statistics will serve to explain the delay of the Church in entering upon the missionary work at home. Meantime the conviction

G T Bedlee
Rector of R. and reus Church

that it was full time to do for the rapidly increasing settlements of the West and for the world at large what had been done for the Church in America by the "nursing care" and loving support of the venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in the past, had found expression in the organization, in 1821, of a domestic and foreign missionary society. An attempt had been made to inaugurate such a society at the session of the General Convention the preceding year, but in the hurry of the closing hours of the session there was incorporated into the constitution of this society a provision that rendered this effort liable to a suspicion, unquestionably unfounded, so far as any notion of such a result was in the minds of the friends of missions, "of its being an intended engine against the institutions of our Church."¹ The trustees of the society were, by the constitution, to be chosen by the Convention, but it was not provided that the bishops should have any share in this choice, and they were made the chief officers of a society comprising as members all contributors, and consequently one whose constituency could never be assembled while in the "efficient body, that of the Trustees, there was no provision for the presidency or even the membership of a bishop, and no such person, if permitted to be present, could claim a right to vote or to speak in their proceedings."² The sequel is given

¹ Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church," Dr. De Costa's edition, p. 289.

² *Ibid.*

by Bishop White: "The gentlemen named as managers found themselves incompetent to the purpose of the appointment."¹ The bishops in 1821 proposed a new scheme, which was concurred in by the House of Deputies. It is interesting to note among the names of the trustees of the society attempted in 1821 those of Wheaton, of Connecticut; Milnor, of New York; Wilmer, of the District of Columbia; Wyatt and Henshaw, of Maryland; Meade, of Virginia; Bedell, of North Carolina; Gadsden, of South Carolina; and Kemper and Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania. To these were added the following year men of like spirit, and in the formal inauguration of "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" on "the third Wednesday" (the 21st) "of November, 1821," held at the vestry-room of St. James's Church, Philadelphia, Bishop White presided, and shortly after, at the request of the directors, prepared an address as president, to the Church at large, setting forth the destitute condition of the Church after the Revolution; reciting the urgent calls for help from the West; acknowledging the important aid which the Church had received in its founding from the venerable society, and urging this fact as an incentive to similar sacrifice and devotion to meet the spiritual wants of the brethren who were in need; and finding encouragement in the recent establishment of the general seminary as affording a source of clerical supply. Thus was the society started on its course.

The effort to awaken a missionary spirit in the Church met with enthusiasm and a general support. Auxiliary societies sprung up all over the land. In 1822

Ephraim Bacon and his wife were appointed catechists to serve on the west coast of Africa, but it was found impossible to obtain passage, and the plan was given up for the time. The Indians at Green Bay, Wisconsin, attracted the notice of the missionary board, and the Rev. Norman Nash was appointed

to the mission established among these remnants of the aborigines. In this interesting work the Rev. Eleazer Williams, who had been ordained by Bishop Hobart, was also engaged, and the Rev. Richard F. Cadle. In 1827 Jacob Orson, of Connecticut, a young man of color, was appointed a missionary to Africa, and during the following year he received deacon's and priest's orders at the hands of Bishop Brownell. This promising youth died in this country after his passage to his mission had been engaged. In 1828 the Rev. J. J. Robertson was appointed a missionary of the society, and was sent to Greece on a tour of exploration. On the 2d of October, 1830, the first mis-

*I am with true Chris.
regard My dear
Y^r faithful
J. A. Hill*

¹ Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church," Dr. De Costa's edition, p. 52.

sionaries sent by the American Church to foreign lands, the Rev. J. J. Robertson and wife, the Rev. J. H. Hill and wife, and Mr. Solomon Bingham, printer, went forth to their holy work with the prayers and benedictions of the Church.

The accomplished Rector of St. Paul's, Boston, Dr. Alonzo Potter, afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania, thus depicts the events of this eventful day:—

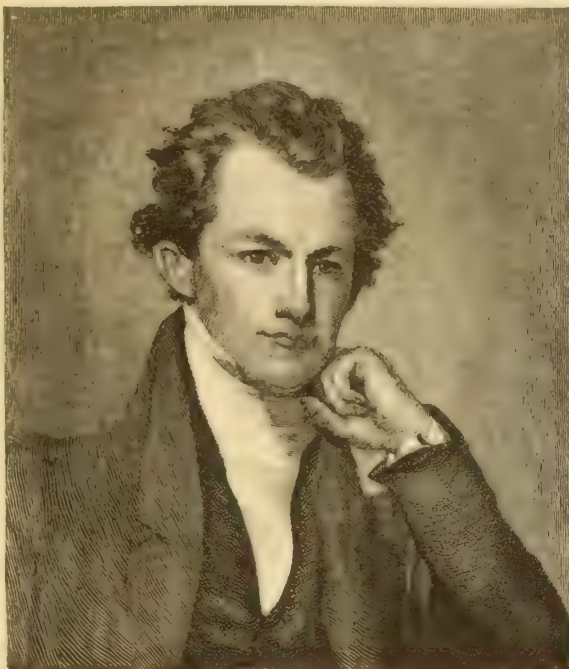
I have just returned from a scene which has filled me with no ordinary emotion. The ship which contains the first band of missionaries ever despatched by the American church to foreign lands, is under way. In the hopes and anticipations which gather round her we forget the disappointments and inactivity of the past.

This morning, Oct. 1st, the sun rose upon one of the fairest days which I remember to have witnessed. The vessel had been detained one day by the wind, and it was a providential detention, for just as the day closed, Mr. Bingham, the printer, who had been anxiously expected, and who, it was feared, must be left behind, arrived.

The missionaries were required to be on board at nine o'clock. At that hour, with several of their friends, they arrived at the wharf, and were soon placed on board the brig, which had dropped a little down the stream.

The brig immediately put under way, with a light, but fair breeze, the air deliciously mild, the surrounding scenery, as you know, beautifully picturesque, the vessel new and very commodious, and the commander courteous and obliging. The party immediately assembled in the cabin, which is for several weeks to be the abode of our friends. A hymn was given out by Brother Baury,¹ prayers offered by Brother Doane,² and the benediction pronounced by myself. All the members of the mission seemed in excellent health and spirits. They felt that they had the sympathy and prayers, not only of their friends here, but of thousands in every part of the land. We all felt that they were going forth in a good cause, and that as the first heralds of our church to distant and benighted nations, they were signally honored and blessed. If a few natural tears were shed, they were shed, not because they or we regretted the decision they had made, but because we could not but reflect that the faces of these, our brethren and sisters beloved, might be seen by us no more.

The last week has been, to the friends of your Society here, a week of much interest. Brother Robertson and his family have been with us, and though too



REV. ALONZO POTTER, FROM A PAINTING BY SULLY.

¹ The Rev. Alfred L. Baury, D.D., of Newton, Mass.

² The Rev. George W. Doane, afterwards Bishop of New Jersey.

much engrossed in preparing to embark to see much of their friends, the sympathy and exertion which were enlisted have satisfied me that our cause has a strong hold upon the hearts of many in this city.

After spending last Sunday at Cambridge, Mr. R. was to have preached in the evening at St. Paul's, but owing to the unfavorable appearance of the weather the sermon was postponed till the evening of Wednesday, the day previous to that fixed for sailing.

On the morning of that day our Diocesan Convention assembled, and thus the Bishop and several of the Clergy were providentially present at the last public services which the missionaries performed in America. Mr. Hill and his wife arrived from New York, and entered the Church just before Mr. R. completed his discourse. A collection was then taken up, amounting to about \$125, and the Bishop, who for the purpose of preparing, had kindly waived for a short time his other calls of business, delivered an address to the congregation and a charge to the missionaries, distinguished for pertinency and affectionate simplicity, and which I hope you will see in print. Mr. Hill said a few words in reply, and offered up prayers, which concluded the service.

On the following evening, the one before they embarked, I was unexpectedly invited to be present with a few other friends, at their boarding-house, for the purpose of exchanging adieus. Some Collects and appropriate prayers were offered by our brother Clapp,¹ of Vermont; Mr. Edson² and myself said a few words each on the importance of the occasion, and the necessity of continued supplication in behalf of the mission, and an address was made by Mr. Hill, distinguished, as all his services here have been, by unaffected simplicity, zeal and good sense. Several hymns were sung, and the services concluded by Collects offered by Mr. Baur, commending them during their voyage, and after their arrival, to the precious care and protection of the Almighty. Thus have I given you a short account of the departure of these servants of God. May the smiles of Heaven, which have been so remarkably manifested toward this enterprise thus far, continue to rest upon it, till Greece shall be made to rejoice through all her borders, in our light; and this cause, never look back till we shall be summoned from our labors here to give account of our stewardship before God.

It was with such feelings that, perhaps, the foremost man in the American Church bade "God speed" to this missionary band. The instructions to which he referred, as prepared by the apostolic Griswold, and signed by the Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, the late presiding bishop of the American Church, form an important part of the history of this period of the Church's annals.

The work thus wisely begun grew and prospered, and the words of a Greek statesman, addressed to Mrs. Hill, "Lady, you are erecting in Athens a monument more enduring and more noble than yonder temple," pointing to the Parthenon as he spoke, have proved prophetic. Though the devoted Robertson was forced to return to his native land, the work went on under the superintendence of the Hills, and with many vicissitudes, and not a few hindrances, remains, at the close of half a century, a monument to the faithfulness, the devotion, the wisdom, and the assiduity of these ever-to-be-remembered missionaries of the Church of Christ.

The missionary spirit thus enkindled burned brightly. The eloquent Doane preached earnestly and most acceptably in Christ Church, Boston, on this inspiring theme, and proved the depths of his own conclusions by a life-long interest in the work he was at a latter day to serve even more abundantly. Hopkins, who had been associated with Doane in Boston, and had been advanced to the episcopate on the same memorable occasion when four bishops had

¹ The Rev. Joel Clapp, D.D.

² The Rev. Theodore Edson, D.D., of Lowell, Mass.

received the laying on of hands, echoed both in the Church's councils and in his own immediate sphere the same call to enter upon the work of evangelization. The "golden-mouthed" McIlvaine, lately chosen Bishop of Ohio; the earnest Meade, Assistant Bishop of Virginia; the devoted Otey, Bishop of Tennessee; the accomplished DeLancey, afterwards Bishop of Western New York; the popular Henshaw, of Maryland, afterwards Bishop of Rhode Island; the energetic Milnor, of New York; the eloquent Tyng, of Philadelphia, and other rising men throughout the Church, rallied to support the Church's missions. Offerings flowed in from every side. Temporary discouragements were overcome. In an emergency the venerable presiding bishop pledged his private credit for the supply of needed means. The work grew. The claims of China were recognized, and in the death of the first who offered himself for the work in this field, the excellent and exemplary Augustus F. Lyde, an interest was excited and an enthusiasm aroused leading the Board to enter upon the evangelization of China with auguries of success which succeeding years have fully justified. On the 14th of July, 1834, the Rev. Henry Lockwood was appointed missionary to China. The following February the Rev. Francis R. Hanson was associated with Mr. Lockwood in this work. Africa, to which attention had been directed at the first, was shortly afterwards added to the list of missions of the society by the appointment of Mr. James Thompson and his wife, as catechists, and the work was found to assume that importance requiring a change in the mode of operations. This change was effected in 1835, and in the adoption of the grand principle underlying the present missionary system of the Church, the active agency of the Bishop of New Jersey, Dr. G. W. Doane, cannot be overlooked. Among the many noble deeds of this great-hearted man, this may be regarded as "the opportunity of his life." The original draft of the report made by the committee of the Board of Directors of the missionary society appointed in 1835 to consider the question of its organization, was written by Bishop Doane, its chairman. The committee consisted of Bishop McIlvaine, the Rev. Drs. Milnor, Henshaw, Beasley, and Tyng, the Rev. Messrs. John S. Stone and John W. James, and Mr. Alexander C. Magruder. Before the committee met, we learn from Bishop Doane himself, the three first named (Bishops Doane and McIlvaine, and Dr. Milnor) came casually together. "What should you think?" said Dr. Milnor, who had moved the resolution for the appointment of a committee to inquire, addressing Bishop Doane,—"what should you think of reporting that *the Church is the missionary society*, and should carry on the work of missions by a Board appointed by the General Convention?" "Why," replied Bishop Doane, "it is the very plan which I have long thought ought to have been adopted, and for the adoption of which I should thank God with my whole heart." "How very strange is this," said Bishop McIlvaine, "I surely knew nothing of the mind of either of you, and yet that is the very plan which I have introduced into the sermon which I am to preach before the society." When the committee met, the three members above named stated their views as above, and found them cordially reciprocated by all their associates.

Thus, as to *the principle* of their report, the committee were from the first *unanimous*. To whom shall the praise be given, but "to the God that maketh men to be of one mind in one house?"¹ We have in Bishop Doane's own report of the proceedings of this memorable Convention of 1835 the ground for this action whereby the vast host of the baptized were incorporated into the missionary army of the Church.

"The Report having been read, the Chairman, on motion of the Rev. Dr. Milnor, was requested, by the unanimous vote of the Board, to state the principles of the plan proposed by the Committee, and the reasons which had led to their adoption. In responding to this call, Bishop Doane premised that the Committee, though brought together without the slightest concert or previous expectation,

James C. Milnor
St George's Rectory
June 3. 1843

had, from their first entrance on the subject, agreed entirely in all its leading features, and that they now, as one man, presented the result of their unanimous conclusion. He showed that by the original constitution of Christ, THE CHURCH, as the Church, was the one great missionary society; and *the Apostles, and the Bishops, their successors*, His perpetual Trustees; and that this great trust could not and should never be divided or deputed. The duty, he maintained, to support the Church in preaching the Gospel to every creature, was one which passed on *every Christian, in the terms of his baptismal vow*, and from which he could never be absolved. The *General Convention* he claimed to be the duly constituted representative of the Church; and pointed out its admirable combination of all that was necessary to secure, on the one hand, the confidence of the whole Church, and, on the other, the most concentrated and intense efficiency. He then explained the constitution of the *Board of Missions*, the permanent agent of the Church in their behalf; developing and defining all its powers and functions, as the central reservoir of energy and influence for the Missionary work; and the appointment by it and in subordination to it, of the two *Executive Committees* for the two departments, Foreign and Domestic, of the one great field—the Missionary *hands* of the Church, reaching out into all the world to bear the Gospel to every creature,—each having its Secretary and Agent, some strong and faithful man, imbued and saturated with the Missionary Spirit, the index finger, as it were of the Committee, to touch, to move, to control, by their direction, each one of the ten thousand springs that are to energize the Church. For the effectual organization of the body, in the holy work to which the Saviour calls them, he indicated the

¹ A Memoir of the Life of George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, by his son, William Crosswell Doane, prefixed to the Life and Writings of Bishop Doane, I., p. 170.

parochial relation, as the most important of all bonds — calling on every clergyman, as the agent of the Board, for Jesus' sake, to use his utmost effort in instructing, first, and interesting his people; then, in engaging their free-will offerings of themselves in its support, upon the apostolic plan of systematic charity — laying up in store on every Lord's day, as God should prosper them; and, when the gathering was made, transmitting to the treasury of the Church the consecrated alms."¹ The reading of his report was followed by a brilliant discussion, in which the principles so clearly set forth by Bishop Doane were sustained and enforced by Bishop McIlvaine and Drs. Milnor and Henshaw, and from this debate the cause of missions in the American Church received an impulse which was felt in every quarter of the land. In the end the proposed plan of reorganizing the missionary work was adopted with a great and most gratifying unanimity, and in the adoption of this plan the Church in America placed herself before the world on primitive ground as a missionary church committed to the cause of evangelizing the world by her very constitution, with her bishops as apostles, her clergy as evangelists, and her baptized members as enlisted helpers in bringing about the coming of his kingdom. Who is to be the King of nations as well as the King of saints. The result of this change of policy in the conduct of the missionary work was seen in the unanimous adoption of the Canon of Missionary Bishops by the General Convention, providing that the apostles of the Church should be sent forth in every direction, not alone to gather in the scattered and dispersed sheep of our own Israel, but to preach the gospel, to disciple the nations, to proclaim the setting up of Christ's kingdom, his Church, and to bring men everywhere into communion and fellowship with that Church, which is his body, all over the world. The enthusiasm of this new missionary spirit culminated when, in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, after solemn, silent prayer, the bishops cast their votes, and the lot fell upon Jackson Kemper, D.D., and Francis Lister Hawks, D.D., to be chosen the first missionary bishops of the American Church, the one to the West and the other to the South-west. We may even at this interval of time express a regret that one of these eminent men, whose praise was in all the churches, felt impelled to decline the high and holy office to which he had been called, but in Jackson Kemper the Church recognized the true apostle, the faithful and successful laborer for Christ, in bringing an empire under the influences and order of the Church.

The work grew at home and abroad. The claims of the growing West had been brought prominently before the Church in connection with the appointment of the Bishop of Connecticut, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Brownell, "to visit that portion of our country which lies west and south of the Alleghany Mountains, to perform episcopal services wherever they may be desired; to examine into the condition of the missions established by the Board; and to take a general survey of the country, for the purpose of designating such missionary stations as may hereafter be usefully established." In the prosecution of this

¹ Life of Bishop Doane, I., p. 174.

important, though arduous, work the good bishop traversed more than six thousand miles, during a visitation occupying four months, in the years 1829 and 1830. Accompanied by the Rev. William Richmond, as attending priest, the bishop visited the south-western portion of our country, administering confirmation to large numbers, consecrating a number of churches, ordaining clergy, presiding at the organization of dioceses, and making glad by his apostolic presence and godly ministrations the wilderness and solitary places in the immense and fertile valley of the Father of Waters.¹ The work thus undertaken was furthered by the labors of the Bishop of Tennessee, Dr. Otey, who from the time of his solemn setting apart for his office as a bishop in the Church of God, sought to extend the influence of the Church in every direction in that region of the country where his lot had been cast. Later the apostolic Kemper visited the South and South-west, with a view of rendering episcopal services where needed, and at the same time awakening an interest in the Church's missionary work. In 1838 there was every encouragement for an even bolder advance than had been made before. Dr. Hawks had indeed declined the work in the South-west, but the successes of Kemper, who was almost ready with his dioceses of Indiana and Missouri for admission into union with the General Convention, and the good bishop's desire and purpose to undertake the work further to the westward, had proved the wisdom of the step made in his appointment, and had given confidence for similar ventures of faith in the time to come. The empire at the West, enough to exhaust the energies of a college of apostles, was now divided between two men. The degree of latitude, thirty-six and a half, was the line of separation of sees, such as the world had never known equalled in extent since the apostles were sent forth to undertake the conversion of the world. To the north and west of this degree of latitude Bishop Kemper was now appointed, and Dr. Leonidas Polk was consecrated for the southern and south-western portion of the field, and, as if this were not enough to tax the energies of a single man, permission was given him to render such provisional services in the organized dioceses as they may respectively request. Three years later Bishop Polk resigned his missionary jurisdiction to accept the charge of the diocese of Louisiana, and the territory thus deprived of a bishop's oversight was remanded to the care of the Bishop of Tennessee, who was ever ready to add to his own engrossing labors the care of all the churches unsupplied with episcopal services. Dr. George W. Freeman was appointed Bishop of Arkansas and the Indian territory, while the plea of the Republic of Texas for a bishop was refused, and nearly a score of years was suffered to elapse ere this empire was supplied with the episcopate.

Abroad, China was opened to the labors of our mission priests, and the work in Africa, hindered in God's providence from the very start by untoward circumstances, demanding patience and faith, received at length in Liberia and at Cape Palmas its mission laborers

¹ *Vide* "A discourse delivered in Grace Church, in the city of New York, with reference to the Mission of the Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut, through the Valley of the Mississippi River in the year 1829-30; by William Richmond, A.M.," London, 1830.

from the American Church. The work at Athens prospered. The press at Syra, under the careful management of Dr. Robertson, worked wonders for the cause of Christ. At Crete a prosperous mission yielded at length only to the bitter fortunes of war. Persia received attention, and at a later date, in 1844, William Jones Boone was consecrated for Amoy, China, and Horatio Southgate for Constantinople. It was not till 1851 that John Payne was made Bishop of Cape Palmas, Africa. Two years later William Ingraham Kip was



THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM JONES BOONE, D.D., FIRST
MISSIONARY BISHOP TO CHINA.¹

sent out to California, and Thomas Fielding Scott to Oregon and Washington; and in 1859 Arkansas received the earnest and devoted Henry Champlin Lay as its apostle, and the "North-west" had its bishop in the person of the indefatigable Joseph Cruikshanks Talbot. It seems but a short time since to these names, held in deserved honor, the addition of those of Robert Harper Clarkson, as Missionary Bishop of Nebraska, and George Maxwell Randall, as Missionary Bishop of Colorado, and Channing Moore Williams, as Missionary Bishop of China and Japan, attested the development of a revived spirit of missions in

¹Consecrated in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, October 26, 1844, at the age of thirty-three years. (From an engraving made by Sartain shortly after Dr. Boone's consecration.)

the Church; and since this day, when the episcopate was extended over the whole territory of the United States, Montana has received Daniel Sylvester Tuttle; Oregon and Washington, Benjamin Wistar Morris; Nevada and Arizona, Ozi William Whitaker; Arkansas and the Indian Territory, Henry Niles Pierce; Niobrara, William Hobart Hare; Africa, first, John Gottlieb Auer, and then on his lamented death, Charles Clifton Penick; and on his resignation, Samuel D. Ferguson, himself a man of color; Colorado, on Bishop Randall's death, John Franklin Spalding; Western Texas, Robert W. B. Elliott; Northern Texas, Alexander Charles Garrett; Northern California, John Henry Ducachet Wingfield; New Mexico, William Forbes Adams, succeeded almost immediately by George Kelly Dunlop; Montana, Leigh Richmond Brewer; Washington, set off from Oregon, John Adams Paddock; and North Dakota, William David Walker: while the mission work in China has been divided, and Samuel I. T. Schereschewsky assigned to Shanghai, succeeded in 1884 by William Jones Boone, son of the first bishop; and Bishop Williams to Yedo, Japan.

Such is the story of the mission work of the Church in outline, merely. There would be requisite to fill up the picture, the warm, rich touches of the pioneer priest's experiences in the trackless wilderness, on the arid plains, in the miner's huts, and among the hostile aborigines. The planting of the Church has not been done by bishops alone, nobly as bishops have labored in the unequal effort of attempting to achieve impossibilities. To priests and deacons, to the holy men and women who have sought new homes in the far West, or in foreign climes, the praise is due for the zeal that has carried the Church to the frontiers of civilization, and made our beloved Zion a pioneer in the wilds of the far West, and throughout the world. It is by the persistent labors of men animated with the spirit of primitive days that the Church has been planted wherever the advancing wave of settlement and civilization has swept in its western course. The names of these men who have not counted their lives dear to them, and who have been in labors most abundant, are worthy of lasting remembrance. The founders of dioceses, the pioneer priests of the Church in the vast territory opened up to Christianity and civilization the present century, and the mission-laborers in distant heathen lands, shall yet be held in honored remembrance by those who enter into their labors and reap the rewards of their self-sacrifice and toil. Worthy are they of honor and memory on earth. Their names are written in the book of life above.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

MENTION should be made of the consecration by the American Church of the Rt. Rev. James Theodore Holly, D.D., as Bishop of the Church in Haiti, and of the Rt. Rev. Henry Chauncy Riley, D.D., as Bishop of the Mexican Church of Jesus. The latter prelate has resigned his jurisdiction.

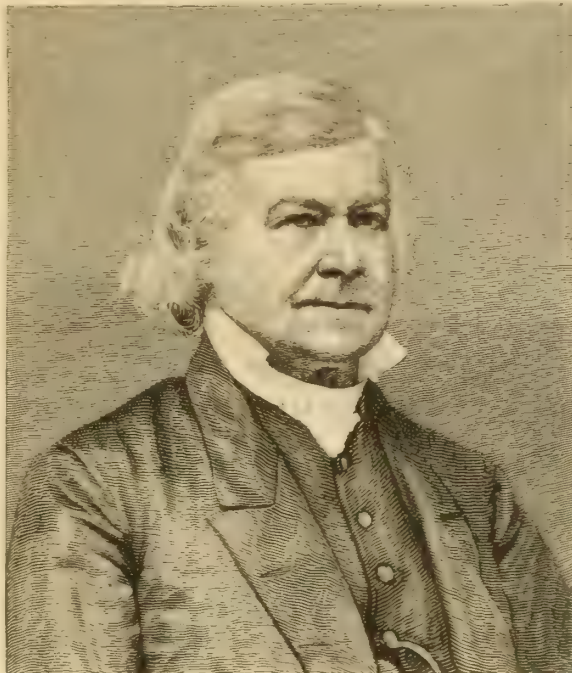
CHAPTER XV.

PIONEER WORK BEYOND THE MISSISSIPPI.

AT the time of the consecration of Dr. Kemper to the episcopate of Missouri and Indiana, in 1836, the former State contained a single church but not one clergyman, while in Indiana there was a young missionary, but "not a stone, brick or log had been laid toward the erection of a place of public worship" for the Church. The venerable Bishop Chase, who in his successive charges in Ohio and Illinois was intimately acquainted with the wants and prospects of the West, deemed Indiana "lost to the Church in consequence of our long neglect."¹

The labors of Bishop Kemper were rewarded with speedy success. In two years in Indiana the church was ready for organization, and its annals, while under the episcopal care of the apostle of the North-west, may not inappropriately introduce our references to the work of this great missionary bishop in the other portions of his field.

Pursuant to a recommendation of a convocation of the clergy called by the missionary bishop, and held at Evansville, on June 9th and 11th, 1838, and in accordance with an address forwarded by a committee to the several churches in the State, clergy and lay delegates convened in the city of Madison, on the 24th of August, 1838,



RT. REV. JACKSON KEMPER, D.D.

Pursuant to a recommendation of a convocation of the clergy called by the missionary bishop, and held at Evansville, on June 9th and 11th, 1838, and in accordance with an address forwarded by a committee to the several churches in the State, clergy and lay delegates convened in the city of Madison, on the 24th of August, 1838,

¹ Vide Bishop Kemper's Report in "Proceedings of the Board of Missions," 1838, p. 5.

the Rev. Samuel Roosevelt Johnson,¹ the senior presbyter present, preaching the sermon. Six clergymen of the nine entitled to seats were in attendance, and one other was admitted by vote. Nine parishes were reported as organized, five of which were represented by ten delegates. The Rev. Ashbel Steele was appointed president, and the Rev. S. R. Johnson, secretary. The following preamble and resolution were passed : —

WHEREAS, The Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, living in Indiana, are desirous of uniting themselves into a Diocese, to be in union with the General Convention of said Church ; And whereas, the present meeting of Clergy and of delegates of the Laity of said Church was called to form and organize said Diocese ; therefore

Be it Resolved by the Clergy and Laity of said Church, living in Indiana, That the Clergy and Laity aforesaid are hereby united and formed into a Diocese to be styled and known as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Indiana and to be in union with the General Convention of said Church, provided the next General Convention will receive us into union with the same, on the condition of our retaining the services of a Missionary Bishop, as now enjoyed, until the Diocese, in the opinion of the General Convention, is able to support a Diocesan, or during the pleasure of that Convention.

A constitution and canons were adopted. A committee on the organization of parishes was instructed to secure legislative action respecting the same. A memorial to the General Convention was adopted, embodying the wish for admission into union with the Convention, on the condition that the services of Bishop Kemper be continued to the diocese. A committee was appointed to consider the expediency of establishing a college in the State. The diocesan officers were chosen, and delegates to the General Convention appointed. A resolution, expressive of grateful regard and attachment to Bishop Kemper, was adopted, and a letter prepared acquainting the bishop with the fact that nothing but "the weak and infant state" of the diocese prevented what was their "unanimous and ardent wish," — his election to the bishopric of Indiana. Thanks were offered to the preacher of the opening sermon, and the Convention adjourned.

The journal of the second annual Convention, which met in Christ Church, Indianapolis, on the 31st of May and the 1st and 3d of June, 1839, was not printed² until the following year, when it appeared, bound up with the journal of the third annual Convention. The number of clergy had really, though not apparently, increased, two of the eleven clergymen officiating in the diocese not having been transferred. Six lay delegates, representing four out of the eight parishes on the Convention list, were in attendance. But three clergymen were present at the opening of the Convention. The bishop and four others afterward appeared and took their seats. One parish was admitted into union with the Convention. The missionary bishop, in his address, alluded to the fact that Indiana was the first field of

¹ Of this "godly and well learned man," whose "praise is in all the churches" alike, Bishop Kemper writes, "the Rev. S. R. Johnson — whom to know is to love, and who, with resources that would enable him to choose his own place of residence, has established himself in a new and flourishing place which was reputed to be sickly — again volunteered his services, which were most gladly accepted." — *Report to the Board of Missions, 1838, Report, p. 10.*

² *Vide* pages 7 and 16 of the Journal of 1840.

his missionary labors. In 1835, shortly after his consecration, he visited Madison, New Albany, Jeffersonville, Lawrenceburgh, Evansville, Vincennes, and Terre Haute. In 1836 he visited several of these places twice. In 1837 he made a fourth visitation, laying the corner-stone of a church at Crawfordsville. In 1838 he attended the meeting of the clergy in convocation at Evansville, which took the incipient measures for the organization of a diocese. Detained from the primary Convention, he had, while on a visitation, consecrated the church at Indianapolis. The bishop reported that confirmations had been administered on ten occasions; three churches had been consecrated, and three were in progress. There was one candidate for the ministry. One ordination to the diaconate, and three to the priesthood, had taken place within the diocese. The establishment of a school or college, and the formation of a fund for the support of the episcopate, were urged upon the Convention, and were referred to committees. The parochial reports, agreeably to the bishop's suggestion, were largely historical. An annual collection was recommended for the Episcopal fund. Diocesan officers, and the deputation to the General Convention were elected. The treasurer was authorized to tax the parishes for their proportionate share of the expenses of the last and present conventions. Indianapolis was suggested as the location for a diocesan college, and the whole matter intrusted to a committee. It was also

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the proper persons to vote in parish meetings are, all male communicants; holders or lessees of a pew or a sitting, not members of other denominations; and others who regularly attend on the services of the Church and have contributed to its support for six months preceding an election.

The third annual Convention met in St. John's Church, Lafayette, and continued in session from the 10th to the 12th of July, 1840. The bishop, and eight of the twelve clergy of the diocese, with six lay delegates, representing five parishes, were in attendance. The Rev. James B. Britton was elected secretary, the Rev. S. R. Johnson having declined a reelection. Four parishes were admitted into union. The bishop's address noticed the laying of one corner-stone, the consecration of three churches, the reception of one candidate for orders, the offer of the Prayer-book Society of Philadelphia to appropriate the receipts from sales within the diocese to diocesan missions, and urged the organization of parochial schools, the need of an itinerant missionary, and the appointment of trustees of the general seminary. Twelve parishes presented reports. A committee was appointed to report to the next Convention "On the Nature and Duties of the Offices of Wardens and Vestrymen." The constitution was amended so as to make the standing committee smaller, and the canons were changed to make them conform to the canons of the General Convention. The Convention expressed its sympathy with the scattered churchmen of the diocese, and its purpose, under God, of bringing the gospel and its ordinances to every member of the Church. The committee on parochial schools reported that general education should be pervaded

with a religious spirit; that the Church should secure and direct that religious influence, in the best way, for the good of her children; that they recommended to each parish to keep the importance of parish schools in view, and, when good opportunities to form them presented themselves, to avail themselves of them. The Episcopal fund consisted of one share in the State bank. The committee on the college was continued. The vacant stations and localities were apportioned among the clergy for missionary work.

The fourth annual Convention met in Christ Church, Indianapolis, May 28 to May 31 (inclusive), 1841, the bishop, with seven of the clergy, and nine lay deputies, representing six parishes, being present. The Convention sermon was preached by the Rev. Archibald H. Lamon. The bishop's address referred to two ordinations to the priesthood; to "the ruinous practice of erecting and adorning churches before funds have been secured;" to the death of the patriarchal Daniel Langton, a churchman from Connecticut; to the changes in the diocese; to the application of Andrew Wylie, D.D., and Leonce Hoover, M.D., the one a Presbyterian divine, the other a Romish priest, for admission to the ministry of the Church; to the importance of rallying around the Book of Common Prayer; the needs of the West, and the election of a diocesan. A committee on reprinting the Journals of 1838, 1839, and 1840 reported the probable cost. A committee was appointed to make a digest of the constitution and canons. The destitute parishes were apportioned among the resident clergy. The committee on the diocesan college was continued. Bishop Kemper was unanimously nominated and elected bishop of the diocese. The committee on the duties of wardens and vestrymen reported in full. The missionary bishop declined the election to the diocesan episcopate, but proposed to continue his oversight till another bishop should be chosen.

The fifth annual Convention met in Vincennes, May 26 to May 29 (inclusive), 1842; Bishop Kemper present and presiding. Five clergymen and five lay deputies, representing three parishes, were in attendance. Three parishes were admitted into union. The bishop's address noticed the admission of the president of the university of the State, Andrew Wylie, D.D., to deacon's orders, and one ordination to the priesthood, the laying of a corner-stone, and the death of the Rev. Charles Prindle. Measures were taken for the incorporation of trustees of the Episcopal fund. A committee was appointed to supply vacant parishes and stations with occasional services. Forms for the organization of parishes, for admission of a parish into union with the Convention, and for parochial reports, were adopted. "In view of the great importance of Sacred Music in conducting the public worship of Almighty God," it was "*Resolved*, That special efforts be made for the cultivation of the art of Sacred Music, with particular reference to chanting."

The sixth annual Convention assembled in Christ Church, Indianapolis, and continued in session from May 25 to May 27, 1843. The Convention sermon was preached by the Rev. Solon W. Manney. Eight clergymen and eight laymen, representing five parishes, were

present. The last journal not having been printed, a committee was appointed on the publication of the journals, with power to condense the last and present one, if necessary. Contributions for the support of the episcopate were solicited. The bishop's address reported the ordination of one to the diaconate and three to the priesthood, the reception of one candidate for orders, and expressed his earnest desire to be relieved of the charge of the diocese. The Convention declined to proceed to the election of a diocesan. The employment of itinerant missionaries was recommended. A draft of a bill of the Legislature, incorporating the trustees of the Episcopal fund, was presented, and trustees appointed. Assessments for deficiencies were laid; a committee on the supply of vacant parishes appointed, and the committee on the revision of the constitution and canons continued. Notice of proposed amendments of the canons, to be acted on by the next Convention, was given. The clergy were requested to secure donations "in money and property for the Episcopal and Missionary Funds," and to take up annually a collection for the latter.

A special Convention, called by the ecclesiastical authority, met in the same place on the 29th of September, and continued its sessions until the 2d of October, 1843. The bishop being absent, the Rev. Robert B. Croes was appointed president *pro tem*. Ten clergymen and three lay deputies, representing the same number of parishes, were in attendance. The Rev. Thomas Atkinson, of the diocese of Maryland, was nominated by the clergy, and unanimously elected by the laity, bishop of the diocese. The report of the committee on the salary of the bishop was concurred in, and the Convention pledged the bishop-elect "the sum of five hundred dollars per annum, payable quarterly." A committee was appointed to acquaint the bishop-elect of his election. Resolutions of grateful acknowledgment of the "faithful and efficient services" of Bishop Kemper were passed, and the Convention expressed its wish that the consecration of the bishop-elect should take place at Indianapolis.

The seventh annual Convention met in St. Paul's Church, Richmond, on the 7th, 8th, and 10th of June, 1844. The missionary bishop and six of the clergy, with three laymen, representing two parishes, were present. The Convention sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Wylie. Two parishes were admitted into union. The Rev. Thomas Atkinson was reported as declining the episcopate of Indiana. The act of incorporation of the trustees of the Episcopal fund and other charitable purposes was presented, and measures taken to carry its provisions into effect. A circular, respecting "the Indian Mission," from a committee of the board of missions, was presented, and referred to the action of the special Convention. The bishop's address reported one consecration, one ordination to the diaconate, and two to the priesthood; fourteen administrations of the rite of confirmation; the death of the Rev. Mr. Hickox, and the pressing need of immediate efforts to elect a diocesan. Certain changes in the canons, adapting them to the provisions of the legislative action respecting the trust funds of the diocese, were passed. A committee on the missionary work was appointed, and reported fifteen primary stations, and four-

teen others to be occasionally visited. The diocesan elections were made. The Convention decided that there was not "at this time in the diocese the Canonical number of regularly settled presbyters to entitle it 'to the choice of a Bishop by the Convention thereof.'" Resolutions requesting the missionary bishop to call a special Convention in September, for the purpose of electing a diocesan, and recommending "special exertions for the increase of the Episcopal Fund," and urging the organized parishes to send delegates to the special Convention, were adopted.

The special Convention met in Christ Church, Indianapolis, on the 5th and 6th of September, 1844, the missionary bishop being present and presiding. Eight clergymen and twelve laymen, representing nine parishes, were present. The Convention sermon was preached by the Rev. Solon W. Manney. Three parishes were received into union with the convention. The bishop having declared the Convention empowered to elect a diocesan, a motion to proceed to the election was referred to a committee, which reported adversely to the proposition, the diocese being "weaker this year than in former years, about half of the parish clergy having removed during the past year, and as yet no new clergymen" having "actually entered upon the duties of the parishes thus vacated." The report of the committee was sustained by a vote of fourteen to six. The Hon. George H. Dunn was appointed to solicit contributions for the fund for the episcopate, and in aid of itinerant and superannuated ministers. The delegates to the General Convention were instructed to make known to the Convention and Board of Missions "the inability of the diocese, under present circumstances, to elect a diocesan," and that it was "a solemn and imperative duty of the Church especially to sustain and extend Domestic Missions in the West, and not to allow this great interest to suffer detriment from any other undertaking whatsoever."

The eighth annual Convention met in St. Stephen's Church, Terre Haute, on the 3d, 4th, and 6th of October, 1845, the missionary bishop being present, and presiding. The Convention sermon was preached by the Rev. B. B. Killikelly, D.D. Eight laymen were in attendance. The bishop's address reported the consecration of two churches, one ordination to the priesthood, and four candidates for holy orders. The address concluded as follows:—

Perhaps the most formidable evil with which we have to contend—and it is an evil which is daily gaining strength and influence—is Romanism. I solicit the clergy to study the subject in all its bearings—to trace its rise and progress and deleterious influence on the Church of God—to make themselves masters of the principles and events of primitive times—and to become well acquainted with those views which led to the Reformation, and which were established in our Mother-Church by the blood of those glorious martyrs, Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer. All hope of union with a Church which is usurping and idolatrous, which abounds in superstitious practices and claims infallibility and supremacy, is absurd, if not impious. Her members are to be met, if met in argument at all, calmly and ably, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. And those among us, if there be such, who cherish what may be called Romanizing tendencies, which at times, perhaps, amount to nothing more than a romantic feeling, and undefined admiration for some of the solemn but vain ceremonies of the Church of Rome, are to be entreated with kindness, and won, by scriptural arguments and well known

facts, to the old paths in which *we* tread, as did the early confessors, before Popery and its defilements were known.

The bishop was requested to avail himself of the discretion allowed by Canon 6, of 1844, respecting the admission of suitable persons to the restricted diaconate. The revised canons, reported by a Committee appointed at a prior convention, were adopted. The delinquency of the clergy in furnishing the statistics required by canon was noticed, and the publication of the Journal ordered to be delayed for thirty days, and that the names of delinquents, after this period, should be published. The preparation of a circular appeal for missionary contributions for the diocesan work was ordered, and the bishop was requested to seek for some suitable person to devote himself to the training of students in theology.

The ninth annual Convention met in Christ Church, Indianapolis, on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of June, 1846, Bishop Kemper being present and presiding. Nine laymen were present. The bishop's address announced the appointment of the Rev. Samuel Roosevelt Johnson as Professor of Theology, and expressed "the earnest wish, that early and untiring efforts be made to free each parish from debt." It exhorted the clergy to "the strictest economy." It laid down the principle that "our parishes must, as soon as possible, be independent." The Convention having resolved to proceed to the election of a bishop, the Rev. Thomas Atkinson, of the diocese of Maryland, was nominated by the clergy, and unanimously elected by the laity. A proposed amendment to the constitution requiring that lay delegates should be communicants was rejected. It was "*Resolved*, That the sum of five hundred dollars per annum be pledged for the support of the bishop, and that he be likewise permitted to take charge of a parish." A resolution of grateful recognition of the services of the missionary bishop was unanimously passed.

The tenth annual Convention met in St. Mary's Church, Delphi, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of July, 1847, the missionary bishop presiding. The Convention sermon was preached by the Rev. Joshua L. Harrison. Sixteen laymen were present. The bishop's address reported the removal of the Rev. Dr. S. R. Johnson, dwelling upon the successful labors of this pioneer clergyman and the great loss experienced by the diocese in his departure, and referred to other removals and changes, whereby during the year, "of our twenty-two parishes, not more than six or seven have enjoyed on every Lord's day, the privileges of the Sanctuary!" The bishop commended Nashotah, advocated "cheap and unadorned churches," and urged the election of a diocesan. He reported three candidates for orders. It was announced to the Convention that the Rev. Thomas Atkinson "declined accepting the Episcopate of Indiana, on account of ill-health; he not being equal to the duties required of him, in the opinion of his physicians." The Convention having voted to proceed to the election of a bishop, the clergy unanimously nominated the Rev. Samuel Bowman, D.D., of the diocese of Pennsylvania, and the laity unanimously confirmed their choice. Assessments to the amount of five hundred dollars were laid

on the various parishes for the bishop's support. The bishop was requested to provide a suitable person to instruct those seeking the ministry. The standing committee were instructed to report on the first day of the session of Convention. Measures were taken to make known at the East "the wants of the Church in the West, and especially in this Diocese." The answer of the Rev. Dr. Bowman, declining the episcopate, is appended to the Journal.

The eleventh annual Convention met in St. John's Church, Lafayette, on the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 5th of June, 1848, the missionary bishop presiding. Nineteen of the laity were in attendance. The bishop's address alluded to his illness, reported one institution, the reception of a candidate for orders, and spoke of the diocese as "in a healthy and growing state." The committee appointed to consider what means could be raised for the support of a bishop reported assessments to the amount of one thousand dollars on the parishes, and advised that the income accruing on the Episcopal fund be added thereto. The Convention having voted to go into the election of a diocesan, the clergy nominated the Rev. Francis Vinton, D.D., of the diocese of New York, which nomination was confirmed by the laity. The thanks of the diocese were tendered to the missionary bishop "for his able and faithful services."

The twelfth annual Convention was held in Christ Church, Indianapolis, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of June, 1849. The Rev. Francis Vinton, having declined the episcopate, the missionary bishop still retained jurisdiction, and was present and presided at this meeting. Nine laymen were in attendance. The bishop's address noticed the death of the Rev. Samuel Lee Johnson, the erasure of two names from the list of candidates for orders on account of ill-health, and one ordination of a graduate of the university of the State, and of Nashotah, the Rev. Homer Wheeler. The bishop recommended weekly offerings, the choice of members of the standing committee from the same neighborhood, the observance of the canons requiring collections for diocesan missions, and St. Mary's Seminary. Resolutions of respect and sympathy, occasioned by the death of the Rev. S. L. Johnson, were adopted, and after the usual routine business, the clergy, "by a more than two-thirds vote," nominated the Rev. George Upfold, D.D., of the diocese of Pennsylvania, to the episcopate, and their nomination was unanimously confirmed by the laity. A special assessment of three hundred dollars, to defray the expenses of the consecration and removal of the bishop-elect, was made. The Convention expressed its desire that the consecration should take place in Indiana. An itinerant missionary was appointed. The standing committee were requested to digest some plan for the preservation of Church property. A resolution of thanks to the missionary bishop was unanimously adopted.

Prior to the next Convention the consecration of the bishop-elect took place.

During the winter of 1836 Bishop Kemper crossed the Mississippi from Illinois to St. Louis, where the Rev. Peter R. Minard, the bishop's assistant at Christ Church, had arrived a few weeks before. Called almost immediately to administer the diocese of Illinois

during the absence of Bishop Chase in England, it was not until early in the spring of 1836 that the bishop ascended the Mississippi, officiating at Palmyra and Hannibal, and afterwards proceeded up the Missouri, preaching at Boonville, Fayette, Columbia, and St. Charles. Impressed with the noble field for labor presented in the West, and conscious of the difficulty of obtaining clergymen for this vast extent of territory committed to his charge, he resolved on the establishment of an institution of learning. He returned to New York to obtain the means for founding a college. By the aid of a wealthy layman, Mr. John P. Stagg, \$20,000 were secured, and in the autumn of 1836, Kemper College, so named without the knowledge or consent of its founder, was chartered by the Legislature. The site fixed upon was "a beautiful spot five miles from St. Louis, in a south-westerly direction, containing one hundred and thirty-five arpents."¹ With such a see as was his, Bishop Kemper could not long linger in Missouri, but after laying the corner-stone of a new church in St. Louis, in May, 1837, he hastened to Indiana, devoting the summer to this important field. Called to Kentucky, in company with the Bishops of Ohio and Michigan, for the purpose of adjusting certain difficulties which had arisen there; a month was required for this necessary work, and then the energetic bishop "hastened to Missouri, made a rapid but very interesting tour in a western direction, passed the boundaries of the State, went through the territories of the Shawnees and Delawares, and visited Fort Leavenworth and the Kickapoos." In 1839 "the advancement of the missionary work in Missouri had not, to outward appearances, been great." But the Church had grown decidedly at St. Louis, and Kemper College had been opened in its primary department, and was "already drawing the attention of the public."² A church had been built at Hannibal, and the prospects of the Church there and elsewhere were deemed encouraging. The following year witnessed a marked advance.

Agreeably to a resolution of the convocation of clergy, held in St. Louis in March, 1840, clergy and laity of the Church in Missouri met in Christ Church, St. Louis, November 16, 1840, the missionary bishop, Dr. Kemper, being present, and presiding. The Rev. Peter R. Minard preached the opening sermon. Eight clergymen and sixteen laymen—representing the parishes of Christ Church and St. Paul's, St. Louis; St. Paul's, Palmyra; and St. Paul's, St. Charles—were in attendance. The organization of the diocese of Missouri and its union with the General Convention were affirmed by resolution. The bishop's address, "pointing out the leading features of the polity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, the importance of the position occupied by the Convention, and the necessity of acting in reference to the future extension of sound Catholic principles in the great valley of the Mississippi," was requested for publication in the journal; but "the urgency of Episcopal and various other duties, prevented the Bishop from complying with this request." A constitution and canons were adopted, as also a plan for the organization of parishes. Mr. J. Parker

¹ Report of the Board of Missions, p. 9.

ceedings of the Board of Missions, 1839, p.

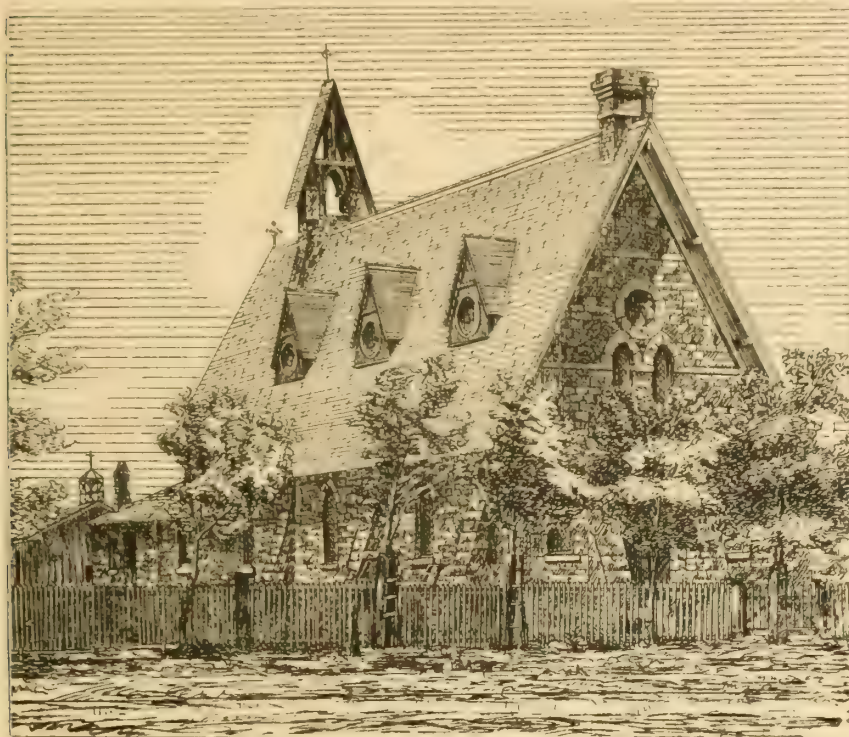
² Report of the Domestic Committee, Pro- 42.

Doan was appointed treasurer of the Episcopal fund. Diocesan officers were elected, and a deputation to the General Convention. The latter was instructed to apply for admission into union with the general organization.

The journals for 1841 and 1842 are still unpublished, but from the MS. proceedings we learn that four clergymen only were in attendance and entitled to seats in 1841, and delegates from two parishes, half the number in each case, that were represented the preceding year. Bishop Kemper was requested "to take full Episcopal charge and authority of the Diocese of Missouri." The session which had been held on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of November was adjourned to the 30th of December, at which time four additional clergymen were in attendance, and the provisional bishop. Thanks were returned, on motion of the Rev. President Hutchinson, "to the patrons of Kemper College, in England, for their generous contributions to the library of that important Institution." In 1842 the bishop was again present. Fourteen clergymen were at this time canonically connected with the diocese, of whom four were in attendance. But four parishes were represented. The time was deemed inauspicious for the creation of a fund for the support of the episcopate, though recommendations were reported by the committee that the attempt should be made to begin such a fund. The treasurer's report was to the effect that he had neither received nor disbursed anything since his appointment. A committee of the Convention reported that the diocese was entitled to elect a bishop, there being nine parishes and the same number of resident clergymen, six of whom had been in the diocese for a year; but the Convention did not act on this report. The following year the number of settled presbyters had been so diminished by removals that the Convention memorialized the General Convention to appoint or consecrate a bishop for the diocese, at the same time naming as their preference the Rev. Cicero Stephen Hawks, D.D., of Buffalo, New York. The General Convention, recognizing the emergency of the case, passed a canon allowing an "organized diocese," which cannot or will not elect its own diocesan, to ask the nomination and election of a bishop by the General Convention. Under this canon Dr. C. S. Hawks was consecrated for Missouri, and the canon was shortly afterwards repealed. Bishop Hawks came to his See to find its only church institution, Kemper College, struggling under an indebtedness that shortly afterwards compelled the closing of its doors, and resulted in the loss of the college and its valuable domain to the Church. It was long ere the Church in Missouri regained the ground thus lost.

The introduction of services into the present State of Iowa dates back to 1836, when occasional ministrations were rendered at Dubuque by the Rev. Richard F. Cadle, and later by the Rev. E. G. Gear and the Rev. J. Batchelder. The missionary committee, in their report for 1839, announced their purpose of sustaining five missionaries in the territory, into which settlers were then pressing in large numbers. But it was found impossible to secure the laborers, even though the fields were white for the harvest, and year after year the records exhibit a feebleness of effort and a lagging interest, which will account

for the passage of nearly fifteen years ere organization was attempted. At length, through the more active exertions of the "Episcopal Missionary Association for the West," a voluntary missionary organization established in Philadelphia, missionaries were found for the field and measures for organization were taken; and at the request of the resident clergy of the State, with a single exception, the missionary bishop of the North-west, Dr. Kemper, called a primary Convention which met in the chapel of Trinity Church, Muscatine, on the 17th



CHURCH OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, ST. PETER'S, MINN.

of August, 1853. Seven clergymen and fifteen laymen, representing seven parishes, were present, and the usual steps were taken to organize the diocese of Iowa.

Bishop Kemper and seven of the clergy of the new diocese, with sixteen of the laity, representing eight of the parishes, were in attendance at the first annual Convention, which met in Davenport, the 31st of May, 1854. The bishop's address noticed the successful work of the Rev. J. Batchelder, "the pioneer of the Church in Iowa, as he had formerly been in Illinois;" the consecration of the church at Muscatine: the duty of the parishes to become self-supporting; the necessity of a diocesan college; the importance of securing land for future use, and need of a wise choice in the selection of a bishop.

The thanks of the Convention were expressed to the "Episcopal

Missionary Association for the West," "for its liberal aid in sustaining Missions in Iowa." The organization of a diocesan missionary society was recommended. A change of the canon respecting the Easter elections in the various parishes, defining the qualifications of voters, was made. After discussion, it was voted to proceed to the election of a bishop, and on the ballot being taken by orders, the clerical vote was as follows:—

For the Rev. Henry W. Lee, D.D., of the Diocese of Western New York, 5.
For the Rev. Jacob L. Clark, D.D., of the Diocese of Connecticut, 1.

The lay vote was as follows:—

For the Rev. Dr. Lee, 5. For the Rev. Dr. Clark, 4.

Dr. Lee was declared duly elected Bishop of the diocese of Iowa. One clergyman and deputies from two parishes had leave to enter the following protest upon the journal:—

We, the undersigned, Clerical members of, and Lay Deputies to, the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Iowa, holden in the City of Davenport, on the 31st of May, 1854, hereby protest against the election of a Bishop of said Diocese upon the following grounds, to wit: The 2d Canon, of 1844, of the General Convention, requires that there must be at the time of a choice of a Bishop, and have been during the year previous, at least six officiating Presbyters therein, regularly settled in a parish or church, and qualified to vote for a Bishop, and inasmuch as the conditions of the said Canon have not been complied with, there being but four Presbyters, as alleged by us, who have been engaged permanently by any parish for a term not less than one year, we protest against said election, and pronounce it null and void.

Leave was granted to two parishes to change their votes from Dr. Clark in favor of Dr. Lee. A resolution expressive of the desire of the Convention that the consecration of the bishop-elect should take place within the diocese, and that the bishop in charge, Dr. Kemper, should be appointed consecrator, was also passed, and thanks were voted to the bishop for "his courteous, impartial and dignified conduct," as presiding officer.

The consecration of Dr. Lee took place on St. Luke's Day, 1854, in St. Luke's Church, Rochester, Western New York, and the new bishop entered at once into his rapidly growing field of labor.

At the North the work of the Church had been slowly developing. There had come into the new Territory of Minnesota, almost in the van of the immigration from the East, an apostolic man, who, having been the founder of Nashotah, in Wisconsin, sought in his earnest and aggressive spirit the beginning of work in a new field, and the laying of foundations on which were to be built up a church, a diocese, a system of church schools, and a mission work to the aborigines, which should for all time attest the zeal and faith and love of James Lloyd Breck. The chaplain at Fort Snelling, the Rev. Ezekiel G. Gear,—"Father Gear," as he was lovingly called,—had been the pioneer of the Church in the Territory, having given the "first English service in Minnesota;"¹ but it was not until 1850, when Breck and his asso-

¹ The Life of the Rev. James Lloyd Breck, D.D., chiefly from letters written by himself. Compiled by Charles Breck, D.D. P. 133.

ciates, the Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson, of Connecticut, and the Rev. John Austin Merrick, of Pennsylvania, then in his diaconate, and a lay brother came to Minnesota, that aggressive work for the Church was begun. On the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1850, this little band organized as "The Associate Mission for Minnesota," and began their work by the celebration of the eucharistic feast. A rustic cross was raised beneath a large and spreading elm, and on an altar of stone the elements were consecrated in this solemn sacrament; and the willing sacrifice of "body, spirit, soul," of each of these devoted missionaries, was solemnly made. Full of interest is the story of the work of this Associate Mission: the long journeys by foot; the



THE FIRST "SEABURY HALL," FARIBAULT, MINN.

services in "the shadow of a great rock," on the broad bluffs overlooking the Father of Waters; in nature's oratories, amidst the well-nigh trackless forests; on the wide prairies, and in the rude huts and school-houses of the pioneers of the State. Work such as these men of God, and those trained in their self-denying ways, did among the white and Indian populations could not but result in abundant fruit, and ere long the time for organization came.

Pursuant to a call issued by the Missionary Bishop of the Northwest, a number of the clergy and laity assembled, on the 16th of September, 1857, in Christ Church, in the city of St. Paul, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Kemper being present, and presiding. The sermon was preached by the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Anderson. The "Charter" of the "Minnesota Church Foundation was accepted." It was resolved, "that without raising the question

of the effect of the organization, this day accomplished, of the Diocese of Minnesota, upon the jurisdiction of the Missionary Bishop within the same, this Convention respectfully requests the continued exercise in and over the same of his Episcopal office and oversight." Diocesan officers were elected and the usual votes of thanks adopted, one being tendered to the Rev. Solon W. Manney, for his services "in preparing and maturing a proposed Constitution and body of Canons for the consideration of this Convention."

The first annual Convention met in St. Paul's Church, in the city of St. Paul, on the 19th of May, 1858, the Missionary Bishop of the North-west being present and presiding. The Convention sermon was preached by the Rev. A. B. Patterson, D.D. The bishop's address reported four consecrations of churches, the laying of one cornerstone, ten visitations at which confirmation was administered, and four clergymen received into the diocese. The motion to proceed to the election of a bishop was lost by the non-concurrence of orders. The "Church Foundation" was intrusted with the duty of taking measures and making appeals for the endowment of the episcopate. The clergy were requested to prepare "full historical notes of the history of the Church" within their respective cures. It was resolved that the neglect on the part of any parish to pay two annual assessments should deprive it of union with the Convention. A canon on the presentment and trial of a clergyman was proposed and postponed until the next Convention. The Convention expressed the opinion that a standing committee, if elected, would not be competent to act with full powers until the admission of the diocese into union with the General Convention, and a subsequent motion to elect such a committee was lost.

The second annual Convention was held in the same place, on June the 29th and 30th, and the 1st of July, 1859, the missionary bishop in charge being in attendance and presiding. The Convention sermon was preached by the Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson, who had accompanied Dr. Lloyd Breck on his first coming to Minnesota. The bishop's address reported four candidates for orders, the licensing of two lay-readers, the laying of the corner-stones of four churches, and the consecration of five, the reception of three clergymen, and the removal of the same number. The Convention having resolved to proceed to the election of a bishop, —

The whole number of votes cast was 18, of which 10 were necessary to a choice.

The Rev. John Ireland Tucker, D.D., 11; the Rev. Andrew Bell Patterson, D.D., 3; the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, D.D., 2; the Rev. Abram N. Littlejohn, D.D., 1; the Rev. Henry B. Whipple, 1.

The Rev. Dr. Tucker having been elected by the clergy, the laity proceeded to ballot, whereupon 21 votes were cast, of which there were 10 yeas and 11 nays.

The clergy proceeded to a second ballot, the same number of votes being cast as before : —

The Rev. Dr. Tucker, 11; the Rev. Dr. Patterson, 6; the Rev. Mr. Whipple, 1.

The choice of Dr. Tucker, on the part of the clergy, was again negatived by laity, 21 parishes voting: yeas, 10; nays, 11.

On the third ballot by the clergy the Rev. H. B. Whipple received 14 votes, and the Rev. Dr. Patterson, 4 votes. The nomination of the Rev. Mr. Whipple was confirmed by the laity unanimously, and thereupon the election was made unanimous. The consecration of the bishop-elect took place at the session of the General Convention in Richmond in 1859. Thus happily was inaugurated the episcopate of the first Bishop of Minnesota, "whose praise is in all the churches" for faithful and abundant labors among the white and Indian population of his See, and for the successful upbuilding of schools of learning, destined, we may well believe, to be for all time a means of blessing.

We have already noticed the first visitation of Kansas by the Missionary Bishop of the North-west, the apostolic Kemper. We proceed to give in detail the story of this portion of the Western Church. The "Organic Act" of Congress under which the Territory of Kansas was thrown open to settlement was approved on the 30th of May, 1854. The constitution of the State was adopted by the constitutional convention on the 29th of July, 1859, and was ratified and adopted by the people of the State at an election held on the 4th day of October, 1859. The State was admitted into the Union by an Act of Congress approved on the 20th day of May, 1861.

Between the Organic Act and the Act of Admission population came into the Territory, and the organization of churches of different denominations went on side by side with other developments in the opening of a new country.

The Rev. John McNamara, now doctor in divinity, and president of Nebraska College, at Nebraska City, Nebraska, received from the Domestic Committee the appointment as the first missionary to Kansas in the summer of 1854. He had previously served in Western Missouri. It was in troublous times, and when the excitements on the Border were at their height. After a varied and painful experience of a year at several points, he withdrew from the mission in the autumn of 1855. His experiences are given in graphic style, in his very readable book entitled, "Three Years on the Kansas Border."

The first missionary of the Church who secured a foothold in Kansas was the Rev. Hiram Stone, at Leavenworth, a city then containing about 2,000 people. Here he entered upon his labors, November 24, 1856, and organized a parish on December 10 of the same year. In the course of the next three years parishes were organized in Atchison, Fort Scott, Junction City, Lawrence, Manhattan, Topeka, Troy, and Wyandotte. The Territory was under the episcopal charge of Bishop Kemper, the Missionary Bishop of the North-west.

In 1859 the few churches at that time existing organized themselves into a diocese at a primary Convention held at Wyandotte on the 11th and 12th days of August, under the presidency of Bishop Kemper, who, on the 26th of the previous July, had called the Convention for this purpose.

There were at that time ten clergymen in the Territory, the Rev. Messrs. Callaway, Clarkson, Drummond, Henderson, Nash, Preston,

Reynolds, Ryan, Staudemayer, and Stone. Of these three the Rev. Messrs. Clarkson, Henderson, and Stone were army chaplains.

The diocese was received into union with the General Convention at its triennial session in the October following.

At a special Convention held April 11 and 12, 1860, an attempt was made to elect a bishop. Eight clergymen were present, and eight parishes were represented. On the twelfth ballot the Rev. Heman Dyer, D.D., of New York, was elected by the clergy, and their choice was confirmed by the laity. But a question arose as to the validity of the election under the limitations prescribed by the general canon "Of Bishops." The incipient controversy was silenced by the prompt action of the bishop-elect, who declined the election.

At the annual Convention, in the September following, the Rt. Rev. Henry W. Lee, Bishop of Iowa, was invited to take episcopal charge of the diocese until the diocese should elect its own bishop. The invitation was accepted, and Bishop Lee continued this provisional charge until the election of the present bishop, in September, 1864.

As a Territory, Kansas included not only all the country now comprised within its limits, but also so much of Colorado (then known as Arrassahoe county in Kansas) as extended through the three degrees of latitude, measuring the width of the State from north to south-westward, to the top of the Rocky Mountains, extending far beyond Denver, — a district almost as large as the present State.

Kansas became a diocese while it was a Territory, and as such was admitted into union with the General Convention with all the domain that then belonged to it. Ecclesiastical divisions are entirely independent of the civil, and we may have, as we have had, dioceses made of parts of several States, or several dioceses in one State.

In this case the parties concerned could alone remedy the difficulty. Bishop Talbot, Missionary Bishop of the North-west, consented to receive Arrassahoe county as a part of his jurisdiction. The diocese of Kansas, in its Convention, and the bishop in temporary charge of it, assented to the change, and the case was then referred to the General Convention of 1862, which ratified the change proposed, and made the diocese coterminous with the limits of the State of Kansas.

During the four years of Bishop Lee's charge he made three visitations, confirming in the few parishes on the Missouri river, and once going into the interior as far as Lawrence and Topeka. West of these there were only a few nominal parishes, and these were very small and feeble. The number of persons confirmed in these four years hardly exceeded a couple of dozen. Two deacons, the Rev. Messrs. Henderson and Hickcox, were ordained by Bishop Lee to the priesthood. One corner-stone was laid in Atchison, which was found a few years later, when a fine stone church was built upon it.

At the annual Convention of the diocese in Atchison, at which Bishop Lee presided, on the 14th and 15th days of September, 1864, the diocese, on the recommendation of the bishop in charge, proceeded to the election of a bishop. The Rev. William H. Hickcox was secretary. Six clergymen answered to their names: the Rev. Messrs. Egar, Hickcox, Nash, Preston, Ryan, and Stone. Seven

parishes were represented: Atchison, Burlington, Leavenworth, Manhattan, Topeka, Troy, Wyandotte. The Rev. Thomas H. Vail, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, Muscatine, Iowa, was unanimously elected by the clergy, and their election was unanimously confirmed by the laity. The Rev. R. W. Oliver, Rector of Trinity Church, Lawrence, who arrived just as the election had been concluded, by permission, added his name to the affirmative vote.

The consecration of the bishop-elect took place at Muscatine, Iowa, on December 15, 1864. The bishops present were Bishop Kemper, the consecrator (the first Missionary Bishop of the Northwest, and at that time Bishop of Wisconsin), Bishop Lee, of Iowa, who preached the sermon, Bishop Whitehouse, of Illinois, and Bishop



MISSION SOD-HOUSE, NEBRASKA.

Bedell, assistant, of Ohio, who presented the bishop-elect. On the 1st of January, 1865, Bishop Vail started for his new field. December 15, 1883, he entered upon the twentieth year of his episcopate.

When the bishop came to the State there were in it three small churches—at Lawrence, Leavenworth, Wyandotte—completed and occupied; and four others—at Fort Scott, Junction City, Manhattan, and Topeka—had been begun. Larger churches have taken the place of the first three. The four then begun have been finished or rebuilt, and twenty-five new churches have been added. At the close of twenty years there are thirty-two churches built and paid for. In connection with these there are fifteen parsonages. In addition to the organized parishes there are thirty or more missions, or preaching stations; so that there are about seventy points in the diocese where the services of the Church are held by regular appointment at longer or shorter intervals.

Every church which has been built in the diocese has been aided by or through the bishop in amounts varying from \$350 to \$2,500 each. The present rate of aid is from \$300 to \$500 each. There are between thirty and forty clergymen on the clerical roll.¹

Agreeably to the call of the Missionary Bishop of Nebraska and Dakota, clergy and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Nebraska assembled in Trinity Church, Omaha, on the 9th of September, 1868, Bishop Clarkson being present and presiding. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel D. Hinman. Seventeen of the clergy, with twelve lay delegates, representing eight of the fourteen parishes, were in attendance. The organization of a diocese, with bounds coterminous with those of the State of Nebraska, was resolved upon. It was decided that the name should be "Nebraska," and the missionary bishop was invited to assume "full charge" thereof. The bishop, in his address, estimated the population of the State as not far from 100,000, and appealed for aid for the "diocesan missions," and for the "outlying work," and urged the necessity of "lay help."

The work thus begun has known no lessening of effort, and the lamented death of the first Bishop of Nebraska, in 1884, marked the close of a period of the diocesan history which had been one of steady growth and almost unexampled prosperity. The creation of an endowment for the episcopate; the erection of a noble cathedral; the establishment of the diocesan schools, and the rapid development of missions into parishes, make the episcopate of Bishop Clarkson a noble memorial of a godly, energetic, and beloved father in God, and give his successor, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Worthington, foundations on which to build, wisely and well, the material fabric of the Church of Christ.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

FRAGMENTARY notices of the development of the Church beyond the Mississippi are to be gathered from the reports of bishops and missionaries published from time to time in the missionary publications of the Church and in the journals of conventions. A few monographs have appeared illustrating the history of the Church in particular localities; but nothing in volume form excepting the admirable biography of Dr. Lloyd Breck, by his brother, the Rev. Charles Breck, D.D., of Scranton, Pennsylvania, has as yet appeared. Of the rapid growth of the trans-Mississippi sees and jurisdictions there will and should be prepared, ere long, full and accurate statements, and especially is there a call for the appearance of the biography of the apostolic Kemper, the Missionary Bishop of the North-west.

¹ This sketch of the history of the Church Hubbard Vail, D.D., LL.D., bishop of the diocese in Kansas is contributed by the Rt. Rev. Thomas

CHAPTER XVI.

THE "OXFORD MOVEMENT" AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

FIFTY years have passed since the appearance of the early numbers of a series of "Tracts for the Times," mainly prepared by members of the University of Oxford, having for their object "the practical revival of doctrines which, although held by the great divines of our Church, at present have become obsolete with the majority of her members, and are withdrawn from public view even by the more learned and orthodox few who still adhere to them." The interest excited by these publications was not confined to England. Their appearance was welcomed by many earnest men, both among the clergy and laity, in the American Church. The fact that so many of our communion have been brought to embrace its principles and enter its fold from convictions of its apostolicity and accordance with primitive order and belief, rendered the clear and sharply defined presentation of what is called "distinctive church teaching" less repugnant to the popular mind than in England, where these matters had not been so widely discussed. It was not till the appearance of the famous "Tract No. 90" that the excitement with reference to the series grew so intense as to threaten trouble. Up to this point it was conceded that the writers of the tracts had not set forth anything which had not been in effect, at least, urged by authors of unquestioned orthodoxy. When the Romish bishop, Dr. Kenrick, publicly appealed to our bishops to submit to the Church of Rome on the alleged ground that these "Tracts for the Times" "had yielded, one by one, almost every ground of dispute" between the two communions, and had even "proposed to reconcile the Articles with the Council of Trent," the Bishop of Vermont, one of the best informed and most able of our prelates, indignantly repelled the charge, asserting that "those very tracts themselves bear a clear and decided testimony against the innovations and corruption of Rome's modern system." In the honest indignation of one who felt that the position of the tract-writers was unjustly represented, Bishop Hopkins, whose proposition of an oral discussion on the points at issue between the Anglican and the Roman systems had been declined by Dr. Kenrick, vigorously assailed the Roman prelate, defending the tracts, and summing up his view of the case by ridiculing "the fears of their unsoundness among Protestants."

It was not long before the excitement was intensified by an event that shook the American Church from its centre to its circumference. The ordination of the Rev. Arthur Carey, a young man of unusual intellectual ability and great sanctity of life, who had espoused and openly avowed "advanced" views in the General Theological Seminary and at the time of his examination for orders, by the Bishop

of New York, notwithstanding the public protest of the Rev. Drs. Hugh Smith and Henry Anthon, occasioned an embittered discussion through the press and on the floor of Convention, that well-nigh rent the Church in twain. From the prolific pen of the Bishop of Vermont appeared in rapid succession four "Letters on the Novelties that disturb our Peace," which passed through two editions. Soon after the appearance of this treatise the bishop was practically inhibited by the Bishop of Pennsylvania from delivering his "Lectures on the British Reformation" in the churches of Philadelphia. The lectures were published, and the action of Bishop Onderdonk gave occasion to wide-spread criticism. The agitation became more general. The Oxford movement was discussed in pulpits and from the press at the session of the diocesan Conventions, and at length became the absorbing topic of debate at the meeting of the General Convention of 1844. The action taken by the Church's great council at this time, though deemed by many inadequate to the occasion, and certainly failing to meet the issue in question, was such as at this distance of time cannot but be approved.

In the words of the late Bishop Burgess, of Maine: "The recent resignation and the suspension of one bishop, the overhanging rumors which foreboded the trial and suspension of another; the personal discussion which arose out of the election to the episcopate of Mississippi; the effort to procure a declaration against the doctrine of the Oxford Tracts; the consecration of Bishops Chase, of New-Hampshire, Cobbs, and Hawkes; the nomination of the Missionary Bishops Freeman, Southgate, and Boone; the renewed, but still unsuccessful attempt to require a longer delay before the ordination of ministers from other denominations; the inquiry into the state of the General Theological Seminary; and the adoption, not without controversy, of the principle of an unlearned diaconate in certain cases,—all concurred to make this the busiest and the most exciting of all our General Conventions. In its legislation it was guided by the occasions which had, unhappily, sprung up, and its close was followed by the most memorable of all the judicial proceedings of any ecclesiastical tribunal in this land." The eloquent defence made by the Rev. Dr. F. L. Hawks, the able and exhaustive debate on the Oxford movement; the adoption of the present standard prayer-book, and the missionary spirit of the Convention, were noticeable features in this eventful session.

The influence of the Oxford movement was not to end with the occasion that gave it birth. In various ways it has in no little measure shaped the progress and moulded the policy of the Church for all succeeding time. From the first, in matters of lesser moment, it called attention to church architecture; it developed a higher style of ecclesiastical music; and it secured a more reverent and rubrical conduct of the services of the Church. It familiarized the people with church history. In literature the distinctive teachings of this school of thought were made popular by church tales displaying no little ability, and by songs and "ballads" the rhythm and reasoning of which charmed and captured both young and old. Services were multiplied and every accessory of taste and beauty was sought to render them

attractive and complete. The Eucharist, which Seabury had been, perhaps, the very first in America to celebrate weekly, became "the central act of worship." The teaching that the Church, like her Divine Head, was to care for the bodies as well as the souls of men, was formulated in noble works of Christian and churchly charity; and hospitals, homes for the old and the young, refuges for penitents, asylums for the needy, were the enthusiastic response to the proclamation of this truth. The introduction of sisterhoods followed as a necessary consequent, and in these means and appliances of beneficence the Church recognized and proclaimed her mission and her power.

It was in connection with the discussions growing out of the publication of the "Tracts for the Times" that the attention of both clergy and laity throughout the Church was called to the doctrinal teachings of our standards, and the meaning of our offices and forms of prayer. An impulse was given to the study of Anglican theology which made the teachings of Laud and Andrews and Bull familiar as household words. The views maintained by the promoters of the Anglican revival, and drawn by them from the Anglo-Catholic doctors, were not new to those who had been trained in the school of Seabury, or had found in Hobart the defender of "Evangelical truth and Apostolic order." That the Gospel in its fulness and in its adaptation to all was to be proclaimed in the Church, the Body of Christ; that through the Incarnation benefits flowed to ransomed men no less than by the propitiatory sacrifice offered on the cross; that the sacraments were means of applying to the soul brought into covenant relationship with God the blessings which were made known to us in the "glad tidings" of Christ; that the kingdom of heaven had been set up on earth, and that the baptized citizens thereof were to "hear the Church," which was the Bride of Christ, reverencing its apostolic ministry, its catholic truth, its primitive forms, had all been fully taught and held by churchmen in many sections of the land. If these views had been lost sight of in certain portions of the Church through indifference or from the laxity which had widely obtained in all matters relating to dogma, still the old controversial treatises, the apologies, the sermons of the past, were a witness that these distinctively church teachings had been held of old, and that it was the return to the teachings of the past that was called for in the Oxford movement rather than the offering of "novelties" that should disturb the Church's peace. It was the recognition of this fact that gave to the tract-writers so wide-spread a following on this side of the ocean. As in swift succession number after number appeared there was an enthusiastic response from thoughtful and earnest churchmen in all parts of the land. Up to the appearance of "Tract No. 90," as we have already said, the tract-writers and their writings commanded a wide approval, and the influence of their appeals to antiquity, and their cogent presentation of the Church's teaching, was followed by general acquiescence.

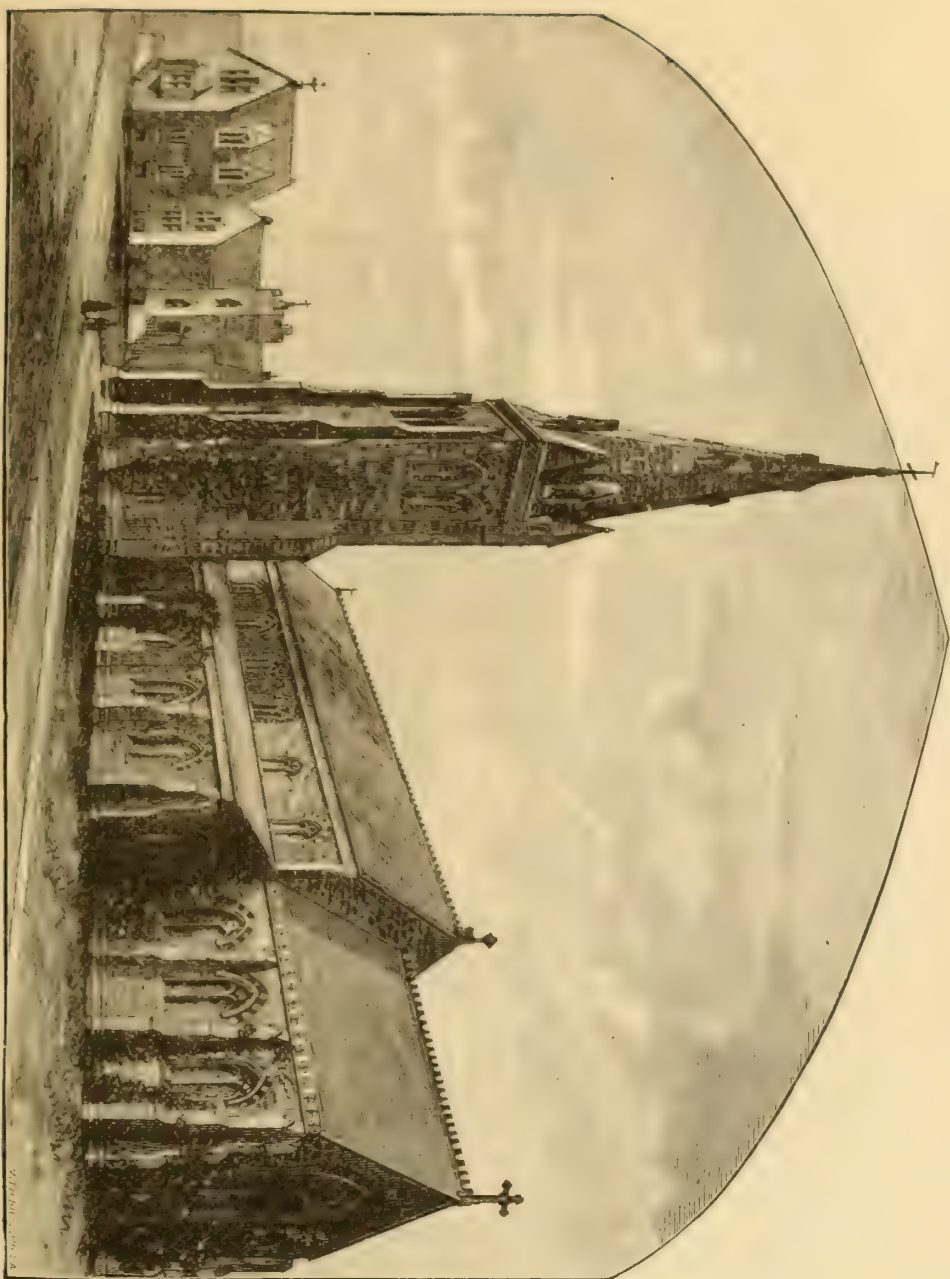
But with the appearance of the closing number of this memorable series all was changed. The note of war was sounded on every side. The opponents of the "Tractarian" school were in earnest in their efforts to withstand the inroads of that which they characterized as

"another gospel." The alterations which had been made in the conduct of the services of the Church; the new interpretations of our doctrinal standards which were proposed; the changed attitude which the Church was called upon to take before the Christian world, aroused a fierce opposition on the part of those whose sympathies were with the "Evangelical" school. Treatise was met by treatise; book by book. The Church press became the arena of a strife in which the appeal was made on the one side to the "Bible only" as "the religion of Protestants" and on the other to the "double witness" of the canonical scripture and the Catholic tradition of the Church. Societies were ranged against societies. Charges from bishops on the one side were fulminated against charges from bishops on the other side. Dioceses were arrayed against dioceses. Conventions were divided into irreconcilable majorities and minorities. The war of words resounded from pulpits and in households; the whole Church was in arms.

The submission of one after another of the writers of the "Tracts of the Times" to the Roman obedience was appealed to as the natural result of the teachings of the Oxford school. What was certainly, for a time at least, a tendency of the movement, was claimed to be its purpose from the first; and although Bishop Whittingham could write that "Pusey's stay more than outweighs Newman's defection,"¹ it was felt by numbers, and not without reason, that "anglo-Catholic teachings seemed to lead to Roman Catholic conclusions."² The reaction from any tendency of this nature came when the defections abroad were followed by the perversion of one and another of our own Church, laymen and lay-women, deacons, priests, and, finally, a bishop of the American Church. The shock was great. But with this culminating act of disloyalty, — an act not unanticipated and preceded by evasions and vacillations unworthy a man of strong convictions, and possibly resulting from the "trials of a mind" weakened by disease and unbalanced by personal troubles and sorrow, — the tide, which had seemed at one time setting towards Rome, turned. There were no more notable perversions. There have been none since. The distinction between a true and a false Catholicity was more clearly seen, and the Church grew all the stronger for the very struggle through which she had passed. The latest outcome of the Oxford movement, the "Cummins' schism," in which the extreme opponents of Romanizing errors followed the advocates of those very errors, in leaving the Church, resulted, as all other defections have done, in a greater unity, and a consequent increase in strength. Thus has the promise of the Church's Head been made good; neither by attacks from without nor through trials springing from within have the gates of hell prevailed.

¹ Brand's "Life of Bishop Whittingham," II., p. 347.

² *Ibid.*, p. 353.



ST. MARK'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

THE various stages of the action of the House of Deputies on the subject of the Oxford movement we give in full : —

FIFTH DAY'S SESSION, OCTOBER 7.

The following preamble and resolutions were offered : —

"Whereas, in the estimation of many ministers and members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, serious errors of doctrine have, within a few years, been introduced and extensively promulgated, by means of tracts, through the periodical press, and from the pulpit; and whereas it is important, for the preservation of the peace and purity of the Church, that such errors, if existing, should be met, and as far as practicable removed, by the action of this Convention :

"*Be it therefore Resolved*, If the House of Bishops concur, That it is desirable to prepare and promulgate a clear and distinct expression of the opinions entertained by this Convention respecting the Rule of Faith; the Justification of Man; the nature, design, and efficacy of the Sacraments, and such other matters as, in view of the foregoing circumstances, may be deemed expedient by the House of Bishops.

"*Be it further Resolved*, That it is desirable that such expression of opinion should originate in the House of Bishops, and receive the concurrent action of this House, and that the House of Bishops be requested to take action accordingly."

The following was offered as an amendment to the above resolutions : —

"Whereas, differences of opinion on subjects deemed of grave importance exist among the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States; and whereas it is believed that there is common ground upon which those thus differing may meet in harmony and love, as members of our branch of the One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church :

"Therefore, *Resolved*, That the House of Bishops be respectfully requested to make a subject of their godly counsel and advice, in their Pastoral Letter, the great principles which distinguish the Protestant Episcopal Church, on the one hand, from the corruptions of Rome; and on the other, from the other errors of sectarianism."

Pending the discussion on the above resolutions and amendment, the House adjourned.

SEVENTH DAY'S SESSION, OCTOBER 9.

On motion, The House resumed the consideration of the resolutions and amendment, relating to the supposed introduction of errors of doctrine in the Church, and their promulgation by means of tracts, etc.

The following amendment to the amendment was offered : —

"Whereas, the minds of many of the members of this Church throughout its union are sorely grieved and perplexed, by the alleged introduction among them of serious errors in doctrine and practice, having their origin in certain writings, emanating chiefly from members of the University of Oxford in England; and whereas, it is exceedingly desirable that the minds of such persons should be calmed, their anxieties allayed, and the Church disabused of the charge of holding, in her Articles and Offices, doctrines and practices consistent with all the views and opinions expressed in said Oxford writings, and should thus be freed from a responsibility which does not properly belong to her: Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the House of Bishops be respectfully requested to communicate with this House on this subject, and to take such order thereon as the nature and magnitude of the evil alluded to may seem to them to require."

The discussion of the said resolutions and amendments being suspended —

The House adjourned.

EIGHTH DAY'S SESSION, OCTOBER 10.

On motion, The House resumed the consideration of the resolutions and amendments, relating to the supposed introduction of errors of doctrine in the Church, and their promulgation by means of tracts, etc.

Whereupon the following resolution was offered:—

"*Resolved*, That this House will proceed at 12 o'clock M. this day, without further debate, to take the question by *yays and nays* on the resolutions submitted, in relation to the differences of opinion existing in the Church, and on the several amendments proposed thereto."

To which resolution the following amendment was offered:—

"*Resolved*, That the consideration of the said resolutions and amendments be postponed, and made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at half-past 12 P.M."

On motion, *Ordered*, That the said resolution and amendment be laid on the table.

The discussion of the said resolutions and amendments being suspended—

The House adjourned.

THIRTEENTH DAY'S SESSION, OCTOBER 16.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the special order of the day be suspended to take up the consideration of the resolutions and amendments, relating to the supposed introduction of errors of doctrine in the Church, and their promulgation by means of tracts, etc.

The following substitute for the said resolutions and amendments was offered:—

"*Resolved*, That the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies consider the Liturgy, Offices and Articles of the Church sufficient exponents of her sense of the essential doctrines of Holy Scripture; and that the Canons of the Church afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standards; and, further, that the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of, and that the Church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this Church or otherwise."

Whereupon, the following resolution was offered:—

"*Resolved*, That the whole subject under discussion, and the various amendments and substitute, be referred to a select committee of five, with instructions to report thereon immediately."

The President put the question on agreeing to the above resolution, and it was decided in the negative.

The consideration of the proposed substitute being suspended,

On motion, *Ordered*, That when this House adjourns, it adjourns to meet at 7 P.M.

The House adjourned.

THIRTEENTH DAY'S SESSION.

7 o'clock P.M.

On motion, the House resumed the consideration of the substitute offered this morning.

On motion, *Ordered*, That unless the question on the substitute be taken earlier, it shall be taken without further debate at half-past nine o'clock.

The hour named having arrived, the President put the question on agreeing to the said substitute, and it was decided in the negative.

On the demand of the clerical and lay representation from Ohio, the vote of each Order was taken by dioceses, as follows:—

Clergy.—Twenty-seven dioceses represented. For the affirmative, 15. For the negative, 8. Divided, 4.

Laily.—Twenty-three dioceses represented. For the affirmative, 11. For the negative, 9. Divided, 3.

The question was then taken on the following amendment, offered on the 9th instant:—

"Whereas, The minds of many of the members of this Church throughout its union are sorely grieved and perplexed, by the alleged introduction among them of serious errors in doctrine and practice, having their origin in certain writings emanating chiefly from members of the University of Oxford in England; and whereas, it is exceedingly desirable that the minds of such persons should be calmed, their anxieties allayed, and the Church disabused of the charge of holding in her Articles and Offices doctrines and practices consistent with all the views and opinions expressed in said Oxford writings, and should thus be freed from a responsibility which does not properly belong to her: Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the House of Bishops be respectfully requested to communicate with this House on this subject, and to take such order thereon as the nature and magnitude of the evil alluded to may seem to them to require."

The President put the question on agreeing to the said amendment, and it was decided in the negative.

On the demand of the clerical and lay representation from Maryland, the vote of each Order was taken by dioceses, as follows:—

Clergy.—Twenty-seven dioceses represented. For the affirmative, 8. For the negative, 15. Divided, 4.

Laity.—Twenty-three dioceses represented. For the affirmative, 11. For the negative, 11. Divided, 1.

The amendment offered on the 7th instant was thereupon withdrawn by the mover.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the House do reconsider the substitute offered this morning.

A division of the said substitute was then requested, and the question was taken on the first clause of the said substitute, as follows:—

"*Resolved*, That the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies consider the Liturgy, Offices, and Articles of the Church sufficient exponents of her sense of the essential doctrines of Holy Scripture; and that the Canons of the Church afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standards."

The President put the question on agreeing to the above clause, and it was decided in the affirmative.

The question was then taken on the last clause of the said substitute, as follows:—

"And further, that the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of, and that the Church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this Church or otherwise."

The President put the question on agreeing to the said clause, and it was decided in the affirmative.

On the demand of the clerical and lay representation from Ohio, the vote of each Order was taken by dioceses, as follows:—

Clergy.—Twenty-seven dioceses represented. For the affirmative, 25. For the negative, 2.

Laity.—Twenty-two dioceses represented. For the affirmative, 18. For the negative, 3. Divided, 1.

The House adjourned.

CHAPTER XVII.

TROUBLES IN PENNSYLVANIA, NEW YORK, AND NEW JERSEY.

THE choice of an assistant and successor to the first Bishop of Pennsylvania, the venerable White, had been accomplished after a violent contest, and the result was most distasteful to the large and active minority. It was, therefore, not without intense interest and excitement that, prior to the session of the General Convention of 1844, the Bishop of Pennsylvania was charged with habits of intemperance, and preparations were made for bringing him to trial before his peers. The accusation was not without foundation, for the use of stimulants, first resorted to for the purpose of allaying severe bodily pain, had grown beyond due measure, and had given occasion to the enemies of the Church to blaspheme. The bishop, when confronted by his accusers, confessed his guilt, and asked the sentence of his brethren. That sentence was not withheld. It is appended to this chapter as a part of the history of the times, premising that if unfeigned sorrow for the sin, and a humble submission to the sentence of the Church, through a long term of years, coupled with a penitent and trustful death, could blot out this painful story as fully as they secured in after years the remission of the penalty thus enjoined, we might omit all reference to so sad an evidence of human frailty.

Meekly receiving the sentence of his peers, which an eminent churchman and jurist, the late Horace Binney, LL.D., pronounced unjust, uncanonical, and illegal, Bishop H. U. Onderdonk at once and forever gave up the use of intoxicating drinks, and his subsequent life was that of a humble and consistent follower of Christ. The application made in 1847 for the remission of his sentence of suspension was renewed in 1850, in 1853, and again in 1856. At last the wish and will of the Church was made too evident to be overlooked. Testimonials bearing witness to the holy living of the bishop, and memorials attesting the universal desire for his restoration, were signed by the representatives of "all parties" in the Church, and even "by those that are without." The wise and godly Bishop of Pennsylvania, who had succeeded to the place thus made vacant, advocated this measure of tardy relief, and finally the remission of the suspension was carried by the bishops in council, and afterwards entered on the journal of the House as follows :—

To all the members of the Holy Catholic and Reformed Church of Christ, throughout the world :

Grace, mercy, and peace, in Jesus Christ our Lord. We, the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, having duly con-

sidered the application of Henry Ustick Onderdonk, Doctor of Divinity, and Bishop of the said Church, to be relieved from the sentence of suspension, passed upon him by the House of Bishops, assembled in General Convention, at Philadelphia, October 21st, in the year of our Lord 1844, and being satisfied by the evidence laid before us, that he has led, during the twelve years which have elapsed since the said sentence was pronounced, a sober, godly, and blameless life, and that the general mind of the Church, so far as it could be ascertained from the memorials addressed to us by a large number of the clerical and lay deputies of the General

Convention, now in session, and others, earnestly desires that the said sentence should be remitted in accordance with the said application; have therefore decreed, in pursuance of our Canonical power and discretion, as follows, viz.: That the said Henry Ustick Onderdonk, Doctor of Divinity, and Bishop as aforesaid, be relieved from the said sentence of suspension, and that he stand before the Church restored to his proper functions in the ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ, according to the Canons, with full power and liberty to exercise the same.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, in General Convention, at the Church of St. Luke, in the city of Philadelphia, this 21st day of October, A.D. 1856.

Signed by Bishops Hopkins, Otey, Kemper,

McCoskry, Polk, De Lancey, Whittingham, Elliott, Lee, Cobbs, Hawks, Freeman, A. Potter, Upfold, Williams, Atkinson, Scott, Lee, H. Potter, and Clark.



RT. REV. H. U. ONDERDONK, BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA.

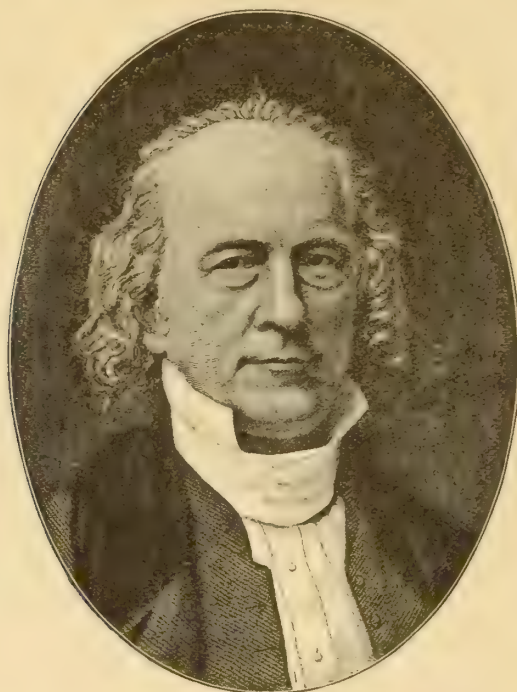
The relief came none too soon. On the 6th of December, 1858, Bishop Henry Ustick Onderdonk "fell asleep."

The profound impression made by such an event as the suspension of the Bishop of Pennsylvania was deepened by the circulation of reports affecting the character of the Bishop of New York. A change in the Church's legislation had been effected at the late Convention, giving to any three bishops the power to present a brother for trial, which had hitherto been confined to the diocesan Convention. It is evident, however, from the history of the adoption of this canon that it was not enacted with any view to the case so soon to arise under its provisions. It had been the purpose of the bishop's opponents to assail his position as professor of the General Theological Seminary. The new canon rendered this circumlocution unnecessary. Three bishops pro-

ceeded from the Convention in Philadelphia to New York with a view of exercising their newly acquired rights. The charges and evidence which had been prepared in the event of the impeachment of the bishop in his professorial capacity, as connected with the general seminary, were made the basis of a formal presentment to the presiding bishop. The charges alleged acts of impurity. In the carefully chosen words of the biographer of the Bishop of Maryland, "Each of the articles of the presentment, varying as to the circumstances, alleged one act indicating impurity common to them all; the earliest instance having occurred seven, the latest two, years before the charge was made. Of the affidavits it is remarkable that in one the deponent swore positively to facts which the statement itself shows could not have been known to the testifier; another, the evidence of a doctor of divinity, was flatly contradicted by the person to whom the assertion was attributed, and where direct testimony could have been readily reached by the presenters. While of a third, also made on hearsay, the one fact which could admit of no explanation save impure motive—which, having been detailed to friends during seven years, had probably more than anything else caused the 'evil report' charged in the presentment—had no other foundation than a misconception by the deponent of what had been told him." On the 9th of November the presentment was formally made, and the trial began on the 10th of December, 1844, and continued until the 3d of the following month.

Six of the seventeen bishops composing the court found the respondent not guilty of any of the charges brought against him: But the judgment of the majority was otherwise, and by the suffrages of eleven of his brethren the Bishop of New York was adjudged guilty. With a view of preventing the award of the extreme penalty of deposition, those members of the court who believed in Bishop Onderdonk's innocence were compelled to unite with those whose vote was for suspension. The condemned bishop protested before the world his innocence of the offences charged, and published a "Statement of Facts and Circumstances" in regard to his trial. He never acknowledged his guilt. A petition to the House of Bishops, in 1847, asking for the removal of the sentence was at once rejected. The "Prayer of the Diocese of New York for relief from sufferings consequent upon the sentence of the Episcopal Court" was presented at the session of the General Convention of 1850; but this and every subsequent effort for the bishop's restoration failed. The election of a "provisional bishop" was authorized, for though its episcopal head was suffering under a sentence of "indefinite suspension," the See of New York was not vacant. The Rev. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, D.D., was elected to this "provisional" episcopate. The bishop, still protesting his innocence, died in 1861. His last days, though saddened by the cloud hanging over him, were blameless. There were those who felt that the prosecution of the Bishop of New York was rather a persecution growing out of divisions in his diocese, and it is a question if the bishop had not been obnoxious, because of his ecclesiastical position, whether the individual grievance that formed the basis of

the presentment would have been brought before the world. The Bishop of Vermont, who certainly sympathized with the views held by Bishop Onderdonk during the later years of his life, never changed his opinion as to the bishop's guilt; but in the words of one to whom we have already referred as a calm and dispassionate writer, the biographer of Bishop Whittingham, "it is a fact that a scrutiny of the votes of the court which sentenced this unhappy man shows that they who found him guilty all differed from him on the theological questions which then agitated the Church, and some of them had im-



RT. REV. G. W. DOANE, D.D., LL.D., BISHOP
OF NEW JERSEY.

peached him before the world as a bringer-in of heresy, and had wished to have him brought to trial before the House of Bishops for an Episcopal act which they condemned."¹ This assertion may be true, and yet the further assertion, which we do not hesitate to make, that the desire of presenting before the world a standard of unimpeachable personal purity in a bishop, was a far more moving cause in procuring the unfavorable judgment the court in this pitiful case than any possibility of party triumph or personal

revenge. The great body of the people of the diocese of New York persistently maintained their bishop's innocence, in which opinion some of the best and wisest of the bishops of the American Church concurred. It is a source of consolation that the condemned bishop could say, in the face of death, "Of the crimes of which I have been accused, and for which I have been condemned, my conscience acquits me in the sight of God."

There followed at no long interval the various efforts to bring to trial the Bishop of New Jersey. In the attempt to found two educational institutions, the one, Burlington College for the sons, and the other, St. Mary's, for the daughters, of the Church, Bishop Doane had found himself financially embarrassed and forced into bankruptcy. He was

¹ Dr. Brand, in his "Life of Bishop Whittingham," II., p. 355.

doubtless lacking in that business exactitude that is the result of a mercantile training; but no doubt of his integrity was entertained by those to whom he was directly responsible, and to whom his business transactions were fully known. There were those who choose to regard his misfortunes in an unfavorable light, and in the diocesan Convention of 1849 a resolution proposing an investigation was introduced. After a full discussion the proposition was unanimously rejected, the mover himself failing to support his motion by his vote. It was not until 1852 that the investigation refused in New Jersey was attempted from without. In a communication addressed to Bishop Doane, the Bishops of Virginia, Dr. Meade; Ohio, Dr. McIlvaine; and Maine, Dr. Burgess, proposed, with reference to certain rumors and allegations brought to their notice, "that action should first take place in the Diocesan Convention," adding that "it was only when a Diocesan Convention refused to institute inquiry, or neglected to do it for too long a period, or performed this duty unfaithfully," that the alternative provided by the canon—the presentment by three bishops—should be resorted to. Their letter counselling this investigation was based on a communication from four laymen of the diocese of New Jersey, vestry-men of their respective churches, who, under date of August, 1851, had united in a request to these three bishops that proceedings should be instituted in view of current reports injuriously affecting the reputation of the Bishop of New Jersey. The letter of the three bishops proceeded to specify their views with reference to the calling of a special Convention, and to the character of the committee of investigation they deemed it wise to appoint. To this action of the three bishops the Bishop of New Jersey promptly replied in his "Protest, Appeal and Reply," denying the right of these bishops, or any bishop, thus to interfere in the affairs of an independent diocese. But still a special Convention was called. Its action pronounced the course of the three bishops unwarrantable, and declared inquiry into the reports and charges unnecessary. A presentment with specifications chiefly relating to matters of a pecuniary nature was then formally made, and the trial appointed for the 24th of June, 1852. On the 14th of July the Convention of New Jersey, after inquiry and the taking of evidence, fully exonerated their bishop from any charge of crime or immorality which had been made against him. In view of the jubilee celebration of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to which a delegation of our American bishops had been invited, the presiding bishop had postponed the time of the trial to October 7. This being deemed unauthorized, a new presentment was deemed necessary, and was prepared with slight changes and additions, and the court assembled on the 7th of October. The Bishop and Convention of New Jersey resisted further proceedings on the ground that the bulk of the charges had already been investigated, and that as soon as a Convention could be canonically convened they were ready to examine into the truth of the remainder. Thirteen bishops, the Bishop of Vermont presiding, constituted the court, and the decision, by a vote of seven to six, was, that the court was not called upon to proceed further, because "previous to the making of the Pre-

sentment now before the court, the Convention of New Jersey had investigated most of the matters contained therein, and had determined that there was no ground for presentment," and that the pledge of the Convention to a further investigation of the few added specifications might be relied on. Bishop Doane had in his masterly management of his own case redeemed his pledge that he would "make the trial of a bishop hard." It was not long after this failure to bring the bishop to trial that a new and third presentment was prepared, at the request, it was claimed, of one hundred and thirty communicants of the Church in New Jersey. On the 1st of September, 1853, twenty-one bishops assembled at Camden for the consideration of this new attempt of the presenters to bring the Bishop of New Jersey to trial. Day after day was spent in the discussion of the legal points raised in connection with the presentment, and at length, at the close of the eleventh day, a committee was appointed to consider if some arrangement could not be effected mutually satisfactory, without going into a trial. To this committee the acknowledgment of "such error as his conscience accused him of" was freely made by Bishop Doane, and although the presenters declined to be satisfied with "any such acknowledgment of error as the respondent would be willing to make," the committee unanimously reported in favor of dismissing the presentment and discharging the respondent without further delay. In this recommendation the court unanimously concurred, and Bishop Doane, "thrice presented and twice brought before a court of his peers, went forth uncensured to the amount of the slightest admonition."¹ It was further declared, ere the court adjourned, that it believed that the presenters had "acted in good faith" and "in a desire and determination to carry out the law of the Church made and provided, in the painful duty which they felt themselves called upon to perform." Bishop Doane had for himself and for all time made "the trial of a Bishop hard."

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

ACTION OF THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS IN THE CASE OF THE BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE committee² appointed upon the resignation of the Rt. Rev. H. U. Onderdonk, recommend the adoption of the following resolution:—

"Whereas, the Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, has made known in writing to the House of Bishops his desire to resign his jurisdiction of the said diocese, with the reasons moving him thereto, and has tendered to this House his resignation of the said diocese; and whereas the House of Bishops, having made investigation of the said reasons, and of the facts and circumstances of the case, deem it expedient to accept the said resignation:

"Therefore, *Resolved*, That the House of Bishops accept the resignation of the Episcopal Jurisdiction of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, made by the Right

¹The Life of Bishop Hopkins, p. 264.

²Consisting of Bishops Chase (President), Brownell, Meade, Ives, and Hopkins.

Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., and hereby declare, that from and after this twenty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-four, he is no longer Bishop of the said diocese.

"And further, *Resolved*, That the foregoing resolution be duly recorded on the Journal of this House; and that information of the same be communicated to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies."

The documents connected with the case of the Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., having been called up, the following preamble and resolution were proposed, considered and adopted:—

"Whereas, this House has heard with pain and sorrow of heart the communication addressed to it by the Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., in which he acknowledges the habitual use of spirituous liquor as a remedy for disease, to a degree which has been the occasion of unfavorable imputations upon the Church, and brought upon him an evil report among men:

"And whereas, this House as well by the tenor of the communications of the said Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., as by the investigation of the facts and circumstances of his case, which have now been made, is well assured that the usefulness of the said Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., in the office and work of the ministry, has ceased, and that the reproach and injury which he has been the means of bringing upon the Church of Christ require the administration of discipline in the premises:

"And whereas, the said Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., has requested of this House such an act of discipline as in the judgment of the said House is proper,

"Therefore, *Resolved*, That the Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., having made to this House a written acknowledgment of his unworthiness, this House does now determine that he be suspended from his office, and that the Presiding Bishop, in the presence of this House, shall pronounce the following Sentence, viz.:

"*Sentence.*—The Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, Doctor in Divinity, having acknowledged himself the cause of reproach and injury to the Church, and having submitted himself to the judgment of the House of Bishops, in General Convention assembled; the said House does hereby adjudge that the said Henry Ustick Onderdonk, Doctor in Divinity, be suspended from all public exercise of the offices and functions of the sacred ministry, and in particular from all exercise whatsoever of the office and work of a Bishop, in the Church of God; and does accordingly so suspend the said Henry Ustick Onderdonk, Doctor in Divinity, and declare him suspended, from and after this twenty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-four, from all public exercise of the office and functions of the sacred ministry, and from all exercise whatsoever of the office and work of a Bishop, in the Church of God; in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

The Presiding Bishop then, in the presence of the Bishops, pronounced the above sentence.

On motion of Bishop De Lancey, seconded by Bishop Whittingham:—

"*Resolved*, That the documents connected with the case of the Right Reverend Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., be placed on file."

CHAPTER XVIII.

DEFLECTIONS AND ACCESSIONS: LOSS AND GAIN.

IN a letter written at Rome on the 22d of December, 1852, the Bishop of North Carolina addressed the following language to his diocese:—

DEAR BRETHREN:—Some of you, at least, are aware that for years doubts of the validity of my office as Bishop have at times harassed my mind and greatly enfeebled my action. At other times, it is true, circumstances have arisen to overrule these doubts, and to bring to my mind temporary relief. But it has been only temporary; for, in spite of resolutions to abandon the reading and the use of Catholic books; in spite of earnest prayers and entreaties that God would protect my mind against the distressing influence of Catholic truth; and in spite of public and private professions and declarations, which in times of suspended doubt I sincerely made to shield myself from suspicion and win back the confidence of my diocese, which had been well-nigh lost,—in spite of all this, and of many other considerations which would rise up before me, as the necessary consequence of suffering my mind to be carried forward in the direction in which my doubts pointed, these doubts would again return with increased and almost overwhelming rigor, goading me at times to the very borders of derangement.

Under these doubts I derived temporary relief from duties that had become so disquieting to me . . . in a short absence abroad. But absence has brought no relief to my mind. Indeed, the doubts that disturbed it have grown into clear and settled convictions, so clear and settled that, without a violation of conscience and honor, and every obligation of duty to God and his Church, I can no longer remain in my position.

I am called upon, therefore, to do an act of self-sacrifice, in view of which all other sacrificing acts of my life are less than nothing; called upon to sever the ties which have been strengthened by long years of love and forbearance, which have bound my heart to many of you, as was David's to that of Jonathan, and make my heart bleed as my hand traces the sentence which separates all pastoral relation between us, and conveys to you the knowledge that I hereby resign into your hands my office as Bishop of North Carolina; and further, that I am determined to make my submission to the Catholic Church.

L. SILLIMAN IVES.

To trace the history of the defection of one who for a score of years had been at the head of an important diocese; who was allied by marriage to the great-hearted Hobart; and who, at the time of his apostasy, was the oldest American bishop save two, is a necessary part of the church annals.

Bishop Ives was the child of Presbyterian parents, and entered Hamilton College with a view of preparation for the Presbyterian ministry. Leaving college at the close of his junior year, he soon distinguished himself as a promoter of "revival" measures, and quite suddenly became a convert to the Church. Ordered deacon by Bishop Hobart, whose daughter he married, and admitted to the priesthood by Bishop White, he served successively in New York and Pennsylvania, and was Rector of St. Luke's, in the city of New York, when, on

the death of Bishop Ravenscroft, he was elected to the episcopate of North Carolina. In his parochial work he was distinguished for great zeal and earnestness, and his preaching was productive of marked results.

Consecrated to the episcopate in Philadelphia, September 22, 1831, by Bishop White, assisted by the Brothers H. U. and B. T. Onderdonk, he entered at once upon his arduous work. For sixteen or seventeen years the Bishop of North Carolina labored assiduously for the upbuilding and extension of the Church, the increase of a native ministry, and the promotion of a sound Christian and churchly education. But previous to the session of the Convention, at Salisbury, in 1849, the harmony which had hitherto prevailed in the councils of the Church was broken. The Committee on the State of the Church, of which the Rev. Dr. Mason, the senior presbyter of the diocese, was chairman, reported as follows:—

While the Committee find such cause of thankfulness to God for these manifestations of the Church's increase, they deplore the existence among its members of great agitation and alarm arising from the impression that doctrines have been preached not in accordance with the Liturgy and Articles of this Church, and that ceremonies and practices have been introduced either unauthorized by the customs of this Church, or in plain violation of its rubrics. . . . Another cause of alarm, as the committee believe, has been found in the supposition that a society has existed in this diocese whose character, rules, and practices are at variance with the spirit, if not with the laws, of this Church. The committee have assurances, on which they entirely rely, that no such society is at present in existence in this diocese.

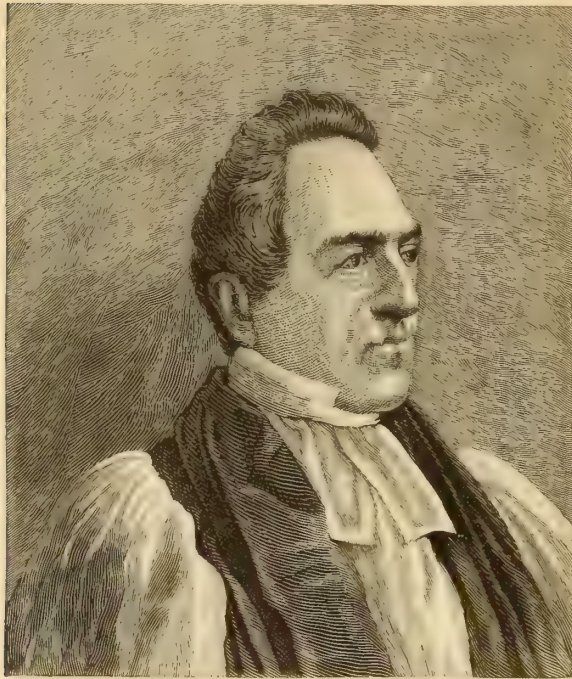
Immediately following the reading of this report the bishop delivered a "charge," in which he pledged himself "that no effort shall be wanting on his part, so long as God may give him jurisdiction in North Carolina, to hinder the inculcation of any doctrine, or the introduction of any practice, come from whatever quarter it may, not in strict accordance with the liturgy of our Church, as illustrated and defined by those standards of interpretation authorized by the Church itself."

The "charge" proceeded:—

In respect to a particular question, which has agitated the diocese of late, the question of Auricular Confession, I may here express my conviction that the Book of Common Prayer, our standard of Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, does not authorize any clergyman of the Church to teach or enforce such confession as necessary to salvation, and that the only confession which it authorizes, is the voluntary confession of the penitent, in accordance with the exhortation in the office for the Holy Communion.

These reassuring utterances were received by the Convention with the greatest satisfaction. Nothing stronger in its denial of Romeward tendencies could have been asked. The bishop's language covered the whole ground. It was complete and unequivocal. The Convention responded by a series of resolutions emphatically approving the bishop's charge, and ordered its immediate publication and distribution throughout the diocese.

Immediately on the rising of the Convention the bishop proceeded to Valle Crucis, the seat of the religious house which had been occupied by the society to which reference had been made by the Committee on the State of the Church, and the dissolution of which they had been confidently assured had already taken place. From this spot the bishop dated and sent forth a "Pastoral Letter" on the 8th of August, 1849. In this remarkable document the bishop apologizes for the "charge" he had but just delivered, and avowed his sanction



RT. REV. L. SILLIMAN IVES, BISHOP OF
NORTH CAROLINA.

of practices and his belief in doctrines directly opposite to his voluntary professions at Salisbury. The appearance of such a pastoral from a bishop of the American Church occasioned the most profound surprise. The Rev. Dr. Mason at once met and repelled the bishop's assertion, that the distrust and alarm now universal were or had been the work of "a few alarmists." He adduced abundant proof of the Romish tendency and teachings of the "Manual of Devotions," used at Valle Crucis, and boldly repelled the charge, that in controvert-

ing these practices and professions the members of the Convention or himself were "resisting the authority of Christ and the functions of the Holy Ghost," or violating their "solemn vows of fidelity and submission." The doctrinal unsoundness of the bishop's views on auricular confession and absolution was at once demonstrated by the learned Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, in his "Voice from Connecticut." Other and able pamphlets appeared from the Rev. Dr. Hawks and the Rev. Messrs. Hanson and Hobart. Two of the laity of the Church entered the lists with contributions of great value.

As another Convention drew near, the bishop sought to regain the confidence of his clergy by consulting with them in convocation previous to the opening of the session. At their request for a full and unequivocal disclaimer of Romish error he inserted in his address the following words:—

"I neither teach nor hold, as some have thought, private auricular confession and absolution in the Romish sense. . . . I teach and hold that our Church regards it needful that each communicant should so search and examine his conscience according to the rule of God's commandments as to be able to confess all heinous offences, 'in will, word and deed,' to Almighty God; and that if he cannot by this means quiet his conscience and come to the Holy Communion 'with a full trust in God's mercy,' he shall open his grief to some minister of God's word, that he may obtain his counsel and aid, to the removing of all scruple and doubtfulness.

"In regard to Christ's real presence in the Holy Eucharist, I neither teach nor hold it, in the sense of *transubstantiation*; neither do I teach nor hold, as I do not understand, how Christ is there present, — further than that He is not there in a material, but spiritual manner, — 'but because *spiritual* not the less *real*.' . . . I do not teach or hold that our Church allows any addresses by way of prayer or invocation to the blessed Virgin, or to any saint or angel; while I regard the Romish doctrine of invocation to saints, implying meritorious mediation and condemned by Article XXXII., as clearly derogatory to Christ and opposed to God's word.

"Finally, I do not teach nor hold that our branch of the Catholic Church is from any cause either in heresy or schism, or that she is destitute of the true sacramental system."

The Convention was not satisfied, and a committee of investigation was appointed. The investigation, however, was delayed till the General Convention of 1850 had passed. At this session the presentation of Bishop Ives was seriously contemplated; but his shattered constitution and his evident physical and mental feebleness served to incline men to pity, while his readiness to repudiate everything like Romanism could not fail to allay apprehension.

The North Carolina Convention of 1851 met at Fayetteville. The investigating committee presented their report with abundant evidence in support of their allegations; whereupon the whole matter was referred to a committee of twelve, before whom the bishop volunteered the following remarkable statement: —

The bishop said to the committee that it might be considered humiliating in him to offer to the committee the statement he was now about to make, but a sense of duty, both to himself and to the Church, compelled him to do so. That it had been at one time a very favorite idea with him to bring about a union of the Roman, the Greek, the Anglican and the American Churches; and that in his zeal for Catholic union, he had overlooked the difficulties in the way, which he was now satisfied were insuperable. That this tendency of his mind towards a union of the Churches had been greatly increased, and his ability to perceive the difficulties had been diminished by a high state of nervous excitement, arising either from bodily disease or constitutional infirmity. That in the pursuit of his favorite idea he had been insensibly led into the adoption of opinions on matters of doctrine, and to a public teaching of them, of the impropriety of which he was now fully satisfied, and upon a review of these opinions wonders that he should ever have entertained them. That this change in his views has been brought about in part by a return to a more healthy condition of mind and body, but mainly from having perceived the tendency of those doctrines to the Church of Rome, as sad experience has shown in the case of Archdeacon Manning and others. That among the effects of his desire to bring about this union of the Churches, he was induced to tolerate the

Romish notion of the Invocation of Saints, as expressed in his letter to the Rev. C. F. McKee, which expressions he now retracts and would denounce as strongly as any one. That on the subject of Auricular Confession and Absolution, whatever extravagances of opinion or expression he may have hitherto indulged, he now holds that confession to a priest is not necessary to salvation; and that he does not believe in judicial absolution, or the power of the priest to forgive sins. Nor does he hold that the absolution recognized by the Protestant Episcopal Church is merely declaratory, but that the priest is therein an instrument through whom pardon is transmitted to the penitent, while its efficacy does not in any degree depend upon the volition or intention of the priest. That absolution is not essentially necessary to the forgiveness of sins, but that it is important when practicable to obtain public absolution, as contained in the ritual of our Church, which is the only absolution that he holds proper, except in those cases in which that is impracticable. That he had at one time, under the influences before mentioned, entertained doubts whether our branch of the Church was not in a state of schism. That he had never gone so far as to believe that it was, but merely entertained doubts. He was now satisfied beyond a doubt that she was not in schism. That he had never held the doctrine of the real presence in the Holy Communion as synonymous with transubstantiation; but, on the contrary, had always abhorred it. He admitted that on a review of some of his writings he had become satisfied that he had exposed himself to misconception by the use of the term Real Presence, which was in the Romish Church synonymous with transubstantiation, but in the use of the term Real Presence he had in his mind only the spiritual presence of Christ. That the term Spiritual Presence was the only one proper to be used, as the general expression Real Presence was, in the present state of the Christian world, liable to be understood as asserting Christ's bodily presence in the Eucharist, — being used by the Romish Church to express its idea of transubstantiation. And that the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist is all that our Church teaches, and would recommend the use of that expression instead of real presence.

"The above is correct.

L. S. IVES."

With regard to the publication of the tract called "The Voice of the Anglican Church," the Bishop says he had nothing to do with its compilation, but learning, while in New York, that such a compilation had been made by two clergymen in whom he had entire confidence, he determined, without verifying the quotations, to have it published as an appendix to his volume of Sermons. But that when he had ascertained its true character, he immediately countermanded its publication, and now regrets ever having anything to do with it.

With regard to the order of the Holy Cross the Bishop states that no such order is now in existence, nor has been since the Salisbury Convention. That from his experience of the result, upon the minds of the young men, he is satisfied that no vows, besides those expressly required or allowed by our ritual, ought to be taken in our Church; and furthermore that any vows beyond these are contrary to the spirit of our Church; and a temptation and snare to those who take them. And that Valle Crucis is now only a Mission Station.

The committee would further state that in addition to Dr. Page's letter, they have before them statements tending to show that the Bishop has for several years past been in a state of great mental excitement, which has impaired his memory and rendered quite uncertain the determinations of his judgment. An oral statement quite in detail, but which the Committee have not had time to reduce to writing, was also made by Josiah Collins, Esq., to show that the Bishop's mind has been for several years past, from an attack of fever, singularly affected, so as to impair his judgment and enfeeble his memory, while other powers of his mind have been rather exalted, — a state of mind well calculated to mislead its subject, and at the same time to expose him to gross misconception on the part of others.

Full and unequivocal as this "statement" was, it was received with incredulity by those who had listened to recantations and retractions from the same source too often to be easily satisfied. But the more charitable spirit at length prevailed. Resolutions expressive of a want of confidence and the wish of the diocese for the resignation of their father in God were first modified and then withdrawn. The

solemn service of an intervening Sunday, and the deepening impression made by the bishop's recantation, inspired the members of the Convention to forget the past, and in a spirit of charity and forbearance to trust the bishop once more. Invited to meet with the Convention and conduct the services at its close, the bishop made a brief but impressive address. He expressed his thankfulness to the Convention for checking him in his course, and expressed his conviction "that those who had opposed him, were honest, sincere, and faithful men, true to the Church." He asked that he in turn might be regarded as sincere in what he had done. He assured his hearers that "the Church might rely upon his increased devotion to her service," and claimed that he had long been desirous of making this free and just avowal.

It was to a diocesan Convention that the bishop addressed these words. At the opening of the session he had in his address plainly avowed his "conscientious conviction that our branch of the Church, styled 'the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States,' and standing upon the same firm basis with the mother-Church of England, belongs to that portion of Christ's body which is the most scriptural, primitive, and truly catholic in its character; and that no one embraced by holy baptism within its pale can depart from it without the grievous sin of doing despite to the Holy Ghost."

At the next Convention, in May, 1852, the bishop in his address urged upon the clergy and laity the need and importance of "a thorough knowledge of, and simple adherence to, *the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer*. There was no allusion to any change of views Romeward; no reference to any inward dissatisfaction or unrest. But four months had elapsed when he announced his purpose of taking a vacation of six months, in view of the state of health of Mrs. Ives and himself, and, having drawn his salary up to the first of January the following year, he sailed for Rome, where, on the 22d of December he addressed to his diocese the letter of resignation of the episcopal office and abandonment of the Church. He had been careful "to leave in the hands of Archbishop Hughes his abjuration of the faith, lest the ocean should chance to bury the story of his shame."

The remainder of this sad story of apostasy can be briefly told. At the following session of the General Convention the abandonment of our communion on the part of the Bishop of North Carolina received its fitting notice, and, under a special canon, the excision of this unworthy prelate was pronounced with due formality by the presiding bishop, sitting in his chair, in the presence of both Houses, after prayers, and in the following form:—

Whereas, Levi Silliman Ives, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, in the Diocese of North Carolina, in a communication under his proper hand, bearing date, "Rome, December twenty-second, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two," avowed his purpose to resign his "Office as Bishop of North Carolina," and further declared that he was "determined to make his submission to the Catholic" (meaning the Roman) "Church;"

And whereas, there is before the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, acting under the provision of Canon First of 1853, satisfactory evidence that the said Levi Silliman Ives, D.D., has publicly renounced the communion of the Church, and made his submission to the Bishop of Rome, as Univer-

sal Bishop of the Church of God, and Vicar of Christ upon earth, thus acknowledging these impious pretensions of that Bishop, thereby violating the vows solemnly made by him, the said Levi Silliman Ives, D.D., at his consecration as a Bishop of the Church of God, abandoning that portion of the flock of Christ committed to his oversight, and binding himself under anathema to the antichristian doctrines and practices imposed by the Council of Trent upon all the Churches of the Roman Obedience.

Be it therefore known, that on this fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and fifty-three, I, Thomas Church Brownell, D.D., LL.D., by Divine permission, Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut, and Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, with the consent of a majority of the members of the House of Bishops, as hereinafter enumerated, to wit: — William Meade, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Virginia; John Henry Hopkins, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont; Benjamin Bosworth Smith, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky; Charles Pettit McIlvaine, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of the Diocese of Ohio; George Washington Doane, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Diocese of New Jersey; James Hervey Otey, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Tennessee; Jackson Kemper, D.D., Missionary Bishop of Wisconsin and the North-west; Samuel Allen M'Coskry, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of the Diocese of Michigan; William Heathcote De Lancey, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York; William Rollinson Whittingham, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Maryland; Stephen Elliott, Jr., D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Georgia; Alfred Lee, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Delaware; John Johns, D.D., Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Virginia; Manton Eastburn, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts; Carlton Chase, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire; Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Alabama; Cicero Stephen Hawks, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Missouri; George Washington Freeman, D.D., Missionary Bishop of the South-west; Alonzo Potter, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania; George Burgess, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Maine; George Upfold, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Indiana; William Mercer Green, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Mississippi; Francis Huger Rutledge, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Florida; John Williams, D.D., Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut; Henry John Whitehouse, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Illinois; and Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, D.D., D.C.L., Provisional Bishop of the Diocese of New York, and in the terms of the Canon in such case made and provided, do pronounce the said Levi Silliman Ives, D.D., *ipso facto* deposed to all intents and purposes from the Office of a Bishop in the Church of God, and from all the rights, privileges, powers, and dignities thereunto pertaining.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. — Amen!

THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL,

Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut, and Presiding Bishop.

The list of losses by apostasy to Rome from the clergy roll of the American Church is by no means a long one. Beginning with the names of the two Barbers, Daniel and Virgil Horace, father and son, and containing names such as those of John Murray Forbes, who with others returned to the communion they had left for a time, there are perhaps fifty priests and deacons who have sought rest and peace in submission to Rome. But few of these were born in the Church, and the greater number had entered our communion in adult years. In few cases have they carried with them any following. They have gone from us, for they were not of us, and they have "gone to their own place."

Gains have more than made up such losses. To reckon up the additions to our ministry "from without" would be to crowd our pages with the names of more than half of those who have received holy orders at our bishops' hands. Men of learning and years, — men honored in the religious bodies where they have been nurtured and into whose

ministry they had been received, — men who have brought with them a wide following, — men representing almost every religious belief in Christendom, have come to us as the Church of Christ, beginning afresh their ministry by receiving as the youngest aspirant for orders of our own, first, the diaconate, and then the priesthood of the Church of God. With such numbers seeking to minister at our altars, is it a wonder that some who have come to us have strayed? May we not with gratitude to the Great Head of the Church offset our losses by our greater gains?

CHAPTER XIX.

THE "MEMORIAL" DISCUSSION, AND ITS PRACTICAL RESULTS.

THE General Convention held in the city of New York in 1853 was noticeable from the many evidences it gave of an awakened zeal, and a desire for a more earnest and aggressive movement "for the sake of His Body which is the Church." There had

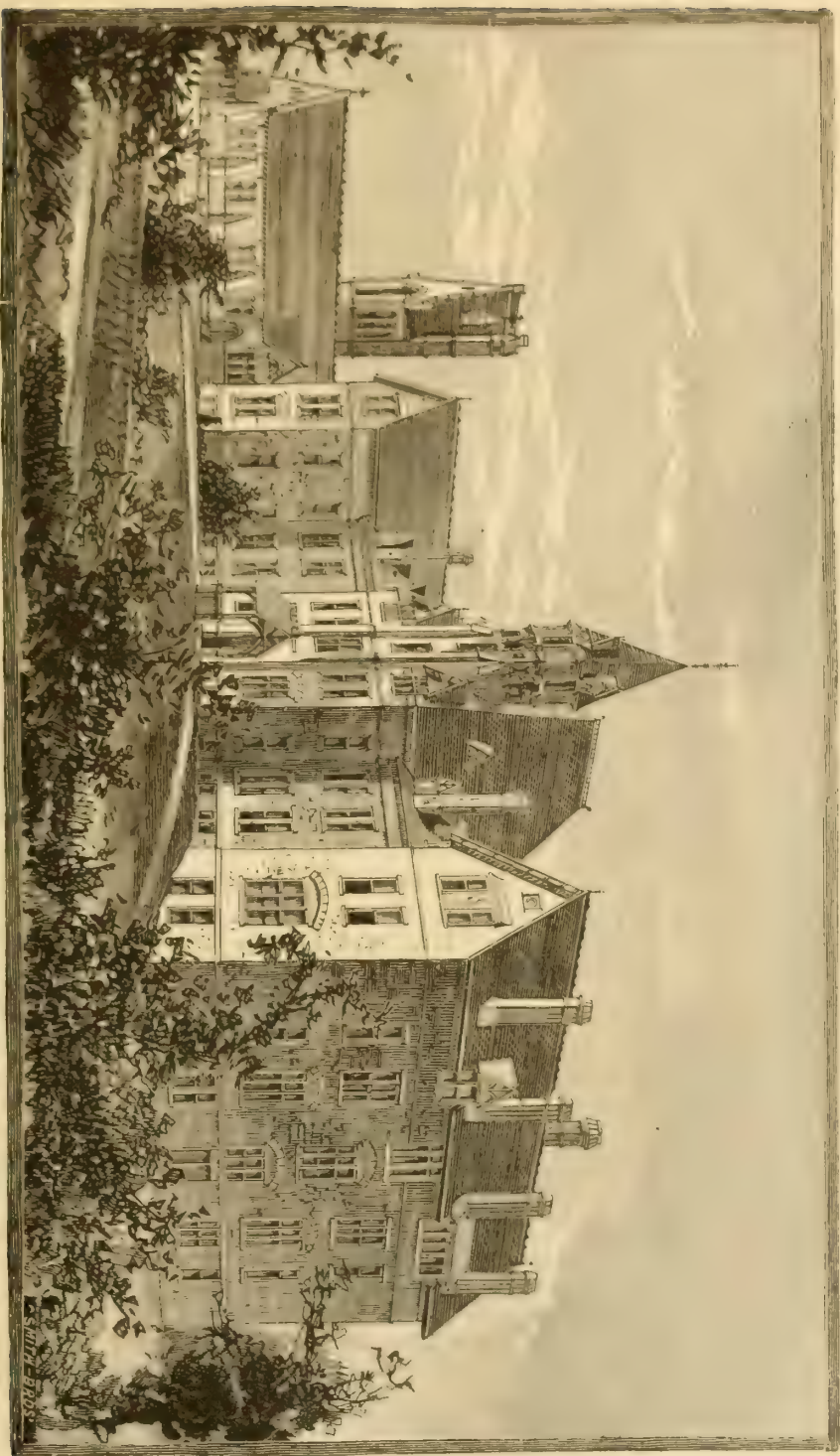


W. A. Muhlenberg

been growth and gains in spite of losses and defections. The excision of those who had proved that they were "not of us" in their going to their "own place," had been followed by a healthy reaction and tokens of revived life and vigor. It was with no fear for the future; with no suspicion that the Church of God was in danger, that there gathered from all quarters of the land the representatives of thirty dioceses. It was to be expected that so memorable an event as the defection of the Bishop of North Carolina would be

made matter for synodical action, and in joint session of the two Houses the sentence of deposition was solemnly pronounced, announcing the *ipso facto* displacing of the offender "from the Office of a Bishop in the Church of God, and from all the rights, privileges, powers and dignities thereunto pertaining." Striking and impressive was the scene when, as the closing words of this sentence upon him who alone of the bishops of the American Church has made his submission to the Roman obedience, the presiding bishop arose at

DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA, FOUNDED BY BISHOP POTTER.



the invocation of the Tri-une God, and "all the people said Amen!" This deed of self-vindication done, the Church in Convention gave herself to the consideration of plans for development and growth. It was the fitting time for the inception of fresh activities and the display of renewed devotion in the cause of Christ. Among these signs of a deeper interest and a quickened zeal were the discussions and ultimate action with reference to the "Memorial" presented to the House of Bishops, and bearing at its close the name of him whose praise is in all the churches as the first and foremost of the priests of the Church whose sympathies were world-wide in their reach of love, and whose devotion to the bodies as well as souls of men was that of the Master, Christ. The leader in the van of churchly education, of church hospitals and homes, of church sisterhoods, of weekly communions, of daily prayers, and of liturgical revision, we may well read the name of William Augustus Muhlenberg with reverence and love. Growing out of an intense longing for unity, and embodying in many particulars the sentiments and expressions of a paper published nearly a score of years before, entitled "Hints on Christian Union," Muhlenberg and his sympathizers, men representing every shade of opinion and school of thought existing in the Church, approached the bishops with the "Memorial." We give it in full as one of the most important of our ecclesiastical papers:—

To the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in Council assembled,

RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS:—

The undersigned, presbyters of the Church of which you have the oversight, venture to approach your venerable body with an expression of sentiment, which their estimate of your office in relation to the times does not permit them to withhold. In so doing, they have confidence in your readiness to appreciate their motives and their aims. The actual posture of our Church with reference to the great moral and social necessities of the day, presents to the minds of the undersigned a subject of grave and anxious thought. Did they suppose that this was confined to themselves they would not feel warranted in submitting it to your attention; but they believe it to be participated in by many of their brethren, who may not have seen the expediency of declaring their views, or at least a mature season for such a course.

The divided and distracted state of our American Protestant Christianity; the new and subtle forms of unbelief, adapting themselves with fatal success to the spirit of the age; the consolidated forces of Romanism bearing with renewed skill and activity against the Protestant faith; and, as more or less the consequence of these, the utter ignorance of the Gospel among so large a portion of the lower classes of our population, making a heathen world in our midst, are among the considerations which induce your memorialists to present the inquiry whether the period has not arrived for the adoption of measures to meet these exigencies of the times, more comprehensive than any yet provided for by our present ecclesiastical system; in other words, whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public worship, and her traditional customs and usages, is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and in this age? This question, your petitioners, for their own part, and in consonance with many thoughtful minds among us, believe must be answered in the negative. Their memorial proceeds on the assumption that our Church, confined to the exercise of her present system, is not sufficient to the great purposes above mentioned,—that a wider door must be opened for admission to the Gospel ministry than that through which her candidates for holy orders are now obliged to enter. Besides such candidates among her own members, it is believed that men can be found among the other bodies of Christians

around us, who would gladly receive ordination at your hands, could they obtain it, without that entire surrender which would now be required of them, of *all* the liberty in public worship to which they have been accustomed, — men, who could not bring themselves to conform in all particulars to our prescriptions and customs, but yet sound in the faith, and who, having the gifts of preachers and pastors, would be able ministers of the New Testament." With deference it is asked, ought such an accession to your means in executing your high commission, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," be refused, for the sake of conformity in matters recognized in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, as unessentials? Dare we pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into the harvest, while we reject all laborers but those of one peculiar type? The extension of orders to the class of men contemplated (with whatever safeguards, not infringing on evangelical freedom, which your wisdom might deem expedient), appears to your petitioners to be a subject supremely worthy of your deliberations.

In addition to the prospect of the immediate good which would thus be opened, an important step would be taken towards the effecting of a Church unity in the Protestant Christendom of our land. To become a central bond of union among Christians, who, though differing in name, yet held to the one faith, the one Lord, and the one baptism, and who need only such a bond to be drawn together in closer and more primitive fellowship, is here believed to be the peculiar province and high privilege of your venerable body as a college of CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC BISHOPS *as such*.

This leads your petitioners to declare the ultimate design of their memorial: which is to submit the practicability, under your auspices, of some ecclesiastical system, broader and more comprehensive than that which you now administer, surrounding and including the Protestant Episcopal Church as it now is, leaving that Church untouched, identical with that Church in all its great principles, yet providing for as much freedom in opinion, discipline and worship as is compatible with the essential faith and order of the Gospel. To define and act upon such a system, it is believed, must sooner or later be the work of an American Catholic episcopate.

In justice to themselves on this occasion, your memorialists beg leave to remark that, although aware that the foregoing views are not confined to their own small number, they have no reason to suppose that any other parties contemplate a public expression of them, like the present. Having therefore undertaken it, they trust that they have not laid themselves open to the charge of unwarranted intrusion. They find their warrant in the prayer now offered up by all our congregations, "that the comfortable Gospel of Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed, in all places to the breaking down of the kingdom of sin, Satan, and death." Convinced that, for the attainment of these blessed ends, there must be some greater concert of action among Protestant Christians than any which yet exists, and believing that with you, Rt. Rev'd Fathers, it rests to take the first measures tending thereto, your petitioners could not do less than humbly submit their memorial, to such consideration as in your wisdom you may see fit to give it — praying that it may not be dismissed without reference to a commission, and assuring you, Right Reverend Fathers, of our dutiful veneration and esteem,

We are, most respectfully, your brethren and servants in the Gospel of Christ,

W. A. MUHLENBERG, C. F. CRUSE, PHILIP BERRY, EDWIN HARWOOD, G. T. BEDELL, HENRY GREGORY, ALEX. H. VINTON, M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE, S. H. TURNER, S. R. JOHNSON, C. W. ANDREWS, F. E. LAWRENCE, and others.

New York, October 14, 1853.

Concurring in the main purport of the above memorial, and believing that the necessities of the times call for some special efforts to promote unity among Christians, and to enlarge for that and other great ends the efficiency of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but not being able to adopt certain suggestions of this memorial, the undersigned most heartily join in the prayer that the subject may be referred to a commission of your venerable body.

JOHN HENRY HOBART, A. CLEVELAND COXE, ED. Y. HIGBEE, FRANCIS VINTON, ISAAC G. HUBBARD, and others.

This important paper, originating with the catholic-minded Muhlenberg, and expressive of his longing for unity and the feeling of those who were associated with him in the effort to secure for the Church the means for the full exercise of her mission to mankind, was no crude or ill-digested production. It raised the important question whether "the posture of our Church, with reference to the great moral and social necessities of the day," was all that could be wished or was to be expected. Its central thought was the prayer of our Divine Lord and Master, "that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they may be one in us." It expressed with great beauty and fervor of language the desire for the adoption of more comprehensive measures for the exigences of the times than were recognized under the laws and usages of the Church then existing. It was the expression of the conviction that in the Church there was the germ of a broad and catholic system suited to all spiritual needs and inspiring measures and ministries of love and universal brotherhood. The "Memorial" suggested the inquiry whether the work of the Church among the masses might not be made more successful by an allowance of rubrical relaxation and by a less stringent policy in conferring holy orders. The language of the "Memorial" was that of inquiry and suggestion, rather than conviction; but that it expressed a widely prevalent feeling in the Church was evident, not only from the names and standing of its signers, but from the marked respect with which it was received by the "College of Catholic and Apostolic Bishops," to whom it was addressed. The vote on its reference to a committee, "to take into consideration the subject thereof, receive any further communications in relation to the same, and report to the next General Convention," was twenty to four, and the names of the commissioners indicate the importance accorded to the subject-matter thus referred. The apostolic Bishop of Tennessee, Dr. James Hervey Otey, was the chairman of this commission, of which Bishops Doane, of New Jersey; Alonzo Potter, of Pennsylvania; Burgess, of Maine; and Williams, of Connecticut, were members. The lamented death of the Provisional Bishop of New York, Dr. Wainwright, who was also a member, reduced the number of the commission to five; and its conclusions were reached, and its report, which was presented to the following Convention, was adopted with absolute unanimity.

The presentation of the "Memorial," and its dignified and sympathetic reception at the hands of the bishops, awakened the widest interest and evoked a general discussion throughout the Church. The press teemed with articles and pamphlets, advocating, explaining, or deprecating the principles underlying the positions assumed by the memorialists. As the discussion waxed warmer the enthusiasm of the author, Dr. Muhlenberg, became deeper; and no more earnest or effective defender of this "grand catholic aspiration" was to be found. The times were propitious for this examination of foundation principles, and this effort to comprehend the true nature and character of the Church's mission. The Oxford movement, with all its agencies for good, had proved itself not unmixed with evil, and the defection of some of its warmest advocates had lessened its hold upon the minds

and judgment of those who were loyal to the Church of their baptism. The ritualistic development was as yet practically unknown, and the traditional strife between the two schools of thought in the Church was chiefly concerned with matters of minor moment. It was an epoch in the history of the Church, — a tide in that Church's progress which taken at the flow might have rolled on towards a great and glorious comprehension of men of various minds and opposing schools of thought in loving ministries of good to a dying world. The reconciliation of strife, the removal of misconceptions and personal antipathies and abuse, the union of long-parted men, — members and ministers of Christ's own Church, — were to be found in real work for Christ, in united and aggressive effort for souls. Accused of "radicalism," Muhlenberg claimed that it was the radicalism that went to the root of all party bitterness and strife, and laid the axe to this root, that he desired. It was with no purpose of loose and irresponsible freedom, no relaxing of great principles, or disuse of the liturgical heritage of the past, that this thorough liturgiologist and conservative churchman presented this scheme of unity on the basis of love and labor for Christ. No changes were to be made in the prayer-book; no revision was dreamed of as possible; no novel theories or unwise concessions were urged, but simply a liberty within carefully guarded limits in the use of the appointed services of the Church. Regarding the worship of the Church not as a mechanism, but as a living outgrowth, the memorialists claimed that the organic law of life in the Church was at once conserving and yet changing, transmitting in the old-time prayers the heritage of the Christian ages, and yet providing for the altered circumstances and conditions of modern life and modern thought in fresh adaptations to confessed and pressing spiritual needs.

Wise and comprehensive as was this scheme, and general as was the interest it excited, its immediate results were far from being commensurate with the hope and promise of its birth. The action of the bishops is indicated in the two reports we subjoin; the first, a preliminary report offered at the beginning of the session in view of the urgent expectancy of action apparent at the very outset of the discussion, and the other the detailed treatment by the bishops of the whole subject-matter of the "Memorial" which we append to this chapter. As was to be expected, the report was the production of the whole commission, but appended thereto were the various contributions of its individual members on special themes assigned them by the chairman. The subject of Christian Education was given to Bishop Doane; Ordination and Comprehension, to Bishop Alonzo Potter; the Liturgical Question, to Bishop Burgess; and Ministerial Efficiency and Christian Brotherhood, to Bishop Williams. The commission, as a whole, disclaimed responsibility for their several treatises, which, in fact, do not appear in the Convention journal, and are only found in a volume of "Memorial Papers," issued under the editorship of Bishop Alonzo Potter. The following preliminary report, which was "cordially" adopted, is of great importance, as indicating the tone and temper of the Church at this epoch in her history:—

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE MEMORIAL.

The Commissioners to whom was referred the Memorial of Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg and others, desirous of bringing to the attention of the House of Bishops, at the earliest moment, some of the most important results of their labors, have instructed their chairman, before presenting the full report of the commission, to lay before the House the following preamble and resolutions, which they unanimously recommend for adoption, viz. :—

WHEREAS, the order of worship, as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, or as settled by usage, has been framed with a special reference to established Parish Churches, and to a population already incorporated with the Church ;

And WHEREAS our actual work is, or should be, among many not yet connected with our Congregations, or where there are no established Parishes, or where said Parishes are yet in their infancy ;

And WHEREAS there are or may be in different Dioceses peculiar emergencies arising out of the character and condition of certain portions of the population which demand some special services ;

And WHEREAS it is desirable that the use of the Book of Common Prayer, as the vehicle of the Church's devotions, should be such as to cultivate an enlightened love for the Liturgy, and enable the Clergy and people to make their labors for Christ most effective : therefore,

Resolved, as the sense of the House of Bishops,

1st. That ministers may at their discretion use separately the office for Morning Prayer ; and that, where a third service is to be held, the Litany or the Ante-Communion Office, or both, may be used in the afternoon, the order for Evening Prayer being reserved for said third service.

2d. That the order for the Holy Communion, in its entirety, may, with a sermon, be used separately : provided, nevertheless, that on the greater Festivals, it should in their judgment be preceded by the office of Morning or Evening Prayer.

3d. That on occasions or services other than regular Morning and Evening Prayer in established Congregations, Ministers may, at their discretion, use such parts of the Book of Common Prayer and such Lessons, as shall in their judgment tend most to edification.

4th. That the Bishops of the several Dioceses may provide such special services as in their judgment shall be required by the peculiar spiritual necessities of any class or portion of the population within said Dioceses.

5th. That to indicate the desire of this Church to promote union among Christians, and as an organ of communication with different Christian bodies or individuals, who may desire information or conference on the subject, it is expedient that five Bishops be appointed by ballot at each General Convention, as commissioners for the foregoing purpose, to be entitled the Commission on Church Unity.

JAS. H. OTEY, *Chairman*.

Philadelphia, October 2, 1856.

Only a part of the recommendations urged in the report of the commission were acted upon. Those which required legislative action, such, for example, as the proposed change in Canon XLV., of 1832, and the proposed additions to the "Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings," were reached at too late a stage of the session to receive the attention they demanded. With that facility for the postponement of action upon living and vital issues which seems inherent to a body so conservative as the General Convention has always proved itself to be, these matters, with the whole subject of liturgical revision were remanded for consideration and action at a later day. The lapse of a quarter of a century found the Church ready for much of the legislation outlined in the "Memorial," and to another generation, which had learned by varied experience to exercise the calm and enlightened judgment so requisite in the discussion of matters of such

moment was reserved the action with reference to liturgical revision and enrichment, which the whole Church seems ready to applaud and except.

In the discussions growing out of the "Memorial," and in the results attained in the House of Bishops, the wise and progressive views, and the commanding influence, of the Bishop of Pennsylvania, Dr. Alonzo Potter, were specially useful, in the advocacy of a judicious liberty in matters of discipline and worship, and in the suggestion of means and appliances for church expansion. This able and scholarly prelate took a leading part in the conduct of the whole discussion, from its inception to its final result. He was the champion of the principles underlying the whole movement, and in his efforts to make the liturgy more flexible, so that our heritage of prayer might be the possession of all, and in his strife to remove those bars and hindrances, which have hedged up the way to our apostolic ministry, as well as in his long-continued and persistent labor to bring out the undeveloped powers of the Church and to utilize all instrumentalities for good, so as to reach the masses, and guide the mind and movements of the people in the direction of social, intellectual, and spiritual betterment, Alonzo Potter won a name which will ever be had in loving remembrance. As a philosopher, a philanthropist, a scholar, and a successful and devoted bishop of souls, he was a true leader of the Israel of God, and his wisdom was nowhere more apparent or useful than in his hearty indorsement and support of the prayer of the memorialists.

Looking at the "Memorial" discussion and the possibilities then within the Church's grasp, we may wonder and regret that, to quote the wise and well-chosen words of Edward A. Washburn, "the party fears on either hand, the jealousy of the episcopal authority by the Lower House, and the great power of inertia in the body, strangled a plan as wise as it was generous." We may not overlook the further words of the same keen and well-qualified observer as he proceeds: "We have learned the worth of our conservatism, since I dare hazard the judgment that had the 'Memorial' prevailed, we should have been spared the two worst misfortunes since befallen us. No legislation can rid us of all our wrong-headed partisans. But the conscientious men of ritualistic type, instead of defying law for chasubles and candles, would have thrown their devotion into noble work, and the conscientious men, who have only added another 'Reformed Episcopal' fragment to the atoms floating in Christian space, would have remained content with just freedom. A generation hence will wonder at the policy called principle; nay, at this very hour a large part of the freedom which the 'Memorial' asked is virtually gained."¹

¹ Sermon preached on the death of Dr. Muhlenberg.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

REPORT OF COMMISSION ON MEMORIAL OF REV. DR. MÜHLENBERG AND OTHERS.

THE Commission of Bishops appointed by this House at the meeting of the General Convention in October, 1853, to take into consideration the memorial of the Rev. Wm. A. Muhlenberg, D.D., and sundry other Presbyters, a copy of which is hereunto appended, and the resolution of the Bishop of Pennsylvania, offered in the House of Bishops on the 6th day of October, 1853, and referred on the 25th of the same month, a copy of which is also hereunto appended; having carefully considered the said memorial and resolution, beg leave to submit the following report:

The subjects referred to the Commission present matters of the gravest and most interesting character, requiring patient examination and the most calm and dispassionate deliberation. So fully impressed were the members of the Commission with the importance and difficulty of the duty assigned to them, that on first assembling on the 29th day of June, 1854, in St. Peter's Church, New York, it was unanimously resolved that our meetings should be opened with prayer, and the Divine wisdom and blessing invoked to guide us in our work. Every member was present at this meeting, and we trust we had an earnest of the Divine favor in the hearty zeal with which all then entered upon the labor which had been laid upon us. We all never met together again. It pleased God in his wise and inscrutable providence to call from his earthly labors one of our members, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Wainwright, not very long after the adjournment of our first meeting, and the commissioners were thus deprived of his very valuable counsel and zealous aid in their subsequent deliberations.

The Commission appointed the Rev. Professor Johnson of the General Theological Seminary their Secretary. Having been compelled in the spring of 1855 to resign, he was replaced by Rev. Daniel Kendig, of Pennsylvania.

Sensible of the delicacy of their work, as well as of the intrinsic difficulties connected with the prosecution of it to any successful result, the commissioners determined in the first place to avail themselves, as far as opportunity permitted, of the counsel and advice of wise and good men in our own and other lands. Information and suggestions were sought, not only from the members of our own communion, but likewise from those of reputation for piety and learning among other denominations of Christians.

With a view to these purposes a series of questions was prepared, and, through the Bishops of our Church and other agencies, these questions together with printed copies of the Memorial were widely distributed at home and abroad, and answers to them solicited. In this way it was believed that we should ascertain the views of the Church at large upon the subjects submitted to consideration, gain valuable suggestions from the wise, learned, and sober-minded of our own and other households of faith, be certified as to the real *animus* of the Church in reference to any proposed alterations, or contemplated modification, in our order of worship and discipline; and thus be prepared to submit to the General Convention such information as would enable it to act wisely and understandingly upon the whole subject. It was also hoped that plans might be suggested that would tend to mollify the asperities of religious differences and heal some of the unhappy divisions which have long marred the fair form of Christianity in our world.

The reasonable expectations of the Commission in reference to the readiness of our brethren to meet the calls made upon them, have not been disappointed. Upon all the subjects embraced in the Memorial, and presented in a more definite and detailed shape, by the series of questions addressed to Clergymen and Laymen, we have been favored with numerous learned and well-digested communications, manifesting a profound interest in the work committed to us. At the same time the various topics which have been mentioned, either by the Memorialists or the Commission, have given rise to animated and earnest discussions in our religious journals, or have been made to assume a more permanent character in the form of pamphlets, claiming public attention. In this way, and by these means, ample opportunities have been given to all parties—those who favor as well as those who oppose the movements of the Memorialists—to make themselves heard, and, as far as such instrumentalities can avail, to guard the Church against hasty or indeliberate legislation. In all these communications it is gratifying to find the expression of a warm attachment to our order of worship.

Communications have also been received by members of the Commission from distinguished Divines of other Protestant bodies. These have been marked in some instances by eminent ability, and in all cases by a generous interest in the subject under consideration, and a desire to see the Protestant Episcopal Church made under God an instrument of wider usefulness in evangelizing the neglected population of our own country, and in healing the strifes and divisions that afflict and dishonor Christendom.

It should not be passed here without notice and remark, that almost simultaneously and certainly without any previous understanding or concert, a work similar to that committed to us, and having precisely the same aims and objects in view, was moved in our mother-Church of England. Can it be presumptuous to hope and trust that the same Lord, who is over all, and rich in the bestowal of his gifts of wisdom and grace on all who call upon Him faithfully, had put it into the hearts of his people on both sides of the Atlantic, at the same time, to devise and attempt a work having so high and holy purposes in view, as the edification and union of all Christian people, the enlargement of His Church, and the more rapid spread of His gospel over all the world. At the second meeting of the Commissioners, in 1854, their chairman was directed to open a correspondence with the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, chairman of the committee appointed to take charge of this work, collect information, and make report to convocation. This was accordingly done, and a fraternal answer returned by his Lordship, giving assurance of the lively interest felt on the subject in England, and at the same time transmitting to us valuable documents, setting forth in detail what had been proposed in committee, and the action had thereon in convocation.

The facts briefly adverted to, and many others not necessary to mention, have deeply impressed the Commission with a sense of the importance attached to the work which they have in charge. The spontaneousness of the movement, and the miscellaneous character of those who have manifested a lively concern in its progress, cannot be easily overlooked. Men as widely remote from each other in their respective spheres of labor as they are variant in their religious preferences, have alike given evidence of a conviction that the Church needed an enlargement of her means of usefulness. Laymen as well as clergymen, as different in their views of ecclesiastical polity, as in their natural temperaments, have communicated their opinions and given expression to their hopes and fears respecting our venerable forms of worship, around which so many hallowed and endearing associations cling. Dioceses, by their Conventions, have taken the subject proposed for our consideration into serious deliberation, and have deemed an exposition of their views, with which they have in several instances favored us, to be called for by the gravity of the interests involved in the issue. Such has been the course of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Kentucky, Louisiana, Florida, Tennessee, Illinois, and perhaps others.

These things at least attest that there is vitality in the Church. They show that her members are alive to the importance not only of preserving her means of usefulness, but if possible of rendering those means more effective. This feeling originates in no pressure from without — in no demands from a powerful body of non-conformists — in no mandates from an imperious State authority, but simply in the awakened zeal of our own people. It presents the spectacle of a Church penetrated with an increasing sense of its responsibility to God and the world. And since such a consciousness of Christian obligation springs from no human source, we may humbly hope that the Holy Ghost, who puts it into our hearts to inquire earnestly, "Lord! what wilt thou have us to do?" may guide us in our counsels, and enable us to mature measures which shall not be without good fruit, long after those who have devised and proposed them shall be numbered with the dead.

In considering the means and measures necessary for giving increased efficiency to the Church as the Divinely appointed instrument for reforming and saving mankind, we must never forget, that no organization will be of avail without an animating, internal principle imparting health, vigor and activity to the entire system, controlling and directing all its movements; while on the other hand, an imperfect, or even a defective organization invigorated by an active spiritual life, will exhibit energies and accomplish results in the moral transformation of human nature as marvellous as they are glorious. Still, as life is effectual to the accomplishment of useful ends, in proportion to the perfection of the organs through which it acts — as structure and adaptation are conditions of the greatest efficiency, so it behoves us as "co-workers with God," in the recovery of this

world from the dominion of sin and the devil, not only to use the appointed weapons of our warfare, but to use them in the way best adapted to ensure success. Our weapons may not be carnal, still they will not be found "mighty to the pulling down of strongholds," unless they be adapted to the objects to be effected. Wisdom and skill, combined with use and experience, are necessary to the successful employment of the most perfect instruments.

Our Liturgical services, be it remembered, were framed with a special view to the wants of a worshipping people. They were provided with a direct reference to organized parish churches. They were intended to furnish two or more daily services to a population already won to the Church. But our actual mission is to many, in truth, to a large majority not yet conciliated to the Church, and for the most part, strangers to her forms of worship. We have to seek those who have not been gathered into organized parishes — who do not recognize in us any claim to spiritual oversight over them. We have to labor in places where very much of our work is outside of that contemplated in the plans of our offices, and in the prevalent methods of our preaching.

The Church was originally composed of converts gathered, by the labors of the Apostles, from the ranks of Judaism and Paganism. We have to deal with men who are generally not ignorant of our doctrine, but who are hardly more conversant with the system of worship to which we wish to conciliate them, than were the Jews and Gentiles, in the days of the Apostles, with the religion of our Saviour.

In seeking to modify or adapt our forms of worship to the actual wants and condition of a very large portion of our population, we do but act upon a principle distinctly recognized in our own and our mother-Church. In the preface to the Book of Common Prayer it is declared "that in every church, whatever cannot be clearly determined to belong to doctrine may be referred to discipline; and therefore by common consent and authority may be altered, abridged, enlarged, amended, or otherwise disposed of, as may seem most convenient for the edification of the people, according to the various exigences of times and occasions." It is also affirmed in the same preface, that the Church of England, having made various reviews and changes, — her aim hath been "to do that which, according to her best understanding, might most tend to the preservation of peace and unity in the Church; the procuring of reverence, and the exciting of piety and devotion in the worship of God; and finally, the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against her Liturgy."

In no country in the world, perhaps, will there be found united under the same form of government so great a variety of people and so much diversity in intellectual, moral, social, and religious character as in this land. Immigration annually brings in its vast contribution to the elements of division in the religious sentiment and practice of our countrymen. There are found here men of all grades of intellectual development, from the most improved condition of mind, enlarged and elevated by the best advantages of education, to the grossest and most stupid ignorance growing out of poverty and absolute neglect. There are seen all complexions of social character diversified by the physical and moral differences which exist among the people of the Old World, and which fix a lasting, if not an indelible, impression upon the habits of human thought and action. In the population of the same State, and not unfrequently in the same town, will be found all these varieties in national origin, in social, intellectual and religious character, at which we have barely glanced, and which present most serious obstacles, as painful experience most clearly proves, to the exercise of any wholesome and abiding influence on the part of the Gospel Ministry. Out of this anomalous condition of things arises the necessity of that diversity in our modes of operation, which has not been heretofore sufficiently appreciated, and the need of that versatility of talents in the ministry, which in our case is more or less indispensable, and which is always found to be eminently useful.

It is not the purpose of this report to supply a treatise on the gifts of the ministry, or to direct specifically how they may be most usefully employed. This is not the time, nor does it fall within our province, to enter upon such a discussion. We can do no more, at present, than indicate, from an extended field of observation, and from the earnest representations made from every part of the Church, what seems to be most needed in order to the more vigorous prosecution of the great work, with which we, in common with others, feel ourselves charged. That work looks almost exclusively to the inculcation of religious truth as the basis of a

healthy moral sentiment securing national and individual prosperity, and as the foundation of that faith in God which leads to holiness of life, and the hope of salvation.

The sentiment of the Church is every where the same and emphatic in its expression as to the necessity of more force and directness in our preaching, and more special adaptation to the varying circumstances of the congregations which we are called to address. The habits of our people, moulded in a considerable degree by the nature of our civil and social institutions, and the constitution of the human mind, which impels us in most cases to prefer fervour to coldness, and that which is simple to that which is abstruse, are considerations which plainly indicate that our methods of dealing with men should be more direct and more manifold. They explain the reasons for that partiality with which extempore preaching is regarded, the superior influence which ministers accustomed so to preach possess in gathering together large congregations, and they account, in good part at least, for the numerical superiority of most denominations of Christians over the Protestant Episcopal Church in almost all the States, towns, and cities in the Union.

An examination into the relative increase of the various bodies of Christians in the United States within the last thirty years will exhibit some startling facts, which may well rouse us to serious consideration, and lead us to ask ourselves the questions, "What have we been doing? and what shall we do?" We have been in the habit of looking merely at the increase of our ministers and members within given periods, as the proper exponent of our growth, without considering how that increase compares with the rate of increase in the population at large. Making our estimate in this way, and it is the only accurate method to ascertain the ratio of our growth or increase as a Church, it will be found that we are by no means keeping pace with the population of the country in the provision we make for their religious instruction—to say nothing of our duty to heathen and foreign lands; that we are consequently falling very far below the measure of our responsibility, and that our growth in the last half century, which has been dwelt upon with complacency, if not with a spirit of vainglory, furnishes matter of deep humiliation and shame, rather than of boasting.

It is submitted to the serious and candid consideration of this House, whether with all the lights of past observation and experience before us, it be not wise to recommend to our ministers as an important means of enhancing their usefulness and efficiency, the cultivation of a habit of extemporaneous address and of expository preaching, at least during one portion of the Lord's Day. It is not designed to favor the idea of cultivating a habit of declamation or fervid exhortation at the expense of persevering and severe study. It is humbly conceived that previous and careful preparation is entirely consistent with the practice of extempore preaching, as here contemplated. With brief notes or heads of discourse, suggestive of topics and the preservation of a lucid arrangement, the fruits of much laborious research and reflection may be made available with their utmost effect. We see no reason why a minister should not in this way present to the consideration of his congregation, the high and concerning truths of the gospel and enforce them by its awful sanctions as effectively, as persuasively, and as convincingly, as a lawyer states and argues his case from his brief, at the bar. The plan suggested would have this further advantage. It would enable the preacher to avail himself of all suitable opportunities for proclaiming "the truth as it is in Jesus," which the diversities of time, place and circumstance might present. He need not always wait till a congregation can be gathered in some fixed place of worship furnished with the conveniences of lectern and pulpit; but, after apostolic example, let him preach, if it be expedient, in an upper chamber, or in the market place, by the sea-shore, or in the courts of the prison, by night or day, in storm and tempest, or in the sunshine of bright and cloudless skies. Everywhere, in season and out of season, he is to exercise his vocation, as need may require, and, like a beacon on the stormy ocean of life, point the voyager to the way of safety and the haven of rest. He need not be bound by any rules or restrictions which custom may have established as to the length of his discourses. This should vary with emergencies, and especially with the state of those who hear. His quick and discerning glance will easily detect any restlessness or listlessness on the part of his hearers and furnish him the best chronometer to graduate his sermons. Thus too he will be enabled to suit his subject to the character of his congregation; and bringing out of his treasures—the accumulated stores of reading and study—of observation and reflection—things

both new and old; he may use a written discourse or speak from notes; he may furnish food for the thoughtful mind, by unfolding some great doctrine of Christianity, or by animating exhortation rouse the desponding to renewed exertion for the prize of eternal life; he may enforce the high and commanding morality of the Gospel, or he may attract, edify, and charm, by portraying the example of Christ, doing good to the souls and bodies of men, and may exhort them to its imitation. In a word, the vast range of the Gospel takes in all the interests of man as a rational and accountable creature; it comprehends all his relations to God and his fellow-men; it embraces all his hopes for time and eternity; and from them all the preacher may choose his theme, and— from the boundless field of nature, in the rich exuberance of her productions—the endless variety of objects which garnish the heavens above, or beautify the earth beneath, or replenish the waters under the earth—he may draw from them all, illustrations to enforce and adorn his subject.

These remarks point to the expediency, not to say necessity, of a corresponding variety, to some extent, in our Liturgical services. It is the general voice of our Communion, that, in adjusting the length of our public services, more regard should be had to the physical ability of both minister and people; and this is especially important in those parts of our country where the heats of summer are long continued and debilitating, rendering mental exertion burdensome, and even perilous to health. More attention also seems to be demanded to the degree of Liturgical culture among the people, and a more economical use of our Clerical force. By the arrangements which the Commission would recommend, it is believed that in most of our established congregations, three services may be had on Sunday, and several during the week, without overburdening the strength and ability of the Minister.

We read that, in the primitive Church, “gifts” were bestowed by our blessed Lord upon his members, “differing according to the measure of grace given unto them.” These gifts were intended to supply everything that was needful for carrying on the work our Lord had appointed to his Church. However they manifested their influence by “diversities of operations and differences of administrations” in the work of Apostles, or Prophets, or Evangelists, or Pastors, or Teachers, they were all given “for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.” But that such varieties of gifts were bestowed “for the edifying of the Church,” seems in a great measure to be overlooked or forgotten. It would appear that all ministers are now expected to be priests, whether they have “the gift of ministering” or not; all to be rectors of parishes, whether they have the gift of ruling or not; all to be teachers, whether they show aptitude for instruction or not; and very many (“who name the name of Christ”) seem to have reached the conclusion that there is no such gift as that mentioned by the apostle when he enjoins it as a duty to give “with simplicity.” The consequences of this ignorance or forgetfulness have been exhibited in the history of the Church, even within the memory of some now living, with startling effect and melancholy frequency. Ministers are found who yet do not minister; rectors who cannot govern; pastors who do not feed the flock; teachers send forth theological essays for the instruction of the Church, who might find better employment in studying the Bible and Catechism; while the necessary means for maintaining religious services too often have to be wrung from those who appear reluctant to recognize it as a Christian obligation to give of their ability, as God has prospered them, with liberality, with cheerfulness, and with simplicity. On every side the complaint is heard that the work of the Church languishes or is not done. That we have refused or neglected to use many gifts which Christ has bestowed on his Church is apparent from our not providing employment for those members of the body which are fitted for special duties. We see, for example, persons who have a fondness or peculiar aptitude for searching out the poor and helpless. No cellars are too low and dark, no garrets too high and comfortless, to deter them in their efforts to find and relieve the hunger-bitten children of poverty. Vice and filth do not offend them, but excite their compassion and their tears. Degradation and infamy do not repel them, but inspire their charity, and give fervency to their prayers.

There are those, on the other hand, who have no inclination to engage in this humble and merciful work, or whose qualities of mind and body unfit them for such employments. They may not have the tact, wisdom, or resources necessary to guide them in the selection of means adequate to ensure success to such schemes of benevolence. Still, they wish to do good, and the Minister of a Parish, if he be

prudent and judicious, will find them employment. Some of them may be used in reading Prayers and the Holy Scriptures to the people whose situation or opportunities do not allow them to attend the regular and stated services of the sanctuary. In the almost infinite variety of conditions in which our population is now found there can be no lack of opportunity for the employment of every talent which the Church can command.

Again, there are men whose temperaments incline them to be constantly moving from place to place. Connected with this constitutional peculiarity there is generally a frankness and cordiality of manner which render such persons favorites wherever they go. They may not possess any great breadth or variety of learning: nor any great powers of thought; but they have a faculty of correct and close observation, a knowledge of men as individuals and in masses, and perhaps extraordinary skill and tact in controlling them.

Again, we see men who have that peculiar power or gift which is necessary for organizing and ruling bodies of men; who seem by intuition to know just when this quality is to be stimulated and when to be laid under restraint — when this particular trait can be neutralized by the development of another; when it is proper to rebuke one, and when to encourage another. They have a ready perception of the thought that will touch the common sense of mankind and harmonize the mass. It is impossible to describe all the qualities which go to make up the character of such men: we perceive them when we say that such men were born to be rulers.

In this class will be found those best calculated of all, perhaps, in the Church to fill the office of Evangelists. Men whose chief, if not their sole employment, it shall be to preach the Gospel in remote and morally destitute parts of the country, or in the neglected districts of our large cities, where the Pastors of established Congregations never come, and the Preachers at Missionary Stations but rarely. Men who shall be under the special direction of the Bishop of the Diocese, laboring where he shall appoint, distributing books and tracts where opportunity shall serve, and reporting to the Bishop as often as he shall require.

Such a corps of active laborers seems almost indispensable to the complete organization of the Church according to the primitive model and unquestionably necessary to its extension in our land. It may be supposed, and the idea has been sometimes advanced, that the Bishops can and ought to do all the work contemplated by the creation of this class of preachers. With Dioceses of the present extent it is, in most cases, simply impossible. Many of our Bishops spend much the greater portion of their time in travelling and preaching. Almost the only increase made to the Church in many parts of the country is attributable to the labors of the Episcopate. But observation and experience have demonstrated that the utmost exertions of the Bishops cannot meet the growing demands of our population.

And here we are constrained to call attention to the wasted energy and unemployed power of the women of the Church. The Sisters of Charity in the Romish communion are worth, perhaps, more to their cause than the combined wealth of their Hierarchy — the learning of their priesthood — and the self-sacrificing zeal of their Missionaries. The providential government of the world leaves everywhere a large number of unmarried and unemployed females, and thus appears to point the Church to a wise appropriation of their peculiar talents or gifts in the cause of Christ and of humanity. The associated charity and benevolence of Christian Sisterhoods which we have in mind is the very opposite of the hermitage and the nunnery. Instead of a criminal and cowardly withdrawal from the world and the duties which the wants and distresses of humanity may claim, it is the voluntary consecration to Christ of all the powers of body and soul in the active performance of the most tender, the most endearing, and yet the most neglected offices of charity. Many have seen and many lament our loss in this respect; but individual zeal and effort can effect but little in the way of providing a remedy. The constituted authorities of the Church must take hold of the subject — deal with it without reserve — combine effort in the cause, and give direction to it without the fear of man.

With such instrumentalities as are now in use the Commission is constrained to report, further, that in their judgment the debt of the Ministry and members of the Church to the young is not sufficiently felt and adequately discharged. In families acknowledging the obligations of a Christian profession there is too little positive and regular religious instruction, and too little of pious, paternal training or dis-

cipline. By Pastors there is want of attention to catechising — to the Sunday School — and to such preaching and services as are best calculated to reach, impress, and influence those who have arrived at the period of juvenescence.

It is also very certain that the full effect of our ministrations cannot be obtained, and the reasonable expectations of the Church at large be met and fulfilled in this behalf, until our Candidates for Orders and our Ministers be trained to more robust intellectual habits by a more thorough and severe mental discipline; and to this very necessary preparation must be added a clear apprehension of the moral wants of the times, and the precise intellectual wants of the people. Next to this, and hardly of less importance, there is need of more practical common sense, in dealing with men upon the subject of religion, and recommending it to their attention. In this country almost every man and woman feels competent to discuss questions of theology and give instruction on the doctrines of the Gospel. These pretensions have to be met by the Ministry, and to be met in a spirit of meekness and of deep compassion for the erring and deceived. Hence we have found, in very many of the communications made to us by Clergymen and Laymen, the opinion or rather the conviction very earnestly expressed, that in preparing candidates for the work of the Ministry, more attention should be paid to practical training for its duties — that there should be also more cultivation of the powers of thought, and taste for investigation — more rhetorical culture — more rigid and searching examinations and better established habits of systematic study after ordination.

But among the many wants of the Church in order to her energetic and effective influence — that fulness and completeness which we desire for her — few perhaps are more obvious, and none more generally deplored, than the want of an impressive and devotional manner of reading the Liturgy. This is a great and crying evil, and to its existence is to be attributed, no doubt, much of the complaint which is urged against the length and formality of our services. The evil is the more inexcusable and intolerable, for the simple reason that it might be remedied, in a vast majority of cases, by due care and persevering efforts on the part of those whose bounden duty it is, and pleasure it ought to be, to qualify themselves for the becoming and decent performance of this, the most sacred part of their holy functions. He who leads the devotions of a congregation, in their approaches to the mercy-seat, with the offerings of praise and prayer to the Divine Majesty, can make no acceptable apology to his people, and no excuse to his own conscience, for carelessness and irreverence. An experienced Clergyman, in a communication to the Commission, complains of this evil as very prevalent, and proposes the following remedy: —

“Let all candidates be taught to read English. The only certain method of correcting vicious modes of reading is, to employ the services of some one who can give to the student an *accurate rehearsal* of his own performances. After many repetitions of this discipline the young man will begin to detect the similar vice in his own tones, and then only will it be possible for him to correct it.”

In this connection we cannot but allude to the important duty, devolving on the members of our congregations, to take their part earnestly and effectively in our public services. Were this done in the responses, in the chants, in the metrical Psalmody — done in the way in which the Church, in her wisdom, has prescribed, and with a hearty observance of her decent rules and usages — much of the complaint now made, of the wearisome length of the services, would be hushed. What is not done as it should be is usually wearisome. It is a duty imperative on the clergy to see to it that any failure in this important matter shall not be justly chargeable to the want of proper instruction and urgency on their part.

The Commission is of opinion that every Minister having Parochial charge, should be diligent in the use of means for interesting and retaining under wholesome religious influences boys and young men.

- 1st. By giving them employment in the Church and the Sunday School.
- 2d. By frequently meeting with them and manifesting interest in their welfare.
- 3d. By directing their choice in reading — recommending proper books, &c.
- 4th. By cultivating among them a love for Sacred music.

It is deemed of vital importance that the Ministry should with every class, but particularly with the young, insist earnestly upon their responsibility as stewards of the grace of the Gospel — employing them as helpers to the Ministry, not only in the Sunday School and Bible Classes, but when found apt and prudent,

in district visiting — in Lay-reading and Catechising in destitute places, on the principle that they are bound to labor, as well as to give of their substance for the promotion and increase of true religion — that they cannot be faithful to God, unless they improve the talents committed to them, and that they must begin this work when young, if they would be efficient in manhood, and happy when old.

And here we are reminded of one of the most mournful of our deficiencies, and which ought to move us all to deep humiliation and earnest prayer. We refer to the small number of our Clergy compared with our existing wants, and the inadequate provision made for their support. Few are found pressing towards that which ought to be regarded as the happiest, the most useful, and the most honorable of human pursuits; and, of those who engage in it, few receive more than a meagre recompense for their services. Does not this indicate on the part of young men a sad want of zeal and devotion in the cause of Christ, and on their part also, who as parents, Pastors and friends ought to move the young to aspire to this holy office? And does it not show on the part of Christians, whom God has made the stewards of his bounty, a deplorable insensibility to their duty and their privilege, when they suffer Ministers and Missionaries to languish in want, while they pay without stint for the services of men of all other professions and occupations in life? For this sore evil it becomes us to seek earnestly a proper remedy. A more abundant measure of God's grace is doubtless the first and most important requisite, and for this the Church should call upon her children to pray importunately and continually. But it cannot be denied that were more careful and general consideration given to the subject, means would be devised to elicit much more ample gifts from the Laity, and to draw to the ranks of the Clergy many an earnest spirit now destined to other callings. Alms-giving and other acts of Christian beneficence require to be cultivated as habits; and no Pastor should be satisfied unless his methods of proceeding are sufficiently varied and steady to enlist the interest and engage the active and continued co-operation of all his people. Most congregations need on this subject, it is feared, more instruction than they receive, and this instruction needs to be followed by more active superintendence from the Clergymen, and more extended sympathy and aid from individuals of the congregation.

The Commission have also taken counsel with each other, and earnestly sought to devise some plan which might contribute to heal the divisions which so unhappily distract the Christian world. We cannot but rejoice in the interest which the members of our own household of faith have manifested in common with all good men of other denominations of Christians upon this subject; and we doubt not that all will rejoice, if measures can be taken to restore the unity of the Church, and promote by God's blessing, an increase of charity among all "who name the name of Christ." We must all, however, be well aware that the first step towards this happy and greatly desired result must be sought in unity of spirit, rather than unity of doctrine and discipline; and therefore mutual allowances, and a large toleration are indispensable requisites for which we should fervently and devoutly pray. The action which the Commission recommends upon this subject will be stated in the form of a Resolution and of a Prayer at the conclusion of this Report.

We cannot but earnestly and affectionately recommend to our brethren and friends everywhere, in view of the momentous interests involved in the final disposition of this question, to strive to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

1st. By doing justice to the merits of other systems as readily as they expose their demerits.

2dly. By repressing a spirit of self-complacency and self-laudation.

3dly. By infusing into our worship, preaching, and general policy, more of the ancient and historical element on one side, and of the popular and practical on the other.

4thly. By a more cordial manner towards Ministers of other religious bodies who are inquiring into the claims of our communion.

5thly. By considering whether we cannot safely lessen Canonical impediments in the way of Ministers, Licentiates, and others desirous of our Orders, with sufficient guarantees for soundness in doctrine, discipline, and worship.

6thly. By fruitfulness in all good works. If our Ministers were more fervid, self-denying, and laborious; our people more charitable, exemplary, and devout, — if, in a word, we were all that we ought to be, and might be from the alleged superiority of our gifts and privileges, the attraction to the Church would be universal and irresistible.

In conclusion, the Commission place before the House the positive results which they have reached. In a large proportion — indeed, it may be said that, (with a few exceptions), in all — of the communications made to us by members of our Church, the opinion has been expressed that the Morning Service might sometimes be shortened with advantage, and that greater variety ought to obtain in services which are beside the regular offices of Morning and Evening Prayer in established congregations. These are ends to which the efforts of many in the Anglican Church are now anxiously directed. Earnest expression has also been given to the wish, in many quarters, that the calendar of lessons should be revised; that additional hymns, anthems, and canticles should be provided, with other emendations, which would affect no doctrine of the Church and might materially aid in the edification of her people. It has been the purpose of the Commission, however, so far as their present labors go, to leave the Prayer Book untouched; they have also doubted how far the consideration of such proposed alterations would fall within the duty assigned to them; and, at all events, they felt that if any alterations of the Prayer Book were proposed, the House of Deputies would be entitled to take part in the preliminary discussions connected with them, and that much more time ought to be devoted to the work than they have been able to command. They have concluded, therefore, to commend this subject to the General Convention, to be disposed of as in its wisdom it may judge to be most expedient. They have many valuable papers embodying the results of much labor and learning and of a very extended experience, which will be at the service of a committee should the Convention decide to appoint one.

After much reflection the Commission have come to the unanimous conclusion that some of the most material of the improvements, which are loudly called for and which commend themselves to our own judgment, might be attained without legislation. There is nothing in the Rubrics or Canons which requires that when the Holy Communion is administered it should be preceded immediately or otherwise by the office for Daily Prayer. The practice rests merely on usage, and there are occasions when, for want of physical ability on the part of the minister, or from the very large number of persons communicating, or for other reasons, it would be right that the liberty which the laws do not withhold of omitting the Daily Prayer should be exercised. To secure this, nothing more would be needed, it is thought, than a declarative resolution of this House. The same discretion seems allowable in respect to the time of using the Litany and the Ante-Communion Office. Canon XLVII., of 1832, already provides for special services to be set forth by Bishops in their own Dioceses, and the Commission have concluded that by exercising the power thus given, provision could be made for those local necessities which result from peculiarities in the character of the population, or in the circumstances under which the Church is to be extended.

They, therefore, recommend unanimously that the following *Preamble* and *Resolutions* be adopted by the House of Bishops: — [The Preamble and Resolutions contained in the preliminary report.]

They also recommend that Canon XLV. (1832) be so amended that the concluding sentence may read as follows: "And in performing said service no other Prayers, Lessons, Anthems, or Hymns shall be used than those prescribed by the said book, unless with the consent of the ecclesiastical authority of the diocese."

The effect of this amendment would be to enable particular Dioceses under the direction of the ecclesiastical authority of the same, during such seasons as Passion week, Christmas and the like, to substitute Lessons, Anthems, or Canticles more appropriate to the occasion and also to bring the provisions of this Canon into harmony with those of Canon XLVII. (1832).

The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies having requested (see Journal, p. 73) this House in 1853 to consider the propriety of setting forth a form of Prayer for the increase of the Holy Ministry according to the command of Christ, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth laborers into his harvest," and a resolution to the same effect of the Bishop of Pennsylvania in this House having been referred to the Commission, and several propositions having been made for the adoption of other occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings, the Commission have thought that it might be proper to offer for consideration the following forms: —

A PRAYER FOR UNITY.

O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace, give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our

unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatever else may hinder us from godly union and concord: that, as there is but one body and one Spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all; so we may henceforth be all of one heart, and one soul, united in the holy bond of truth, of faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify thee: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A PRAYER FOR THE INCREASE OF THE MINISTRY.

O Almighty God, who hast in thy holy Church committed to the hands of men the ministry of reconciliation, to gather together a great flock in all parts of the world, to the eternal praise of thy holy name; we humbly beseech thee that thou wilt put it into the hearts of many faithful men to seek this sacred ministry, appointed for the salvation of mankind; that so thy Church may rejoice in a due supply of true and faithful pastors, and the bounds of thy blessed kingdom may be enlarged; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A PRAYER FOR MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES.

O Lord, who didst come to seek and to save the lost, and to whom all power is given in heaven and in earth, hear, we beseech thee, the prayers of thy Church for those who, at thy command, go forth to preach the Gospel to every creature. Preserve them from all dangers to which they may be exposed; from perils by land and perils by water; from the deadly pestilence; from the violence of the persecutor; from doubt and impatience; from discouragement and discord; and from all the devices of the powers of darkness. And while they plant and water, send thou, O Lord, the increase; gather in the multitude of the heathen; convert, in Christian lands, such as neglect so great salvation; so that thy name may be glorified, and thy kingdom come, O gracious Saviour of the world, to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be honor and glory, world without end. Amen.

A PRAYER FOR THE YOUNG, TO BE USED ON OCCASIONS OF CATECHISING AND THE LIKE.

Almighty Father, who has promised that they who seek early thy heavenly wisdom shall early find it, and find it more precious than all the treasures of this world, send down on these thy children the grace and blessing of thy Holy Spirit; that they, being trained up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, may choose and love thy way, and depart from it no more forever; and that, when thou makest up thy jewels in thy glorious kingdom, these children may be there, and may be thine; all of which we ask for the sake of thy holy child Jesus, our only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

A PRAYER FOR A PERSON ABOUT TO BE EXPOSED TO SPECIAL DANGER.

Almighty God, the Saviour of all men, we humbly commend to thy tender care and sure protection in *his* danger, thy *servant* for whom our prayers are desired. Let thy fatherly hand, we beseech thee, be over *him*; let thy holy angels have charge of *him*; with thy loving-kindness defend *him*, as with a shield; and either bring *him* out of *his* peril in safety, with a heart to show forth thy praises forever, or else sustain *him* with that glorious hope by which alone thy servants can have victory in suffering and in death, through the sole merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A PRAYER IN TIME OF PUBLIC CALAMITIES, DANGERS, OR DIFFICULTIES.

O most mighty God! King of kings, and Lord of lords, without whose care the watchman waketh but in vain, we implore, in this our time of need, thy succor and blessing in behalf of our rulers and magistrates, and of all the people of this land (*or*, of this commonwealth, *or*, of this community). Remember not our many and great transgressions; turn from us the judgments which we feel (*or*, fear); and give us wisdom to discern, and courage to attempt, and faithfulness to do, and patience to endure, whatsoever shall be well-pleasing in thy sight; that so thy chastenings may yield the peaceful fruits of righteousness, and that at the last we may rejoice in thy salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A THANKSGIVING FOR A DELIVERANCE OF A PERSON FROM ANY PERIL.

O God, most mighty and most gracious, by whom the hairs of our heads are all numbered, we give thee hearty thanks that thou hast delivered from *his* great peril thy servant, who now desireth that the thanksgiving of many on *his* behalf may redound to thy glory. Write on *his* mind the perpetual remembrance of thy preserving mercy; save *him* from the hardness of an ungrateful heart, and grant that all *his* future days, and all that thou hast graciously continued to *him*, may be consecrated to thee and to thy blessed service, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A THANKSGIVING FOR DELIVERANCE FROM PUBLIC CALAMITIES AND DANGERS.

O eternal God, the shield of our help, beneath whose sovereign defence thy people dwell in safety, we bless and praise, we laud and magnify thy glorious name for all thy goodness to the people of this land (*or*, of this commonwealth; *or*, of this community), and especially for our merciful deliverance from those calamities which of late we suffered (*or*, dreaded). Inspire our souls with grateful love; lift up our voices in songs of thankfulness; and so pour out upon us thy Holy Spirit, that we may be humble and watchful in our prosperity, patient and steadfast in our afflictions, and always enjoy the blessed confidence of that people whose God is the Lord; all of which we ask through Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Redeemer, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glory, praise and dominion, now and forever. Amen.

A THANKSGIVING FOR THE RECOVERY OF A SICK CHILD.

Almighty Father, who at the prayers of thy servants, Elijah and Elisha, didst gladden the hearts of two pious mothers by restoring them their dead, and who, by thy Son Jesus Christ, didst raise to health and life the children of many sorrowing parents, accept, we beseech thee, the thanks of thy *servants* who *call* upon us to join our praises with their own for the deliverance of their dear child from sickness and the grave. May that recovered child be ever thine; and may the hearts of all to whom *he* is precious so burn at the remembrance of thy goodness, that they may hold no thank-offering too costly to show forth thy praise, and may present themselves, a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto thee, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

The Commission in making this report have endeavored to call the attention to the subjects which are believed to have been in the contemplation of the memorialists, and to be of chief interest to the members of the Church. They have by no means attempted to embrace all the matters which have been suggested or proposed as amendments to our order of worship and system of discipline and religious instruction and training. As far as consistent with a proper understanding of the views of the Commission, brevity has been consulted in their report. With a view to gain whatever advantage might be derived from a division of labor and from concentrating the thoughts of individuals on particular subjects, the chairman, last spring, assigned to each member of the Commission special topics for consideration, and requested his views upon them. The communications made in consequence will be found in an Appendix, and it is hoped that they may be advantageously considered by the members of our communion.

The Commission cannot close this report without recording their sense of indebtedness to those who have favored them with communications respecting the interesting work in which they have been engaged: and now commit the result of their labors to the disposal of this House, with the prayer to the God of all wisdom and grace to over-rule its deliberations to the promotion of His own glory and the good of His Church.

G. W. DOANE, JAS. H. OTEY, *Chairman*.
 GEORGE BURGESS, ALONZO POTTER,
 JNO. WILLIAMS.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CHURCH ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

ON Sunday, the 22d of July, 1849, at the residence of John H. Merrill, in San Francisco, divine service, in accordance with the rites and usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was celebrated by the Rev. Augustus Fitch and the Rev. Flavel S. Mines, presbyters of the diocese of New York. Immediately afterward it was unanimously resolved to organize a parish, under the title of "The Holy Trinity Church." Wardens and vestrymen were chosen and measures were taken, resulting in the purchase of a lot of land, upon which, ere the close of the year, the first church, constructed of iron and erected under the direction and through the self-denying exertion of the Rev. Mr. Mines, was opened for regular services.

In September of the same year the Rev. Richard F. Burnham, of the diocese of New Jersey, visited Sacramento and organized the parish of Grace Church. Early in the following year, 1850, the infant parish was deprived of its rector by the visitation of God, who took him to himself, after a ministry in this new field of only a few weeks. After the death of Mr. Burnham, the parish was visited by the Rev. Samuel Morehouse, who held occasional services until September, 1850, when he abandoned the ministry and left the country.

In August, 1849, the Rev. J. L. Ver Mehr, Ph.D., and LL.D., of the diocese of New Jersey, reached San Francisco, and during the remainder of the year ministered to a few members of the Church at a private residence on the site of the present Marine Hospital. Subscriptions having been raised for the erection of a place for worship, the work was rapidly brought to a successful completion, and Grace Chapel was opened for divine service on the first Sunday in January, 1850. The parish was formally organized April 28, 1850. Dr. Ver Mehr was rector until September, 1853, when he removed to Sonora to establish a female seminary by the name of St. Mary's Hall. During his rectorate a lot was purchased, early in 1851, and on July 20th of that year the church was opened for divine worship, having cost with the land upwards of \$21,000. The third church edifice was opened for service September 28, 1862, and is the cathedral of the diocese.

A parish, St. John's, was organized at Stockton, August 25, 1850. The Rev. Orlando Harriman, Jr., was present and acted as chairman of the meeting. He remained about a month, but was compelled to remove in consequence of the inability of the few church people to afford him a support. The services were in consequence stopped, but were resumed the following spring, 1851, when the junior warden, Mr. J. W. Bissell, commenced lay reading, which he continued till his removal in 1853. The following year the missionary bishop visited

the parish, and the interest excited by his services was such that a clergyman was called to the charge of the parish, and on the 20th of June, 1858, a brick church, costing \$10,000, was consecrated. Thus were the foundations of the Church in California laid.

The first "Convention of the Church in California" was held in the Church of the Holy Trinity, San Francisco, July 24—August 2, 1850, the Rev. Dr. Ver Mehr preaching the Convention sermon. The clergy present at this meeting for the organization of the diocese of California, were as follows, viz. : the Rev. Flavel S. Mines, the Rev. John L. Ver Mehr, LL.D., the Rev. Samuel Morehouse, the Rev. R. Townsend Huddart, the Rev. Augustus Fitch, and the Rev. W. R. Leavenworth. The Rev. Mr. Fitch was chosen president, Benj. Burgoyne, Esq., secretary, and C. V. Gillespie, treasurer; a constitution, canons, and rules of order adopted; a standing committee, and trustees and treasurer of the Episcopal Fund chosen. Trustees of Diocesan Fund, and of a College and Theological Seminary were also elected, and a Board of Managers of a "Presbyterium," or, an Asylum for Clergymen, and a "Sanctuary," or, Widow's Home. The Rt. Rev. Horatio Southgate, late missionary bishop at Constantinople, was elected bishop by concurrent vote of clergy and laity.

The second (triennial) Convention met in Trinity Church, San Francisco, on the 4th of May, 1853, and continued in session until the 6th of May. The Rev. Dr. Ver Mehr preached the Convention sermon, and was the sole representative of the primary Convention. The Rev. Christopher B. Wyatt, Rector of Trinity Church, and two United States chaplains, the Rev. John Reynolds and the Rev. Orange Clark, made up the clergy in attendance. Four others were reported as actually, though not canonically, resident. Dr. Ver Mehr was chosen president, and J. Davis Hawks, Esq., secretary. St. John's, Stockton, was admitted to representation, making four parishes represented. The report of the Committee on the State of the Church referred to the lamented death of the Rev. F. S. Mines; to the removal of the Rev. A. Fitch from the diocese; to the displacement from the ministry of the Rev. Messrs. Morehouse and Leavenworth; and to the necessity of measures being taken for diocesan missionary work. Certain amendments to the constitution, changing the time of meeting from triennial to yearly; defining the phrase, "connected with this diocese," in Art. III.; prescribing the opening services at Conventions; and making others than members of the Convention eligible to the secretaryship thereof, were adopted, to be finally acted upon at the third triennial meeting. Notice of proposed changes in the canons was given, contemplating, among other measures, the omission of the canons relating to the "Presbyterium" and "Sanctuary." Delegates, instructed to apply, in behalf of the diocese, for admission into union with the General Convention, were appointed to attend the meeting of that body in October, 1853. A committee was appointed to correspond with one or more bishops of the Church in the United States, with a view of obtaining an episcopal visitation. The resolution to send *clerical* delegates to the General Convention was reconsidered, and the election annulled. An executive committee on mis-

sions was appointed, and the Convention adjourned to meet the following year.

An adjourned meeting of the second triennial Convention was held in Trinity Church, San Francisco, May 3-5, 1854. The Rev. C. B. Wyatt was the Convention preacher. The Rt. Rev. William Ingraham Kip, D.D., appointed Missionary Bishop of California, attended and preached. The bishop in his address referred to the first administration of the rite of confirmation on the shores of the Pacific, when, on the Sunday before Easter, April 9, 1854, eighteen persons were confirmed in Trinity Church, San Francisco, one of the candidates being "a native of China,—one of that mysterious people, with whom our intercourse is monthly increasing, and whose crowded millions are yet bowing to the gods of heathenism."¹ Allusion was also made to the rejection of the application of the diocese for admission into union with the General Convention, on the ground that there was no provision in the constitution of the diocese, nor in the resolutions requesting admission, recognizing the constitution and government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Agreeably to the bishop's recommendation, the constitution was amended so as to meet the requirements of the fifth article of the constitution of the Church in the United States. Resolutions of gratitude for the appointment of a missionary bishop by the General Convention, and of approval of the course of the standing committee in promptly receiving Bishop Kip, were unanimously adopted. Changes in the canons were referred to the next Convention, and the Convention adjourned.

With these introductory words we would preface the history of the Church in California, as contributed by its first bishop, the Rt. Rev. William Ingraham Kip, D.D., LL.D. :—

Wm. Ingraham Kip
Bishop of California

There are certain eras which occur in the existence, not only of individuals but of institutions, which call us, as it were, to halt in our progress and look back on the pathway over which we have travelled. Days have expanded into months, and years have slipped by, while we, engaged in our daily work, hardly thought of anything beyond it. Then we reach some milestone on our way which recalls us to ourselves and forces us to think and review the past. We realize how long we have been plodding on our beaten path, and we question ourselves as to what the past has seen accomplished. Do we stand on a higher vantage ground than we did in years that are gone? Has the work in which we are engaged grown and strengthened in our hands? Can we "thank God and take courage" for the future? These are the reflections which must arise when we reach a marked era in our lives. Such a time is this era in our Church. Thirty years have gone since the consecration of the first bishop for this coast. Thirty years have passed since one was solemnly set apart to be the first bishop of the American Church who should put his foot on the Pacific shore. As we look out upon it now, with a church founded through the length and breadth of the State—with two dioceses formed and recognized by the Church—in the midst of this splendid city which has risen up, crowded with all the evidences of refinement and cultivation of civilized man—we can hardly realize the condition of the coast when the first laborer was sent forth. Everything seemed to be in excitement, and the result was almost chaos. The late discovery of gold had drawn restless adventurers from every quarter of the globe—the restraints of law were scarcely heeded—and everything seemed

¹ Journal of the Proceedings of an adjourned meeting of the second triennial Convention, May, 1854, p. 7.

swallowed up in the one overwhelming desire to become suddenly rich. Into this wild scene of confusion the first bishop of the coast was sent, to gather up and reduce to order these disjointed fragments and breathe a spirit of harmony into these conflicting elements of life which here seemed to be in almost hopeless collision.

But let us go back and trace the successive steps by which the Church has reached its present condition of peacefulness and strength, even though the narrative has necessarily much of a personal character. Wild as was the excitement prevailing here in those early days, there were many who brought with them remembrances of Christian homes. When, then, Sunday after Sunday passed with scarcely a recognition, they could not but think of the circle from which they were separated, where prayers, they knew, had that day ascended for the distant wanderers. And then came memories of the church-going bell, and perhaps of a father's prayers and a mother's tender instructions. They felt, therefore, even in the discordant scenes about them, that there must be some recognition of another life, and some confession of allegiance to Him who had brought them "in safety to the haven where they would be."

In the first intervals, therefore, of their hurried work, the subject was brought forward of planting the Church and securing for the scattered members here her services and rites. Propositions were made to clergy at the East which resulted in the coming out of the Rev. Flavel S. Mines, by whom Trinity parish was founded, and who now sleeps beneath its chancel, awaiting the resurrection of the just. He was followed, after a short interval, by the Rev. Dr. Ver Mehr, by whom Grace Church was founded, and who is still with us, the sole survivor of those early pioneers of the Church.

The first convention was held in Trinity Church, San Francisco, in July, 1850 (as it is expressed in their report), "for the purpose of organizing the Diocese of California." The opening sermon was preached by Dr. Ver Mehr, and Mr. Mines was appointed chairman. The convention met for eight evenings in succession, and adopted a constitution that would have been expansive enough to meet all the wants of a diocese the size of New York. Besides the ordinary Standing Committee, they appointed a Board of Trustees of the Episcopal Fund; a Board of Trustees of the Diocesan Fund; Trustees of the College and Theological Seminary, and a Board of Managers of the Presbyterium (a place for disabled clergymen), and of the Sanitarium (a home for infirm widows). Most of these institutions, after a lapse of nearly thirty years, have not yet commenced their existence.

It is a fact but little known to the churchmen of the present day, that the early founders of the Church on this coast had no idea of uniting with the General Church at the East. There is no recognition of it in any of their proceedings. They ignored the name of the "Protestant Episcopal Church," and called their organization "The Church in California."¹

In the report of the Missionary Committee at the second convention in 1853, are these significant sentences: "As a diocese, we ought to manage our own affairs. Whether we ask for admission into the union or not," etc.

Knowing that while in this position no bishop would be consecrated for them, the question was discussed previous to the meeting of the convention, of attempting to procure the Episcopate from the Greek Church.² But this idea having apparently been abandoned, the convention elected as their bishop the Rt. Rev. Bishop Southgate, who having been consecrated for a Mission to Turkey, from which he had lately returned, was already a bishop. He, however, declined the invitation.

¹ Besides Flavel Mines and myself, there were two or three clergymen, of whom Mr. Moorhouse, who had begun regular services at Sacramento, was appointed with me to draw up a constitution. We did our best; but dropped the name of "Protestant Episcopal" and called it "The Constitution of the Church in California." — *Dr. Ver Mehr's Autobiography*, p. 364.

² The Missionary Committee at the East had cut off the stipends for California. Dr. Ver Mehr thus comments on it: "Flavel Mines and myself were of one opinion. If the ecclesiastical authority at the East left us unprotected; if they had no jurisdiction over Flavel Mines, who never was a 'missionary,' nor over me, whom they had by their action discarded, then we, the

only rectors of churches, at that time, had a right, to assume some 'organized' position. Well do I remember that morning! Flavel Mines was confined to his bed. Consumption was hard at work; but his spirit was alive, and when I sat at his bedside, he spoke long and feelingly to the point. 'The Russo-Greek Church,' said he, 'is perhaps nearer to the true organization of the Catholic Church than any. How would it do to get Episcopacy from them?'

* * * 'At any rate,' said I, 'we ought to call a convention of what there are of clergy and responsible laity in California, and 'organize.' We then may call a bishop, whether from the East or from the West.' — *Dr. Ver Mehr's Autobiography*, p. 363.

Then three years passed away, during which time nothing further was done to organize the Church. And when the convention met in May, 1853, in their report they are obliged to say: "The Diocese of California, organized in 1850, has remained about stationary—we are obliged to confess it; nay, it may in the eyes of some have seemed to be defunct. It exists, but in verity cannot say more." During these three years, the Rev. Flavel S. Mines had been removed by death. Marysville, where the Rev. Augustus Fitch had commenced a parish, was vacant, by his removal to the East in the previous year, and the Standing Committee reported: "At this time the parish at Marysville is defunct." The same was the case with Sacramento and Stockton. The two parishes in San Francisco, — Trinity and Grace — were alone reported by the committee as being "in a progressive condition."

Still no advance had been made in procuring episcopal supervision. The idea was entertained here, that as they had regularly organized themselves into a diocese, the General Convention could not appoint a Missionary Bishop over them.¹ They therefore appointed a committee to correspond with different bishops and procure from some one of them a visit for temporary services.

In October, 1853, the General Convention met at New York, and the wants of this coast soon claimed their attention. Delegates had been appointed from this diocese, but they were not admitted to seats, nor was the application of the diocese for admission favorably received, on the ground that there was no provision in the constitution of the Diocese of California, nor in the resolution requesting admission for their delegates, which subscribed to the constitution and government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Ignoring, therefore, the past action of the diocese, the General Convention decided to appoint a Missionary Bishop for California. The election was held in the House of Bishops, and William Ingraham Kip, D.D., of St. Paul's Church, Albany, was nominated.

The consecration took place on the Festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, October 28th, 1853. It took place in Trinity Church, New York. The morning of the day had been stormy, but as the consecration ended and the Communion Service began, the clouds broke away, and a gleam of sunlight poured through the painted windows, falling upon the altar and lighting up the sanctuary. Beautifully was this incident used by one who at that time wrote the description of this service. He considered it "illustrative of the history of the Church in California. 'The beginnings,' he wrote, 'have long been overcast with storms and clouds, overhung with darkness and gloom. But now that a bishop has been consecrated for her, and clergy will flock with him to labor in the desolate places of that spiritual wilderness, we doubt not but that the clouds will ere long break away, and the all-glorious Sun of Righteousness will shine cheerfully upon a land abundantly bringing forth the increase.'"

The sermon on that occasion was preached by the late Bishop Burgess, of Maine. To the new bishop, it added to the solemnity of the scene that he was a brother not only in the office which he bore, but in the bonds of earthly relationship. For years the sainted bishop has been in the paradise of God, reaping the reward of his labors. There are two passages in his sermon which we cannot but quote, as they contain so admirable a view of what the newly consecrated bishop was to meet in his distant field. The first is this:—

"In this foremost temple of the great mart and metropolis of this new Western World we are assembled for a work which cannot be without fruit in distant days and in distant regions. From this spot and from the act we are about to accomplish, the course, if Providence favors it, is straight to the Golden Gate which opens toward Eastern Asia. He who shall enter there as the first Protestant bishop, will see before him the land which is the treasure-house of this republic. Behind it are the vales and rivers and snowy mountains, which are to our Far West the Farther West, and amidst them lie the seats of that abominable and sensual impiety, the cry of which goes up to heaven, like that of Sodom and Gomorrah, from the valley of the Dead Salt Sea. Still beyond spread the deserts which divide, but will not long divide, the Christians of this continent. Upon the edge of the vast field he will stand when he shall place his foot on the shore of the Pacific. There he is to be occupied in laying the foundations of a Church which must be a pillar and ground of the truth for wide lands and for unborn millions. Few of the issues can he live to witness. But in the years to come, if years are given him, he must recall the

¹ In the report of the committee made by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt is this statement: "The appointment to this field of a Missionary Bishop seems to be precluded by sect. 1, of canon III., p. 316."

prospects which opened upon him in this hour, and again when he first saw the coast of that Western Ocean."

And then, in his address to the candidate, he thus sketches the scenes of his labors, in words which the future showed were truly prophetic: —

"This work is to be made yours, with the highest responsibilities, the largest sphere, the most varied tasks, and, I will not refrain from adding, the most peculiar perils. It is not the Episcopate alone, nor the Missionary Episcopate alone. It is an Episcopate to be exercised where fellow-laborers are still to be gathered: where seminaries are yet to be founded; where congregations are mostly to be begun. There is no past on which you can much lean; and it is more than possible that around you will be little of that support which we need and find among the incitements and encouragements of well-established Christian communities. You go where thirst for gold, impatience of restraint, the vices of adventurers, and all the ills of unavoidable lawlessness, have been before you; where the softening influence of old age and of childhood can, as yet, be little known, and where female piety throws but a small measure of its familiar light over the surface and the heart of society. A lover of the world, a pleaser of men, a reed shaken by the wind, has nowhere his place among the standard-bearers of Christ; but least of all, on such an outpost, beleaguered by such temptations.

"Eight bishops took part in this consecration.¹ All but one (Lee, of Delaware) have since passed away from earth. In succession they have each heard the announcement: 'His bishopric let another take!' and now, where once they administered the authority of the Church, others rule in their stead.

"On the 20th of December we parted from kindred and friends and all old familiar scenes, and embarked on the ocean for this distant land. It was, however, a long, protracted voyage, and, wrecked on the coast of Southern California, we were delayed, so that six weeks elapsed before we reached our destination. It was on Sunday morning, January 29, 1854, that I landed in this harbor, where I found a welcome in the hospitable home of one whose friendship from that day has remained undiminished, amid all 'the changes of this mortal life.' A few hours afterwards I was in the chancel of Trinity Church, where, morning and evening, I held my first services in this diocese.

"At that time, there was but one clergyman, Rev. C. B. Wyatt (the Rector of Trinity parish), engaged in active parochial duties. Of the others who were here, the Rev. Dr. Clark was prevented by age from assuming the cares of a parish, and Dr. Ver Mehr, who was Rector of Grace Church, was engaged with his school at Sonoma, which obliged him to make his permanent residence at that place, coming to the city every other Sunday to officiate in the church.

"Our first Convention was held in May, 1854, three months after my arrival. On that occasion there were but two presbyters present — the Rev. Dr. Clark and the Rector of Trinity — while but three parishes were represented; Trinity and Grace, of this city, and the church at Stockton; though the latter existed only on paper.

"In my address I called their attention to the fatal defect in our constitution as a diocese, and its influence on the action of the General Convention. A committee was appointed, who reported that 'after due consideration of the subject referred to them, they have supplied the clause which was wanting as a declaration of allegiance to the General Convention.' This was unanimously adopted, and thus was swept away the last vestige of what might be construed into a want of loyalty in the Church on the Pacific.

"The great difficulty in that day was the obstacle in the way of procuring clergy from the East. They were obliged to come round by the Isthmus of Panama — a long and often dangerous voyage — while the high fares were prohibitory to any one with a family. Yet, by degrees, missionaries joined us — parishes were formed — and the bounds of our Church were gradually extended, until it manifestly stood forth, a power in the land.

"But to him who presided over the Church in this diocese, these were days of care and self-denial — days which he feels that he could not live over again, and on which he does not willingly look back — years of trial and apparently unrequited toil — when the heart failed and he would gladly, had it been possible, have withdrawn from the contest. Yet so the years glided on, while those engaged in the

¹ Kemper, of Wisconsin, consecrator; Wainwright, of New York; Burgess, of Maine; Upfold, of Indiana; Whitehouse, of Illinois; Boone, of China; Freeman, of Arkansas; and Lee, of Delaware.

quiet discharge of duty scarcely heeded their departure. There are some lives which seem to possess no salient points on which we can fasten, to mark their progress. And this is particularly the case with those who are dealing with the spiritual interests of men. With them, 'one day telleth another.' They are acting on an invisible field, and the result of their labors is often not apparent till long years have gone, and the effect is made manifest by a contrast of the past and the present. So it is often with the history of a diocese.

"The spring of 1857 brought a change in my position in the diocese. Hitherto I had acted as Missionary Bishop. In December, 1856, the diocese having strength enough to elect a bishop, I received a request from the clergy and laity to call a special Convention for that purpose. It met at Sacramento on the 5th of February, 1857. Nine clergymen were present, and nine parishes were represented, and I received the unanimous vote of both orders for Diocesan Bishop.

"The only marked event during the last few years has been the division of the diocese by the General Convention of 1874, an act of legislation in accordance with our request, and which was rendered necessary by the increase in the number of parishes and the long distances they were separated from each other. And so the Jurisdiction of Northern California was formed, and a bishop was selected by the House of Bishops to preside over this new diocese, and to build up the Church in this growing region.¹

"And now as we review the past we can count what it has done for us, as we estimate the present. Instead of the two parish ministers I found here on my arrival, we have now in this diocese about sixty clergy on the list, besides about twenty in Northern California, which has been cut off. Nearly fifty church edifices have been erected since I took charge of the diocese. Church institutions have been founded. We have in this city, St. Luke's Hospital for the sick, and the Old Ladies' Home for the aged. Schools, too, have been created, and we have St. Augustine's College, at Benicia, and St. Matthew's, at San Mateo, for boys; St. Mary's Hall, also at Benicia, for girls, and Trinity School, in this city, besides other institutions of a more private character. The principle is becoming acknowledged, that the Church must educate its youthful members, and from this growing conviction we may hope for much in the future.

"We can feel, too, in reviewing the past, that this diocese has always been true to the Church in the maintenance of its distinctive principles. They have never been sacrificed to views of temporary expediency. Such has always been my object in administering this diocese. I wished so to act as not to bequeath to my successor, when I must resign to him my office, questionable precedents which might embarrass a true Churchman in carrying out the principles of our catholic faith. And I believe that this result has been attained, and that to-day the Diocese of California stands before the world characterized by the conservative Church principles which have ever marked its legislation."

At the north, the Church in Oregon and Washington had slowly but surely attained a strength and development full of promise for the future. The brief annals of its advance are given by the one best fitted to tell the story of the Oregon mission, the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Wistar Morris, D.D., the missionary bishop:—

*Very Truly,
B. Wistar Morris*

No portion of our country — specially in modern times — has had a more interesting history than that long known as the "Territory of Oregon." From the days of Vancouver, Lewis and Clark, and the later enterprise of John Jacob Astor, at the mouth of the Columbia river — so graphically told by the pen of Irving — great interest has attached to this most distant part of the United States. Its possession was long in dispute between the English and American governments, and more than once the controversy assumed a very alarming aspect.

Without furnishing here all the preliminaries to the settlement of this question, it will serve to give the final results of all controversies and negotiations.

¹ The Rt. Rev. John H. D. Wingfield, D.D., LL.D.

In the early history of the northwestern part of our country, "Oregon" was considered as embracing the whole division of North America drained by the Columbia river, together with the territories between the valley of that stream and the Pacific, and the islands adjacent. By the treaty with the English government, concluded at Washington on the 15th of June, 1846, a line, drawn along the 49th parallel of latitude, from the Rocky Mountains to the Straits of Fuca, and thence southward, through the middle of the Straits to the Pacific, was established as the line of separation between the territories of the United States on the south, and those of Great Britain on the north. The action of this treaty of June, 1846, terminated what was known as the "Joint Occupancy" of the whole of that country by the English and American governments, and Oregon and Washington Territories came under the undisputed rule of the United States.

And yet so remote and inaccessible was that country, then, that the joyful news of this treaty of June 15th did not reach Oregon until the 12th of November, five months after its conclusion, and then by the roundabout way of the Sandwich Islands.¹

No effort was made by our Church to extend her missionary work to this distant field till 1851, five years after the treaty of 1846, when the Rev. William Richmond, of the Diocese of New York, was appointed by the Domestic Committee its first missionary to this distant land. "The Spirit of Missions" of April of that year, speaking of this undertaking, says: "For some time past the Domestic Committee has exerted itself to secure for Oregon a well-appointed Mission of the Church. Once and again pastors of reputation and efficiency made signs of a disposition to labor there, and it was thought that the object was attained, but providential disappointments interfered. And now when well-nigh discouraged, a revered brother has offered himself for this noble enterprise, with entire readiness and cordiality on his side, and with high satisfaction on the other; one whose devotedness and ability, whose experience and activity, whose influence and bearing are commended of all men, and around whom the affections and energies of the Church seem to rally with no ordinary interest." A Missionary Service of farewell to Mr. Richmond was held in St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, on the third Sunday night of Lent, 1841, at which addresses were made by Drs. Vinton and Tyng, and a hastily penned ode read by Martin Farquhar Tupper, beginning with the following words:—

"Push on to earth's extremest verge,
And plant the gospel there,
Till wide Pacific's angry surge
Is soothed by Christian prayer,
Advance the standard, conquering van,
And urge the triumph on,
In zeal for God and love for man,
To distant Oregon."

Mr. Richmond reached Portland on the 11th of May, 1851, and held his first service on Sunday, the 18th, in the Methodist house of worship. He found to his surprise that he had been preceded by a Clergyman of the Church, who was there to receive him, and whose infant daughter he baptized at this his first service—the Rev. St. Michael Fackler. Mr. Fackler had gone out to the Pacific coast from the Diocese of Missouri, in the year 1847 in the pursuit of health, and was then living on a farm in the Willamette valley. Mr. Richmond found him a most excellent and devoted Minister of the Cross, and soon secured an appointment for him as a Missionary of the Board. No appointment from that day to this has been more worthily conferred, and the name of St. Michael Fackler will ever be held in high honor by those who know the early history of missionary labors in Oregon.

Mr. Richmond entered upon his duties with great zeal and hopefulness, making long and toilsome journeys through the country, to the sacrifice of his strength and health. He organized congregations in several places, secured the gift of building lots, and other property, built a church at Milwaukie, opened a school in Yamhill county, and thus began a large and promising work. On the 29th of Feb-

¹ It may not be uninteresting to mention here that this news was carried to Oregon by a young man then in charge of a vessel trading between the Columbia river and the Islands. In Oregon he was afterward an active member of the Church, always its liberal supporter, and is now a prominent member of our Board of Missions—the Hon. Benjamin Stark, of New London, Conn.

ruary, only nine months after his arrival in the country, he was chilled through by riding all day in a deep snow and heavy storm. From that time till the 12th of June he was confined by illness of a very severe character. On that day he writes: "At the time I was attacked with sickness I had a prospect of more success in my Mission than at any former period since I engaged in it."

Notwithstanding Mr. Richmond's sanguine expectations of restored health, he was soon obliged to give up his work entirely and return to his home in the East. In consequence of this, many of his well-conceived plans were never carried out, and the work stood still or languished, for want of a vigorous head. In 1853 the Rev. James A. Woodward, of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, went to Oregon for his health, and was subsequently appointed a Missionary by the Board. He made his residence on Mr. Richmond's "land claim" in Yamhill county, and conducted a school in connection with his Missionary labors in that part of the Territory. He held frequent services at Wapato Lake, Dayton, Lafayette and Shampoeg, as well as at other points, and was much esteemed for his faithful labors and true Christian character.

In the month of January, 1853, the Rev. John McCarty, D.D., a former chaplain in the United States Army, was sent out to Oregon by the Domestic Committee and took charge of the small and feeble congregation in Portland. He says in a communication to "The Spirit of Missions," of May, 1853: "I arrived here the 19th of January last, after an unusually tedious journey of sixty-one days, from New York City, thankful to God for bringing me safely and in health to this Territory, in which, by His gracious help, I intend to live and labor for the rest of my days." Dr. McCarty found in Portland a congregation of twenty-five persons and four communicants, of which he says: "Although our Church has but a feeble beginning here, still the future prospect is encouraging." Dr. McCarty had been a chaplain in the United States Army, where his devout life and faithful service had much endeared him to the men and officers. The Fourth United States Infantry was then stationed at Vancouver, in Washington Territory, and when the officers of that company heard of the arrival of this former chaplain in Portland, they immediately applied for his services at that post. Upon an examination of the matter, he finally consented to divide his time and his services between Portland and Vancouver. From this time on, Dr. McCarty was a most laborious and zealous Missionary in Oregon and Washington Territories, travelling very widely through the forests and over the vast plains, at the peril of health and life. He was the founder of the parish at Vancouver, and earnestly devoted to every interest of the Church in that vast field.

The first formal movement toward an organization of the Church was in this same year, 1853. A "meeting of Episcopalians" was held in the month of August, at Oregon City, at which there were present three Clergymen—the Rev. Dr. McCarty, the Rev. Mr. Fackler, and the Rev. Mr. Woodward—and seven laymen. This "Council"—as it was afterward called—passed resolutions respectfully and earnestly requesting the General Convention to appoint a Missionary Bishop for the Territories of Oregon and Washington; and cordially recommending the appointment of the Rev. Dr. McCarty to that office.

This action in Oregon had been somewhat anticipated by the action of the Board of Missions at the meeting held in Boston in October, 1852. A resolution was then passed requesting the General Convention "to take into serious consideration the expediency of sending a Missionary Bishop to Oregon." Accordingly at the next meeting of the General Convention in New York, October, 1853, the Rev. Thomas Fielding Scott, D.D., Presbyter of the Diocese of Georgia, was elected Missionary Bishop of Oregon and Washington, and consecrated January 8, 1854. Bishop Scott, with his wife, arrived in Oregon on Friday, the 22d of April, 1854, and held his first service on the following Sunday in Portland, assisted by the Rev. Dr. McCarty. He found here but two Clergymen—Dr. McCarthy and Mr. Fackler—(Mr. Woodward having returned to the East) and but *three* organized congregations. The only church building was a small, unfinished one at Milwaukie, which had been used for various purposes of public meeting. Bishop Scott met his first Convocation in Portland, on the 17th day of the following June. There were present two Clergymen and eight laymen, by whom the Bishop was most cordially received, and assured of their united and harmonious support, and of their determination to strive together, under him, with one heart and one mind for the faith of the Gospel.

Bishop Scott entered upon his work with great earnestness, and with wise and

well considered plans for advancing the interests of the Church. He soon saw that he had before him a laborious and difficult field, where the Church would meet with many hindrances, and its progress be very slow. At this, however, he was in nowise daunted. He said to his first Convocation: "My brethren, we must not be discouraged, nor despise the day of small things. However small may be our number, and however unpromising our prospect of large and speedy increase, let us remember that the LORD will not save by many, nor by few. The promise of His unerring word is: 'He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.'" In this spirit he lived and labored for the fifteen years of his episcopate.

In writing to "The Spirit of Missions" of the character of Bishop Scott's labors, Dr. McCarty says: "It would be difficult for any one in the Atlantic States to appreciate the fatigue, hardship and discomfort which the Bishop has to undergo in the discharge of the duties of his Missionary Episcopacy on this coast."

The greatest of all the Bishop's trials was the want of Clergymen to aid him in the cultivation of his vast field, for not only did this embrace Oregon and Washington Territories, but that which is now Idaho also. Boise City, in Idaho, to which the Bishop extended his administrations, was only reached by a journey of five hundred miles—three hundred of these over roads and by conveyances of almost unsurpassed roughness and torture. In reference to this want of Missionaries in Oregon, the Report of the Domestic Committee of 1854 says: "The Bishop calls in loud and affecting terms for more laborers, but as yet calls and pleads in vain." And so the next year after, in giving an account of the ordination of his first Deacon, Mr. James Daily, he says: "To me this event is peculiarly encouraging, as *not one line of intimation* has reached me of the coming of any Missionary. Since Dr. McCarty's removal to Puget Sound, Brother Fackler and myself are doing what we can to supply our most promising points, hoping and praying that the LORD will send us help."

The next year the Bishop writes to the Board more sadly still, if possible, about his neglected field: "I have no additional argument to offer to any one in favor of this Mission. And I was certainly not prepared for the announcement in the last 'Spirit of Missions' that there were no means of sending those disposed to come. This makes our condition sadder still."

In the early part of the year 1856 the future for the Church seemed to be more hopeful, as two Missionaries had consented to come to Oregon,—the Rev. Messrs. John and James R. W. Sellwood. But hardly had this glad intelligence reached the Bishop, ere he learned that these Missionaries were involved in a fearful massacre at Panama; that one of them was killed, and that they were both robbed of all their earthly possessions. That one was killed was not true, but he was so badly wounded that for months he was utterly unable to do anything in the Master's vineyard. In due time both these brethren arrived in Oregon, but only one, the Rev. James R. W. Sellwood, was able to enter upon Missionary work. He went to Salem, and took charge of the Church there.

On Mr. John Sellwood's regaining his health in some measure, he took charge of Trinity Church, Portland, which he held for one or two years. These two venerable brothers are still numbered in the ranks of the Oregon clergy. One, the Rev. James R. W. Sellwood, is a Missionary of the Board, and the other officiating with much regularity, considering his age and infirmities, in St. John's Church, Milwaukie. Our space will allow but little further detail concerning this period. In the year 1856 a boarding-school for boys was opened in Oswego, under the management of Mr. Bernard Cornelius, and, in the fall of 1861, Spencer Hall, a school for girls, was opened in Milwaukie. This year also marked the publication of the first numbers of the "Oregon Churchman," a small monthly paper devoted to the interests of the Church in this field. This paper was revived in 1870, and its publication still continued as the "Columbia Churchman."

In the year 1866 both the diocesan schools were closed, principally through a failure to secure suitable teachers, and in the following year the Bishop determined to take Mrs. Scott to the East for the benefit of her health. In addressing what proved to be his last Convocation, in the month of May, 1867, he said: "When I entered upon my work here thirteen years ago, our deceased brother, Rev. St. M. Fackler, and the Rev. Dr. McCarty were the only clergymen. The Rev. Mr. Richmond and the Rev. Mr. Woodward had been here for a time, but had both returned to the Atlantic States. At no time have there been more than ten engaged

in the work. I have ordained two Deacons and four Priests, and the entire number transferred to my jurisdiction has been eleven Presbyters and five Deacons.

At the time of entering on my office here we had no church edifice, but were obliged to use any rooms we could procure temporarily for that purpose. Now, we have twelve regularly set apart for that purpose; the last not quite finished but so far completed as to be used. These edifices are all plain, but neat and appropriate, and they are capable of seating two thousand persons. In their erection we have received probably five thousand dollars from abroad; the remainder, not less than fifteen thousand dollars, has been raised on the ground. The churches are all free from debt, and others still might have been erected had there been clergymen to occupy them. When I entered upon my work, there were not twenty persons known as communicants of the Church within my jurisdiction, and the number was even less



THE GOOD SAMARITAN HOSPITAL, PORTLAND, OREGON.

who took any real interest in the prosperity of our work. Then, too, the population was sparse, not exceeding forty thousand in the two Territories, and these divided into numerous sects. To most of the population the Church was unknown, and what they had heard of it was to its prejudice. And as few have removed hither already identified with us, almost our entire increase has been of those who have become acquainted with the body which we represent."

When we consider the extraordinary difficulties that attended Missionary work in Oregon in those days, these are results for which we all have cause to be grateful. The better and more lasting results that come of exalted character and high devotion to duty are not to be shown by any tables of statistics, or figures of earthly arithmetic.

The mining interests on the upper tributaries of the Columbia river had drawn a large population to the extreme eastern portions of Bishop Scott's jurisdiction, and in the month of July, 1864, Mr. Fackler was transferred from the Willamette Valley to Boise City, in the Territory of Idaho.

His journey was across the northeastern angle of Oregon, by way of the Blue Mountains and Grand Ronde Valley, to Boise City. His letters from that place give a vivid description of Missionary life in those days. He says:—

"My first service in La Grand was on the third Sunday of July, 1864. The congregations were good. I baptized one infant. On the fifth Sunday I baptized an adult, a lady, who when about twelve years was immersed by the Mormons, her father having joined that body for a time. I presented her to the Bishop for confirmation, and admitted her to the communion.

"Having my own horses, one to ride and one pack-horse, I travelled quite independently, and made my camp at night whenever it was time to stop and I could find good grass and water. Although the weather was very hot, I enjoyed the trip very much indeed. I had no fear, although I knew it was not quite safe. As I passed through the Burnt river country, there was hanging on a melancholy-looking yew tree, not far from the road, the body of a half-breed Indian, who, for his offences against the whites in a band of raiders, had been strung up by the roadside — as a terror to evil-doers."

Speaking again of his horses, Mr. Fackler says: "I left them on a ranch near Boisé City. When I came back, after an absence of three weeks, they, with the whole band belonging to the ranch, had been stolen and run off to Nevada, and were never recovered. This was quite a loss to me, as well as a great inconvenience, as I was neither able to buy other horses, nor to ride in the public conveyances."

Mr. Fackler did excellent and extensive Missionary work in Idaho, and laid the foundations of the flourishing Church in Boisé City, now known as St. Michael's.

Boisé City, five hundred miles from Bishop Scott's residence in Portland, was reached by him with very great difficulty, and so, at the time of Bishop Randall's election in 1865, Idaho was given to him. His head-quarters were established at Denver, nearly a thousand miles away, in the opposite direction! by which Idaho gained little in the services of its Bishop. This Territory was afterwards added to Bishop Tuttle's jurisdiction, and now has its energetic and laborious Bishop within three hundred miles.

Bishop Scott left Oregon, with Mrs. Scott, immediately upon the close of his last Convocation, and reached New York in great prostration of strength from an attack of Panama fever, contracted in crossing the Isthmus. He rapidly grew worse, and died on the following Sunday, July 9th, 1867, and was laid to rest in the beautiful cemetery of Trinity Church in New York City. The Board of Missions at its next meeting in October passed the following resolution:—

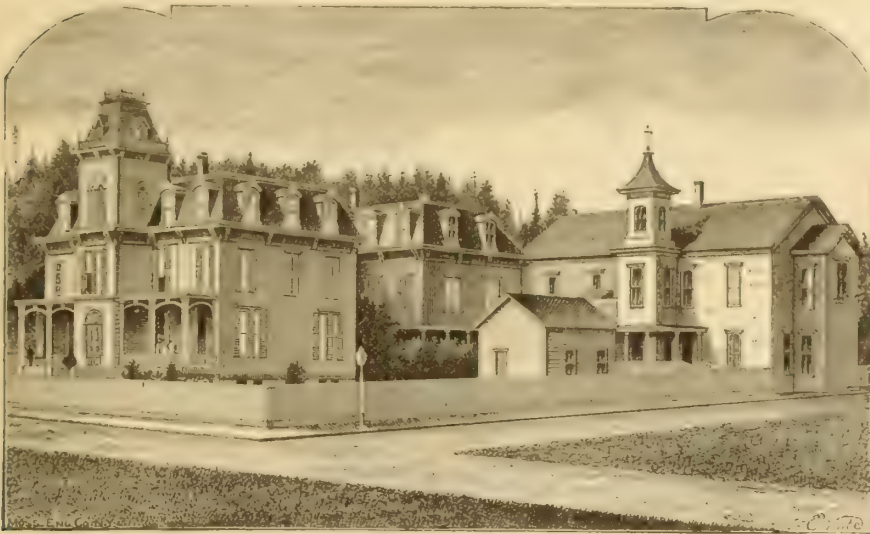
"*Resolved*, That in the death of the Right Rev. Thomas Fielding Scott, D.D., Missionary Bishop of Oregon and Washington Territories, we mourn the loss of a most faithful and devoted servant of CHRIST — of a Bishop whose self-denying labors have made a lasting record upon the memory of the Church, and whose steady zeal and unflinching perseverance amid great trials and discouragements, have given us an example of the Missionary Episcopate which will long be gratefully remembered."

An early effort was made to supply another Missionary Bishop for Oregon by the election of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin H. Paddock, Rector of Christ Church, Detroit, to this place. This was done at a special meeting of the House of Bishops, in New York, on the 5th of February, 1868.

Dr. Paddock having declined this appointment, no further effort was made to fill the vacancy till the meeting of the General Convention of October, 1868, when the Rev. B. Wistar Morris, Rector of St. Luke's Church, Germantown, Pennsylvania, was elected. I was consecrated in St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia, on the 3d of the following December, and sailed for San Francisco, from New York, with my family, on the 21st of April, 1869, and reached Portland on the 2d day of June. I took with me my three sisters-in-law, the Misses Rodney, and my own sister, Miss R. W. Morris. These earnest churchwomen have been most efficient helpers in educational and missionary efforts from that day to this. We were very kindly received and hospitably entertained by the Bishop of California and the Church people of San Francisco, and found an equally warm welcome from the clergy of Oregon, and their people in Portland and all parts of the jurisdiction.

The erection of St. Helen's Hall as a boarding and day school for girls was immediately undertaken, and opened under the direction of the Misses Rodney, on the 14th of September, 1869. The attendance increased so rapidly that an enlargement of the buildings was required before the close of the first term, and again before the end of the year, and a third time within three years. The average attendance since the first year has been about 150 pupils. The property consists of a block of ground, with large buildings for the boarders and teachers, and convenient school-

rooms and class-rooms for two hundred pupils. For several years an "upper room" was used as a place of daily worship for the school, and on Sundays by the congregation of St. Stephen's Chapel. A larger and more appropriate place being required, St. Stephen's Chapel was built on the corner of the block, and connected with the dwelling-house and school-rooms by a covered way. The whole school assembles in the chapel for a short service every morning, before entering upon the studies and recitations of the day. The chapel has been made a very beautiful and attractive place by its proper design and finish, and by the gifts of memorial window, chancel furniture and beautiful gas-fixtures. Its services have a most important and blessed influence in the true and higher education of the pupils of this school; and those who, in large or small sums, have contributed to its erection may be assured that their gifts were wisely directed. St. Helen's Hall has done something more than pay its current expenses in the past few years, having expended, out of its earnings, \$12,500 on permanent improvements, books and philosophical



ST. HELEN'S HALL, PORTLAND, OREGON.

apparatus, and the purchase of a block of ground for the site of a new building. This is also exclusive of the large expenditures for insurance and new furniture. I have since been offered \$22,000 for this piece of ground, but as it was bought for no other purpose than a future site for St. Helen's Hall, I declined to sell it. The establishment of this school is largely due to the liberality of the late Mr. John D. Wolfe, and to his daughter, Miss C. L. Wolfe. After generous gifts for the purchase of the property on which the school buildings stand, the corner lot and house were secured through the liberal aid of the latter, and the rent now supports the "Wolfe Free scholarship." Another scholarship was created by the gifts of the teachers, pupils and friends of St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, N.J. This is known as the "Bishop Doane scholarship," and yields \$300 a year for the full support of a pupil. A third scholarship is supported by the prompt annual payment of \$300 by an earnest Christian mother of Philadelphia, in memory of a loving daughter "gone before" to the Paradise of God's children. These scholarships have been a most valuable aid in our work of Christian education, and it is very desirable that they should be increased in numbers, that so good an influence might be more widely extended. From the proceeds of the sale of the old property known as Spencer Hall, at Milwaukie, we have an invested fund of \$1,400, the annual income of which goes to the increase of the "Spencer Library" in St. Helen's Hall. This yearly addition of even \$140 worth of well-chosen books will, in time, make a very valuable library.

The property which Bishop Scott had used for a boys' school at Oswego had been sold by the Trustees before my election, and when I reached Oregon the sum of \$4,500 was placed in my hands for continuing this work at some new point. It was thought advisable to put this school in Portland also. Four blocks of ground were given for this purpose, in a very desirable and beautiful situation, and on the 5th of July, 1879, I laid the corner-stone of the Bishop Scott Grammar School. Liberal contributions of money were made by the members of our own Church, and by the citizens of Portland, for the erection of the buildings, as they had before done, in the case of St. Helen's Hall. The Grammar School was opened for its first term in September, 1870, under the superintendence of Professor Charles H. Allen, an able and accomplished educator. He was followed by Professor Laing, in 1871, the Rev. George Burton, in 1874, and Dr. Joseph W. Hill, the present head-master, in 1877. Dr. Hill has ever since been in charge, and under his judicious management the school is doing an excellent work, and steadily growing in reputation and influence. I had determined from the first not to use the money that came from the sale of the Oswego property for any present purpose, but to make it the nucleus of a permanent endowment. This I have been enabled to do, and by the offerings of our own people and the accumulations of interest, this fund is now over \$10,000, having all along paid \$500 a year toward the support of the school. There are besides this, the "Alonzo Potter Professorship Fund," of \$2,600, the "Michael F. Clark scholarship," of \$900, and the "G. W. Natt scholarship," of \$1,000. The annual income of the two former of these is added to the principal each year for increase for future use.

Up to this time no regular Missionary work had been done in that large portion of the jurisdiction east of the Cascade Mountains. In the fall of 1871 I sent the Rev. L. H. Wells, who came to us from the Diocese of Connecticut, to Walla-Walla, Washington Territory, to open a Mission and extend his labors, as occasion might offer, to the parts beyond. Mr. Wells found there the five women I had confirmed the previous year and two more communicants of the Church. With this beginning the Mission declared itself self-supporting. In the second year a very pretty Gothic church was erected and by degrees finished, furnished, and paid for.

The next year after the Mission was started I was enabled, by the liberality of friends in the East, especially in New Haven, and by the generous pecuniary offerings of the Missionary himself, to establish St. Paul's School for Girls with three teachers and thirteen pupils, one of them a boarder. At the end of its first year the boarding department was burned down, but from the ashes arose a deeper local interest and more abundant charity in the hearts of Eastern Churchmen, which bore fruit in better accommodations and larger attendance.

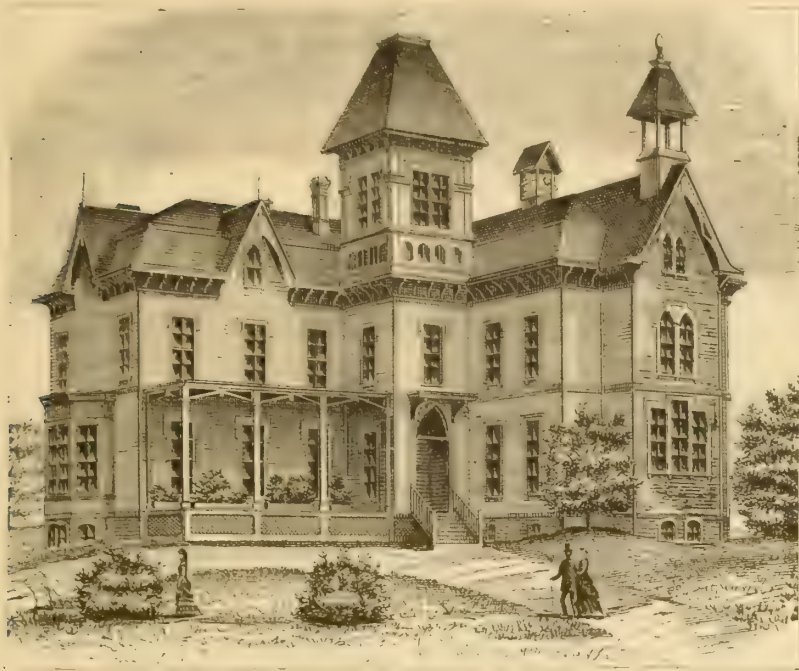
The school grew in reputation and numbers, and when in 1880 it passed into the hands of Bishop Paddock, it had eighty-five pupils, twenty of them boarders and eight teachers; it was moreover out of debt and paying its own current expenses. Mr. Wells was the originator of the plan of this school, and from first to last its wise guide and overseer, and its main stay and support. It was through him that after eight years of hard and painful struggle we were able to transfer to the Bishop of Washington Territory a church and boarding-school in Walla-Walla both vigorous, free from debt, and self-supporting.

The Mission at Walla-Walla had been started but a few months when the Missionary began to hold occasional services in the towns beyond, going to Weston, twenty miles; Pendleton, forty miles; La Grand, seventy-five; the Cove, ninety; Union, ninety; Lewiston, eighty; Baker City, one hundred; thus planting germs which soon developed into independent Missions. The Rev. Dr. Nevius subsequently labored in these same fields, with much zeal and success.

The Good Samaritan Hospital and Orphanage was completed and opened for the reception of patients and children in 1875. It occupies a very beautiful and valuable site, about half a mile north of the Grammar School and Episcopal residence. Its four blocks of ground were purchased at a low price, through the liberality of their owners, and the buildings have been erected and furnished at a cost of some \$25,000. Last year it cared for two hundred and sixty-five patients. We are just changing the building heretofore used as an orphanage for well children into a ward for sick women and children, for which there is pressing need. By the liberality of our own citizens, and friends in the East, we have secured the endowment of free beds, by a cash capital of \$17,500, and hope to enlarge this most important means of support. We are indebted to that noble agency, the

Woman's Auxiliary, for the payment of the salaries of the two Sisters—trained nurses, who now have charge of the Hospital.

Some seven years ago I bought for \$800 four and a half lots of ground adjoining the Grammar School, for the site of a Bishop's house. Last year such a house was built, known among us as "Bishopcroft." We had hoped to have built this house for \$6,000, but, owing to the unexpected and unprecedented rise in the price of labor and all building materials, it has cost over \$8,000, and there is an indebtedness upon it of \$1,000. These lots, which cost something less than \$200 apiece, are now worth from \$2,500 to \$3,000 each, and two of them might be sold



BISHOP SCOTT GRAMMAR SCHOOL, PORTLAND, OREGON.

for the purpose of paying the debt on the Episcopal residence, and for increasing the Episcopal Fund.

Feeling from my first connection with this work the importance of strengthening and sustaining it by endowments of money, I have given considerable attention to this matter, and through the generous gifts of friends in the East and of our own people we have met with a good degree of success. These cash endowments—such as those of the Hospital, the Grammar School, Scholarships, Library of St. Helen's Hall, the Fund for Disabled Clergymen, the Episcopal Fund, etc.—amount now to over \$50,000. These funds are secured by notes and first mortgages on real estate, and bear interest at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum.

The other Church buildings in Portland are, Trinity Church, Chapel and Rectory, Trinity Mission, in the northern part of the city, and St. Matthew's Chapel and Rectory in the southern part. We have also St. David's Church and Rectory, just across the river in East Portland. This church is appropriately named after St. David's, Manayunk, whence came \$1,000 from one generous giver for building its Oregon namesake. All these buildings, except that now used as a chapel by Trinity congregation, and which was their original church, have been erected since 1869. There have been erected since that time and previous to the division of the

jurisdiction, twenty-three churches and chapels, fifteen rectories, three schools, and one hospital and orphanage, making in all forty-two buildings. In the division Washington Territory took seven clergymen, eight churches and chapels, and four rectories, and the Girls' School at Walla-Walla. The value of the church property and endowments remaining to Oregon may safely be estimated at no less than \$400,000. It was a source of satisfaction to me, in surrendering the work of the Church in Washington Territory to my successor, to know that it was encumbered with no indebtedness.

As Bishop Scott had done before me, so I had long desired the division of this large jurisdiction, and did all in my power to promote it, believing that the work of the Church in that wide field, with its varied resources, its capabilities of sustaining a large population, and its rapid development in all material interests, required a bishop whose whole time and energies should be given to that district alone. In view of what has already been accomplished by the wise and vigorous efforts of the Bishop of that Territory, and the splendid future that is before it, no one can question the wisdom of the Convention in its action three years ago.

D. Hunter Arnold

The story of the progress of the Church in the Territories of the Pacific slope cannot be better told than in the words of the Missionary Bishop, Dr. Tuttle:—

In October, 1866, the Territories of Montana, Idaho, and Utah were erected by the House of Bishops into a separate missionary district, and on the 5th day of the same month the bishops duly nominated to be Missionary Bishop of Montana, with jurisdiction in Idaho and Utah, the Rev. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, M.A., Rector of Zion Church, Morris, Otsego County, in the diocese of New York. Bishop Tuttle was consecrated in Trinity Chapel, New York City, May 1, 1867.

At the time of his consecration not one clergyman of the Church was in all the field to which he was appointed. Only one had ever been at work there, the Rev. St. Michael Fackler, at Boise City, Idaho, from 1864. But he, after erecting a small church at Boise, had started eastward, and died on the steamer between Panama and New York, in December, 1866.

Meanwhile the necessity of immediate inauguration of church work at Salt Lake City, Utah, became so urgent that, on the 5th of April, 1867, in advance of the consecration of the bishop, upon his nomination, the Rev. George W. Foote and the Rev. Thomas W. Haskins left New York for Salt Lake City, arriving there, Mr. Foote on the 3d and Mr. Haskins on the 4th of May, and at once commenced their work by celebration of divine service at Independence Hall, on the following Sunday.

UTAH.

They found here three communicants of the Church; and a Sunday-school was turned over to them which the non-Mormon people had kept up for a time. For several years the church work was the only Christian mission among the Mormons. On July 1st Mr. Haskins opened St. Mark's School, a parochial day-school, with sixteen scholars. The first report from Utah, made August 17, 1867, was this in sum: Baptized, 16; confirmed, 11; communicants, 20; marriages, 1; burials, 2; average attendance, Sunday-school, 90; day-school, 37. With thanks to God we mark the growth, as recorded in the last annual report, August 1, 1881: Baptized, 114; confirmed, 23; communicants, 359; marriages, 60; burials, 56; Sunday-school scholars, 710; day scholars, 711.

The bishop, accompanied by the Rev. G. D. B. Miller and the Rev. E. N. Goddard, after serious delays occasioned by floods and Indian depredations and dangers, reached Salt Lake City, July 2, 1867. On the 14th he held the first confirmation (of eleven candidates), and celebrated the first holy communion in Utah.

The bishop called at once upon Brigham Young, and frankly told him that he had come to live in the country, and of the work he was appointed to do. He was re-

ceived courteously by the Mormon chief, and from that time forward has never been unlawfully interfered with by the Mormons touching any rights of person, property, or residence. The greater portion of those baptized and confirmed in Utah have been Mormon-born. Of confirmations the exact figures are 217 out of 407. Two young men, Mormon-born, have entered holy orders.

April 30, 1872, St. Mark's Hospital, Salt Lake City, under the auspices of the Church, was opened. In it more than three hundred patients are cured for yearly, at an expense of nearly \$10,000. In October, 1881, St. Paul's Chapel, a second church in the same city, built of stone, was finished. The good influence of our four churches, five schools, and hospital, sturdily working in the Mormon community, in behalf of civilization and Christianity, cannot be overestimated.

IDAHO.

After remaining with the bishop for a week in Salt Lake City, the Rev. G. D. B. Miller, in July, 1867, pushed on to Boise City. For several years he was the only clergyman in all Idaho Territory. His first report, made in August, was: Communicants, 13; Sunday-school scholars, 30; burials, 2. Here, too, has been growth. Now there are three clergymen; baptized, 52; confirmed, 13; communicants, 188; Sunday-school scholars, 177.

MONTANA.

The bishop, attended by the Rev. E. N. Goddard, went to Montana in July, 1867. No clergyman of the Church had ever set foot in the Territory before. They held the first service in Virginia City, on Sunday, July 21st. From the record of that day, growth registers itself in the Annual Report of Aug. 1, 1881, as follows: clergy, 8; baptized, 80; confirmed, 41; communicants, 397; marriages, 49; burials, 73; Sunday-school scholars, 489.

In mineral and agricultural resources Montana is a rich Territory, and sure to be a populous and prosperous region. Well knowing this, Bishop Tuttle entreated that it might be given a bishop of its own. The General Convention of 1880 acceded to his request. On October 15th Montana was erected into a separate missionary district, and Bishop Tuttle became the Bishop of Utah with jurisdiction in Idaho. On the 19th the Rev. Legh Richmond Brewer, M.A., Rector of Trinity Church, Watertown, in the diocese of Central New York, was chosen Bishop of Montana.

It is a matter for sincere thankfulness that the Church has in the last twenty years waked up to its duty and privilege in taking in hand pioneer missionary work. Under its admirable system of Missionary Bishops, it has of late gone into the tents and cabins of the uttermost frontier, to preach Christ and minister his holy sacraments. Once it was largely left to the Methodists to do this sort of thing. Now the Church is found in the very fore front. It gets influence at least equally well with them, and it holds what it gets far better. It is a great mistake to suppose the church services unfit, by their stateliness, for such pioneering work. In truth they are appreciated and liked. Christians of all names, after a simple explanation and loving invitation by the minister, gladly join in using them. Prayer, "Common" for both minister and people, takes on a new and grateful meaning for them. And the attractiveness of the church year, the dignity of her holy worship, the soberness of her exhortations, the wholesomeness of her instructions, the strength of her historical position, and the power of her divine organization, so far from unfitting her, render her most eminently fit to do the best and most lasting missionary work for the Master. In Bishop Tuttle's and Bishop Brewer's fields, instead of being latest to enter, she was largely first. In Utah, for years she worked alone among the Mormons. In Idaho, for long periods our clergymen were the only ones of Protestant name in the Territory. In Montana now, the Church is, by all odds, the first of the religious bodies in influence and efficiency.

David P. Tuttle

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

THE close of the year 1860 witnessed the beginning of that "irrepressible conflict" that was to close only when untold treasure and countless lives had been sacrificed. The strife was naturally regarded with different views by churchmen at the North and South. The passage of the ordinance of secession, and the establishment of the Southern Confederacy *de facto*, were deemed by the clergy at the South as not only freeing them from the obligation to use the prayers for the President of the United States, but also as authorizing the Church in the Confederate States to regard itself as independent and autonomous. The course of White and Parker, Provoost and Robert Smith, in omitting the State prayers, at the breaking out of the Revolution, was naturally regarded as a justification of the omission of the obnoxious prayers, and the position taken by the Church in the revolted colonies, at the time of the war for independence, was deemed a precedent for action in the direction of separate organization.

There was, indeed, a diversity of opinion among Southern churchmen, whether the disruption of the Union did, of itself, and without any act of the Church in its several dioceses, work a severance of the federation of the dioceses under the constitution of 1789. The Bishop of North Carolina, Dr. Atkinson, held, as appears from his address to the Convention of his diocese in 1861, that the secession of the States did not involve necessarily the disruption of the Church, although he laid down the principle that the Church was bound to recognize, pray for, and obey the *de facto* government as the existing power. He further advised the adoption of the necessary changes in the liturgy, the offering of prayers for the Confederate Congress when in session, and the appointment of clerical and lay deputies to a meeting of representatives of the Church in the seceded States, which had been called. In compliance with a circular letter, issued early in the year 1861, the Bishops of South Carolina, Dr. Davis; Georgia, Dr. Elliott; Mississippi, Dr. Green; Florida, Dr. Rutledge; and Texas, Dr. Gregg, with clerical and lay deputies from these several States, with the exception of Texas, met in Convention in Montgomery, Alabama, on the 3d day of July. At the time of the call for this meeting, the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, had not seceded, and the Church in these dioceses was not represented. The Bishop of Vermont had sought to allay the storm which was threatening the unity of the Church, and in his "Letter to Bishops and Delegates now assembled at Montgomery" endeavored to show the difference between the impending rupture and the struggle with the mother country at the time of the Revolution. In his view there was no

reason, even if the country should be divided by the civil strife, why the Church could not remain unbroken and act as one body. Private letters had been sent with the same pacific end in view, but the die was cast. Even the venerable Bishop of Virginia, while admitting that the call for the Southern Convention was "hasty," and finally reconsidering his purpose of attending it, deemed it his duty to accede to the measures the meeting advised, and was, ere the year had closed, the presiding bishop of the Southern Church.

At the Montgomery meeting the draft of a constitution and canons was prepared. Provision was made for the collection and disbursement of mission funds for the work of the Church in the South and South-west. It was unanimously resolved "that the secession of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee, from the United States, and the formation by them of a new government, called the Confederate States of America, renders it necessary and expedient that the dioceses within those States should form among themselves an independent organization."

Provision was made for an adjourned meeting in October, and after a session of three days the Convention adjourned. The president, in response to a resolution of thanks for the discharge of the duties of his office, thus reviewed the work that had been accomplished, and indicated the purposes in view for the future :—

In returning you my thanks, Brethren of the Convention, for the very kind and cordial manner in which you have expressed your approbation of my course as your Presiding officer, it gives me pleasure to say, that my duty was made quite easy by the courteous, Christian, yet earnest, manner, in which the work, entrusted you by your respective Conventions, has been performed. Our number has not been large, but every Diocese of those originally invited, with the exception of Texas, has been fully represented by the ablest and most experienced of its Clergy and Laity. That Diocese was hindered by the fortune of War, from partaking in our Councils. When we consider the distance, the expense, the season of the year, and above all the uncertainty which was made from peculiar circumstances to hang around the meeting of the Convention, we have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the very large proportion of those appointed to this meeting who have attended here. It shows an earnest appreciation of the necessity of this Convention, and of the importance of the principles which were to be discussed and settled.

I cannot but thank God in your behalf, and in behalf of the Church, for the complete unanimity which has accompanied the assertion of the necessity and expediency of an independent organization. While we have differed upon some details of time and place, we have not differed at all upon this point. We have with one voice, and one heart, agreed that the Church of the Confederate States must be as independent as the Confederate States themselves. We have desired no change in the Faith or Order of the Church, no relaxation of its discipline, no alteration in its Liturgy; but we have determined, by the help and grace of God, to advance his kingdom among us, through Constitutional and Canonical arrangements of our own. And in this unanimity, may we perceive the favor of God towards us as a people. He has been with us from the beginning of our civil movements, and has blessed us, both in State and Church, with an unity of feeling and of purpose that is most extraordinary. In the State and in the Church we have moved as one man, and no voice of discontent or of dissatisfaction has been heard among us. We are ready to bear and to suffer for the good cause we have in hand, but never to yield or compromise. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name, be the glory for thy mercy and thy truth's sake."

We have done, Brethren of the Convention, enough at this meeting, and yet not too much. We have asserted the necessity and expediency of a new organiza-

tion; and we have appointed a committee to prepare the draft of a Constitution and Canons for our future government, but we have referred the consideration and adoption of these details to an adjourned meeting, to be held during the coming autumn, and in this have we done wisely; for we most earnestly desire to have with us the wisdom, the experience, and the piety of those great Dioceses whose States have so lately declared themselves a part of the Southern Confederacy.

We have in like manner arranged our Missionary work temporarily, doing at the meeting only what was essential, and leaving future arrangements for a larger and more extended representation. Before we separate, let me impress upon you your duty as Christians and Churchmen, during the conflict which is upon us. Times of excitement like these are times of great temptation, and we must take heed lest we be swept away from our principles and our proper line of conduct. We shall be tempted to bitterness of feeling, to violence of language, to impulsive action, to conduct unbecoming the disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus. Let us strive while we render faithfully unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, to render likewise unto God the things which are God's. We are all warmly and earnestly united upon the necessity of this great constitutional movement, and we need no hasty and immature legislation to vindicate our patriotism. Let us preserve that soberness and conservatism which has always distinguished Churchmen, and while we uphold firmly the great principles upon which our new government has been founded, let us not be carried off into unchristian conduct and feeling. Beside the country we have the Church to preserve, and we must see to it that she comes out of this convulsion unspotted and unstained. May the Holy Spirit of God rest upon us, and guide us into all truth.

At the October session the Bishop of Georgia took the chair, and ten bishops answered to their names: Meade, Otey, Elliott, Johns, Green, Rutledge, Davis, Atkinson, Gregg, and Lay. The Bishop of Louisiana, Dr. Polk, was absent. Clerical deputies from nine and lay deputies from seven States were in attendance. On the organization of the Convention, the senior bishop, Dr. Meade, took the chair. Bishop Elliott, chairman of the committee appointed at Montgomery to prepare a draft of a constitution, reported in full, and after discussion and amendment the report was adopted, article by article. A resolution was adopted authorizing the submission of the proposed constitution to the several dioceses in the Confederate States, and, on its ratification by seven dioceses, empowering the president to declare the union complete and the constitution in force in the consenting dioceses. The canons of the Church in the United States were provisionally adopted, until other action could be had, so far as they did not come in conflict with the changed circumstances of civil affairs.

On the eighth day of the session a committee of the House of Bishops, consisting of Bishops Meade, Otey, and Elliott, to whom had been referred the petition of the delegation from Alabama for the consecration of a bishop, reported as follows:—

All the Confederate States by the goodness of God possess the privilege of Episcopal supervision except Alabama. The ordinary course of canonical proceedings for the election and consecration of a Bishop has been stopped by the interruption of all intercourse between the Northern and Southern States in the late Federal Union. This interruption, however, of social and ecclesiastical intercourse between brethren of the same communion, however much to be regretted; has been occasioned by circumstances over which the Church in its ecclesiastical organization has had no control, and it is still highly desirable and earnestly wished that the 'unity of the spirit' be preserved by us all 'in the bond of peace,' and that the same spirit of love and peace which our Lord so earnestly inculcated on his first followers be cultivated and cherished among us. While, therefore, we propose no change in the

doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church in the organization which has existed among us for eighty years past, we think that no alterations should be made in our forms and offices, further than shall be found indispensable in consequence of the political changes which force themselves upon us.

The diocese of Alabama was thereupon ordered to "proceed under such regulations as have heretofore existed and still exist in the diocese for the election of a bishop;" and, after the confirmation of their choice by standing committees and bishops of the several dioceses of the Confederate States, the presiding bishop thereof was empowered to take orders for the consecration of the bishop-elect.

In compliance with this recommendation and advice, after due action taken by the diocese, the Rev. Richard Hooker Wilmer, D.D., was consecrated Bishop of Alabama, in St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Virginia, on the 6th of March, 1862, by the Bishop of Virginia, presiding, assisted by the Bishop of Georgia and the Assistant Bishop of Virginia. By this act the Church in the Confederate States practically declared its complete independence and its right to take measures for the perpetuation of the chief order of the ministry.

The changes made in the constitution of the Church in the United States may be grouped under two heads, the first being the change in names: (a) from "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," to "Protestant Episcopal Church in the *Confederate States of America*;" (b) from General, or Diocesan, Convention, to General, or Diocesan, *Council*. The institution of ecclesiastical *provinces* and *provincial* councils was provided for, the province to comprise the dioceses within a single State, and the council to meet triennially. The provincial council was to be composed of the bishops having jurisdiction within the province and such clerical and lay representatives as the dioceses themselves determined. The senior bishop was to preside, and when there were three bishops or more they were to form a separate House. The conciliar legislation was to be of force within the provinces. The time of meeting of the general council was changed from the first Wednesday in October to the second Wednesday in November, and the representation from four clergymen and the same number of laymen to three of each order. In the formation of new dioceses, the presence of six officiating presbyters regularly settled within the proposed diocese was made a prerequisite. In the division of a diocese the consent of the diocesan council and that of the bishop or bishops alone were necessary, provided that the new diocese should contain not less than ten self-supporting parishes and the same number of presbyters, and that the number of self-supporting parishes and presbyters in the old diocese was not thereby reduced to less than fifteen of each. Changes in the constitution were to receive the ratification of a two-thirds vote.

In the discussion on the adoption of this constitution there were many features of interest. The vote on striking out of the title of the church the words, "Protestant Episcopal," and inserting in place thereof the words, "Reformed Catholic," received the support of the bishops of Tennessee, Mississippi, and North Carolina, and the dioceses of Tennessee and Florida, the lay vote of the latter being divided. On

the proposition to strike out the word "Protestant," Bishops Otey and Green, of the Episcopal order, alone supported the motion. The dioceses of Tennessee, and the clerical deputation from Florida, and the lay deputation from Alabama, were also recorded in favor of this proposition, which was lost by an overwhelming majority.

On the 19th of September, 1862, the Bishop of Georgia gave notice that the dioceses of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, having formally adopted the constitution, the union of these dioceses was complete under the name of "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America." The first general council was therefore summoned to meet in Augusta, Georgia, on the second Wednesday in November, 1862. At that time seven bishops and deputies from seven dioceses attended, and at an early stage of their proceedings the diocese of Arkansas was admitted into union with the council, with its bishop, the Right Rev. Dr. Lay. There were now eight bishops and three hundred and seventy-five clergymen in union with the Church in the Confederate States, and three bishops and seventy-three clergymen whose dioceses, though represented in the preliminary Convention, had been prevented by the progress of the war from ratifying the constitution.

We can best judge of the temper and spirit animating the council of the Confederate Church by quoting the language of its official documents.

In his address to the House of Deputies, the venerable president, the Rev. Dr. Christian Hanckel, thus reviewed the proceedings and explained the purposes of the Confederate Church:—

We have entered, brethren, upon a very important and interesting stage in the history of our Church on this continent. We are about, not to detach ourselves from the Church Catholic, but to put forth a new bud from the parent stock; indeed, by our proceedings thus far, we have already developed the elements of a full, perfect and complete branch which, I trust, may grow and spread till it covers the whole land, and reach, and bless by its precious influences, the remotest parts of our Confederate States. We aim at no change in the faith and polity of the Church Catholic; nor even in the worship and discipline of our beloved Church except what our peculiar condition may require. And, herein, we are doing no more than our forefathers did when they organized our Church in the old United States. We are only claiming and exercising the privilege which they claimed and exercised.

Even more emphatic is the language of the report of the Committee on the State of the Church:—

In the course of events we have been separated from brethren, with whom we have been associated in the same ecclesiastical communion, since the Protestant Episcopal Church was fully organized and set in operation on this continent. Though now found within different political boundaries, the Church remains *essentially one*. In this respect we are no more separated from them than from the members of any Protestant Episcopal Church throughout the world. In matters of this kind, neither geographical bounds, nor civil relations, nor any temporal cause whatsoever, can have effect, so long as in doctrine, discipline, and worship we are substantially the same, and as ecclesiastically our unity is to this extent thus preserved, so we would endeavor, in spite of any temptations to the contrary, to cultivate to the utmost towards our former associates the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

In the same spirit the committee of the two Houses of the council charged with the consideration of "such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer as may be deemed proper" was restricted by the proviso that such "alterations involve no change in the doctrine or discipline of this Church."

It was, however, in the pastoral letter, in language of great beauty, and exhibiting a spirit of calm Christianity and churchly devotion, rising far above the rage and turmoil of the contending parties, that the substantial unity of the Church at the South with the Church at the North, from which it was reluctantly forced to separate, was most impressively declared.

Seldom has any council assembled in the Church of Christ under circumstances needing His presence more urgently than this which is now about to submit its conclusions to the judgment of the Universal Church. Forced by the providence of God to separate ourselves from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, — a Church with whose doctrine, discipline, and worship we are in entire harmony, and with whose action prior to the time of that separation, we were abundantly satisfied, at a moment when civil strife had dipped its foot in blood, and cruel war was desolating our homes and firesides, we required a double measure of grace to preserve the accustomed moderation of the Church in the arrangement of our organic law, in the adjustment of our code of canons, but above all, in the preservation, without change, of those rich treasures of doctrine and worship which have come to us enshrined in our Book of Common Prayer. Cut off likewise from all communication with our sister churches of the world, we have been compelled to act without any interchange of opinion even with our Mother-Church, and alone and unaided to arrange for ourselves the organization under which we should do our part in carrying on to their consummation the purposes of God in Christ Jesus. We trust that the spirit of Christ has indeed so directed, sanctified, and governed us in our work that we shall be approved by all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and in truth, and who are in earnest in preparing the world for His coming in glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead.

The constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, under which we have been exercising our legislative functions, is the same as that of the church from which we have been providentially separated save that we have introduced into it a germ of expansion which was wanting in the old constitution. This is found in the permission which is granted to existing dioceses to form themselves by subdivision into Provinces, and by this process gradually to reduce our immense dioceses into Episcopal Sees, more like those which in primitive times covered the territories of the Roman Empire. It is at present but a germ and may lie for many years without expansion, but being there it gives promise, in the future, of a more close and constant Episcopal supervision than is possible under our present arrangement.

The canon law which has been adopted during our present session is altogether in its spirit, and almost in its letter, identical with that under which we have hitherto prospered. We have simplified it in some respects, and have made it more clear and plain in many of its requirements; but no changes have been introduced which have altered either its tone or character. It is the same moderate, just, and equal body of Ecclesiastical law by which the Church has been governed on this continent since her reception from the Church of England of the treasures of an apostolic ministry and a liturgical form of worship. The Prayer Book we have kept unchanged in every particular save where a change of our civil government and the formation of a new nation have made alteration essentially requisite. These words comprise all the amendment which has been deemed necessary in the present emergency, for we have felt unwilling in the existing confusion of affairs, to lay rash hands upon a book consecrated by the use of ages and hallowed by associations the most sacred and precious. We give you back your Book of Common Prayer the same as you have entrusted it to us, believing that if it has slight defects, their removal had better be the gradual work of experience, than the hasty action of a body convened almost upon the outskirts of a camp.

At the North the attitude of the Church was that of loyalty to the State, and at the same time a confidence in the continued existence and ultimate recognition of unbroken unity. At the triennial meeting of the General Convention, in 1862, in the city of New York, but twenty-four bishops were present and only twenty-two dioceses were represented. But day after day, as the roll-call echoed the names of the absent members of the federation of churches, full and solemn testimony was borne to the indivisibility of the Church. The session of the Convention of the Church in these troublous times lasted but seventeen days. The introduction of resolutions, having reference to the disturbed state of the country, occasioned lengthy debate and absorbed the greater part of the time of the session. The action finally taken was the adoption of the resolutions reported by the "Committee of Nine," as follows:—

** Resolved*, By the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of this stated Triennial Convention, that, assembling as we have been called to do, at a period of great national peril and deplorable civil convulsion, it is meet and proper that we should call to mind, distinctly and publicly, that the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States hath ever held and taught, in the language of one of its articles of religion, that "it is the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel to pay respectful obedience to the civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted;" and hath accordingly incorporated into its Liturgy "a prayer for the President of the United States and all in civil authority," and "a prayer for the Congress of the United States, to be used during their session;" and hath bound all orders of its ministry to the faithful and constant observance, in letter and in spirit, of these and all other parts of its prescribed ritual.

Resolved, That we cannot be wholly blind to the course which has been pursued, in their ecclesiastical as well as in their civil relations, since this Convention last met in perfect harmony and love, by great numbers of the ministers and members of this Church, within certain States of our Union which have arrayed themselves in open and armed resistance to the regularly constituted government of our country; and that while, in a spirit of Christian forbearance, we refrain from employing towards them any terms of condemnation or reproach, and would rather bow in humiliation before our common Father in heaven for the sins which have brought his judgment on our land, we yet feel bound to declare our solemn sense of the deep and grievous wrong which they will have inflicted on the great Christian Communion which this Convention represents, as well as on the country within which it has been so happily and harmoniously established, should they persevere in striving to rend asunder those civil and religious bonds which have so long held us together in peace, unity, and concord.

Resolved, That while, as individuals and as citizens, we acknowledge our whole duty in sustaining and defending our country in the great struggle in which it is engaged, we are only at liberty, as deputies to this council of a Church which hath ever renounced all political association and action, to pledge to the national government—as we now do—the earnest and devout prayers of us all, that its efforts may be so guided by wisdom and replenished with strength that they may be crowned with speedy and complete success, to the glory of God and the restoration of our beloved Union.

Resolved, That if, in the judgment of the bishops, any other forms of occasional prayer than those already set forth shall seem desirable and appropriate—whether for our Convention, our Church, or our country, for our rulers or our defenders, or for the sick and wounded and dying of our army and navy and volunteers,—we shall gladly receive them and fervently use them.

Resolved, That a certified copy of the foregoing report and resolutions be transmitted to the House of Bishops, in evidence of the views and feelings of this body in reference to the afflicted condition of our Church and of our country.

Both Houses, at the instance of the House of Bishops, observed "a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer," in view "of the present



TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.

afflicted condition of the country." This solemn service, at which a vast assembly gathered, was held in Trinity Church, in the City of New York. The alms offered on this occasion were devoted to the purposes of the "Sanitary Commission."

In the House of Bishops, where great diversity of opinion prevailed with reference to the proper attitude of the Church in these trying times, two drafts to a pastoral letter were presented, the one by the Bishop of Vermont, who presided in the House of Bishops, — the aged Bishop of Connecticut being unable to be present, — and the other by the Bishop of Ohio, which was adopted. The circumstances of its delivery were those of marked solemnity. The Holy Communion was celebrated, and the "pastoral" read in place of a sermon before the Eucharist. The chair of the presiding bishop was vacant during the reading of this important paper, and the protest against the political tone of the "pastoral," which had been placed on file among the papers of the House of Bishops, was spread before the world in the columns of the press. In the view of Bishop Hopkins, the language of the "pastoral" was in violation of a fundamental principle in our position as a Church. Yielding to no man in his loyalty as a citizen and in his devotion to the Union, the Bishop of Vermont deemed it inconsistent with the Church's duty to pronounce opinion on the measures of the civil government. The functions of the Church and State were, in his view, and that of many, separate and distinct; and it was his conviction that any confusion of the relations which had been so carefully avoided in the past should not be permitted in the present "stress of storm." The "pastoral" of 1862, able and admirable in many respects as it certainly is, stands alone among our Church "State papers" in respect to its declaration of opinion on matters of a civil nature, and its pledging the support of the Church to the State in its political administration and measures.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP,

For Wednesday, the 8th day of October, 1862, at 11 o'clock in the morning, in Trinity Church, New York.

MORNING Prayer as set forth, except as follows: —

Instead of the Venite shall be sung the 130th Psalm.

The Lessons shall be Isaiah 59 and Luke 6, from the 20th verse.

Psalms for the 8th day, Morning Prayer.

After the 2d Lesson *The Benedictus*.

To the suffrage in the Litany for "*unity, peace, and concord among all nations*," shall be added, — "*and especially to this nation now afflicted by grievous war*."

Immediately after the General Thanksgiving shall be said the following: —

Almighty and Most Holy Lord our God, who dost command us to humble ourselves under thy Almighty hand that thou mayest exalt us in due time, we, thy unworthy servants, desire most humbly to confess before thee, in this the time of

sore affliction in our land, how deeply as a nation we deserve thy wrath. In the great calamities which in thy righteous Providence have come upon us, we acknowledge and bow down our souls under the Mighty Hand of our Holy and Merciful God and Father. Manifold are our sins and transgressions, and the more sinful because of the abundance of our privileges and mercies under thy Providence and Grace. In pride and living unto ourselves; in covetousness and all worldliness of mind; in self-sufficiency and independence; in glorying in our own wisdom, and riches, and strength, instead of glorying only in thee; in making our boast of thy unmerited blessings, as if our own might and wisdom had gotten them, instead of acknowledging thee in all and seeking first thy Kingdom and Righteousness; in profuseness of speech and ungodliness of life; in polluting thy Sabbath and receiving in vain thy Grace in the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, we acknowledge, O Lord, that as a nation and people we have grievously sinned against thy Divine Majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. Righteousness belongeth unto thee; but unto us confusion of face. Because thy compassions have not failed, therefore we are not consumed. Make us earnestly to repent and heartily to be sorry for these our misdoings. May the remembrance of them be grievous unto us. Turn unto thee, O Lord, the hearts of all this people, in humiliation and prayer, that thou mayest have compassion upon us and deliver us. When thy judgments are thus upon us, may the inhabitants of the land learn righteousness. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most Merciful Father. For thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past, and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life, to the Honor and Glory of thy name. We beseech thee so to sanctify unto us our present distresses, and so to make haste to deliver us, that war shall be no more in all our borders, and that all opposition to the lawful government of the land shall utterly cease. May our brethren who seek the dismemberment of our National Union, under which this people by thy Providence have been so signally prospered and blessed, be convinced of their error and restored to a better mind. Grant that all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and malice, may be put away from them and us, and that brotherly love and fellowship may be established among us to all generations. Thus may the land bring forth her increase, under the blessings of peace, and thy people serve thee in all godly quietness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, to all such as are intrusted with the government and protection of this Nation, thy most gracious support and guidance. Graft in their hearts a deep sense of dependence on thy wisdom, and power, and favor, and incline them with all humility to seek the same. In all their ways may they dutifully acknowledge thee, that thou mayest direct their steps. Make thy word to be their light, their service, their glory, and thine arm their strength. Further them with thy continual help, that in all their works begun, continued, and ended, they may glorify thy holy Name. Under their heavy burdens and trials, be thou their chosen refuge and consolation. By their counsels and measures, under thy blessing, may the wounds of the nation be speedily healed. For those, our brethren, who have gone forth for our defence, by land and water, we seek thy most gracious blessing and protection. In every duty and danger be their present help. In all privations and sufferings give them patience and resignation, and a heart to seek their comfort in thee. May they be strong in the Lord and in the Power of his Might, hating iniquity, fearing God, and obeying thy word. Give them success in every enterprise that shall be pleasing to thee. Visit with thy salvation the sick, the wounded, the prisoner, and all such as shall be bereaved of dear relatives and friends, by reason of the present calamities. Prepare to meet thee all those who shall die in this conflict; give them repentance unto life and a saving faith in Jesus, that they may be received unto thyself; and at last unite us all together in the blessedness of thy everlasting Kingdom, through him who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Let thy continual pity, O Lord, cleanse and defend thy Church; and in these days of sore trial to thy people, raise up thy great power and come among us, and with great might succor us. Grant that by the operation of the Holy Ghost all Christians may be so joined together in unity of spirit and in the bond of peace that they may be a holy temple, acceptable unto thee. May all councils of dissension and division be brought to nought. Increase our faith, and love, and zeal in thy service, and for the coming of thy Kingdom. Make the whole Church a light

in the world, and the more her afflictions abound, the more may her consolations also abound by Christ, to the praise and glory of his name. *Amen.*

After Morning Prayer shall be sung the 101st selection of Psalms.

Then shall follow the Collect with the several Prayers following the same, and the Epistle and Gospel for Ash-Wednesday; after which the 80th hymn.

Before the Benediction shall be said the following:—

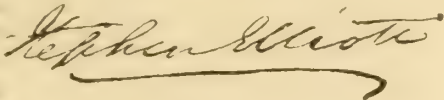
O Eternal God, who makest men to be of one mind in a house, and stillest the angry passions of the people, we humbly beseech thee of thine infinite mercy to appease the tumults among us, to bring to an end the dreadful strife which is now raging in our land, and to restore peace in our afflicted country. And we most humbly beseech thee to grant to all of us grace to walk henceforth obediently in thy Holy Commandments, so that, leading a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, we may continually offer unto thee our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; and we beseech thee, also, O Righteous Father, to whom it justly belongeth to punish sinners, and to be merciful to those who truly repent, give us grace humbly to acknowledge that our grievous sins have brought these thy sore judgments upon us. Be not angry with us forever; but help us so truly to repent us of our sins, that we may be saved from the fruits of our wickedness, that thy displeasure may be removed from us, and that we may again with thankful hearts glorify thee, the only giver of peace and safety, through the merits of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REUNION OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

THE close of the civil war brought to the minds of churchmen, both at the North and South, the longing desire for reunion — the revival of the old fraternal sympathy and love. By the death of the venerable Bishop of Connecticut, Bishop Hopkins had become the presiding bishop of the Church in America, and the position he had taken with reference to the pastoral of 1862, and his efforts for the preservation of ecclesiastical union and fraternal regard, even after the Church at the South had felt compelled to organize and assume a position of independence, indicated him as the one to take the initiative in bringing back the old *régime*.

One circumstance favorable to the speedy removal of hindrances to reunion was the life-long friendship existing between the Bishop of Vermont and the presiding bishop of "the Church in the Confederate States," the Rt. Rev. Dr. Elliott. In the struggle of the South for political independence the Bishop of Georgia was an uncompromising supporter of the party and policy of secession. In all the measures taken for the organization of the Church at the South as independent and autonymous, he was foremost among his brethren, — a



leader in Israel. There is little doubt but that the failure of the cause he had so warmly espoused hastened, if it did not directly occasion, the sudden death which soon bereaved a diocese and the Church at large of one of its purest and noblest bishops. But when the issue was determined he bowed in submission to the will of Heaven: "We appealed to the God of battles, and He has given His decision against us. We accept the result as the work, not of man, but of God." These were his words, and in this spirit he set about the task of conciliation, with a clear perception of the difficulties in the way, — difficulties chiefly arising from the natural tendency of the defeated and humiliated Southerners to cling at least to their ecclesiastical confederacy, and to repel all propositions to reunite with their conquerors even on the broad platform of a common Church. The interchange of letters between the Bishops of Vermont and Georgia served to remove difficulties and prepare the way for an equitable and satisfactory comprehension of the divided Church in its old unity. Difficulties there were, and it was only after a calm consideration, and by the exercise of a generous and wise forbearance, that the steps were taken leading to a happy return to one mind and one heart.

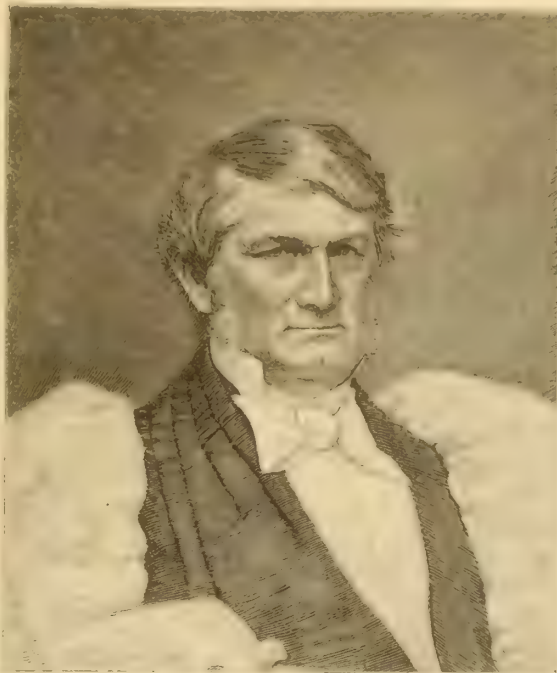
In the providence of God one obstacle to the restoration of the

unity of the Church no longer existed. The Bishop of Louisiana had deemed it his duty to lay aside his episcopal functions and enter the service of the Confederate army as a combatant. Near the close of the struggle, at the battle of Pine Mountain, in Georgia, he was killed on the field. We may gladly accept the testimony that death came to him when engaged in prayer, and record should be made of the well-established fact that, saving the bearing of arms, which was certainly repugnant to the word of God and the ancient canons, the military life of this gifted man was in every way consistent with his Christian profession. At the same time it is evident that the course of the bishop in laying aside his clerical character had greatly embittered the churchmen of the North, while it had failed to commend itself to the calmer judgment of many of the members of the Church at the South; and the knowledge that this hindrance to a return to the former unity was removed served to allay hard feelings and to make both sections of the Church the more ready for consolidation.

Another matter stood in the way of reunion. The consecration of the Bishop of Alabama had been accomplished without precedent reference to the consent of the standing committees and bishops other than those of the seceding States. In the view of those who maintained that the unity of the Church had not been broken by the war, this act was in at least apparent violation of the canons, and under the circumstances of the case hardly excusable, on the plea which, indeed, was not urged by the Southern bishops or the diocese of Alabama, that the existence of hostilities prevented the application for the canonical assents. But in the wish for the restoration of the former unity this obstacle was readily removed. The two Houses of Convention formally recognized the episcopate, which had been conferred during the period of separation, on the presentation of the evidence of the consecration, and added only the further requirement of "the promise of conformity comprised in the Office for the Consecration of Bishops." There was added to this act of recognition the expression on the part of the bishops of their "fraternal regrets" at the issue of a "late pastoral" by Bishop Wilmer. In this "pastoral" the bishop had defended his action in deciding that the "Prayer for the President" was inapplicable to the existing condition of civil affairs, the confederacy having been overthrown, and it being "a grave question whether the State of Alabama was thereafter to be regarded as one of the States, or to be held as a military province under military rule." At the same time the bishop counselled the "clergy and laity to heed the teaching of the Church in regard to the scriptural obedience due to the powers that be, . . . and faithfully to discharge their duties to the State, . . . and, if it should be required of all citizens, to take the oath of allegiance." In taking the oath of allegiance, the bishop himself set the example; but the major-general in command interdicted the bishop, and all who obeyed him in not using the "Prayer for the President," from preaching or performing divine service. It was in view of this high-handed exercise of the military power that the bishop issued the "pastoral" which called for the "fraternal regrets" of the bishops of the North. The issue, as it appeared to Bishop Wilmer, and as he stated

the case in this "pastoral," was "not one of loyalty." "The use of the prayer, under the present condition of things, involves the point of congruity and fitness, and is, therefore, a question for ecclesiastical discretion." "Let it not be said that the Church in Alabama looked to any other than an ecclesiastical authority for guidance in worship, or that she was ever frightened from her propriety by the dictation or menace of any secular power, civil or military. . . . The real

issue before us is this: Shall the secular or the ecclesiastical power regulate the worship of the Church?" So long as the military orders were in force the bishop remained firm, and the churches in Alabama were closed. At the revocation of the military orders the bishop immediately authorized the use of the interdicted prayer, and on the formal withdrawal of the diocese, in January, 1866, from union with the general council of the Confederate Church, and the renewal of the old relations with the General Convention, the bishop made



RT. REV. LEONIDAS POLK, D.D., BISHOP OF LOUISIANA.

the required declaration of conformity, and the breach was healed.¹

The formalities attending the return of the Southern bishops and dioceses were made as simple as possible. The presiding bishop had written to every Southern bishop the assurance of a welcome to the approaching General Convention of 1865. In this circular letter he said:—

I consider it a duty especially incumbent on me, as the Senior Bishop, to testify my affectionate attachment to those amongst my colleagues from whom I have been separated during those years of suffering and calamity; and to assure you

¹ "Toward the close of the session, when it was desired to do what the interest of the Church demanded—to present, with the authority of the whole body, a remonstrance to Government against military interference in ecclesiastical matters—because the wrong which gave occasion for the remonstrance had been done to a Southern bishop and diocese, one who could not

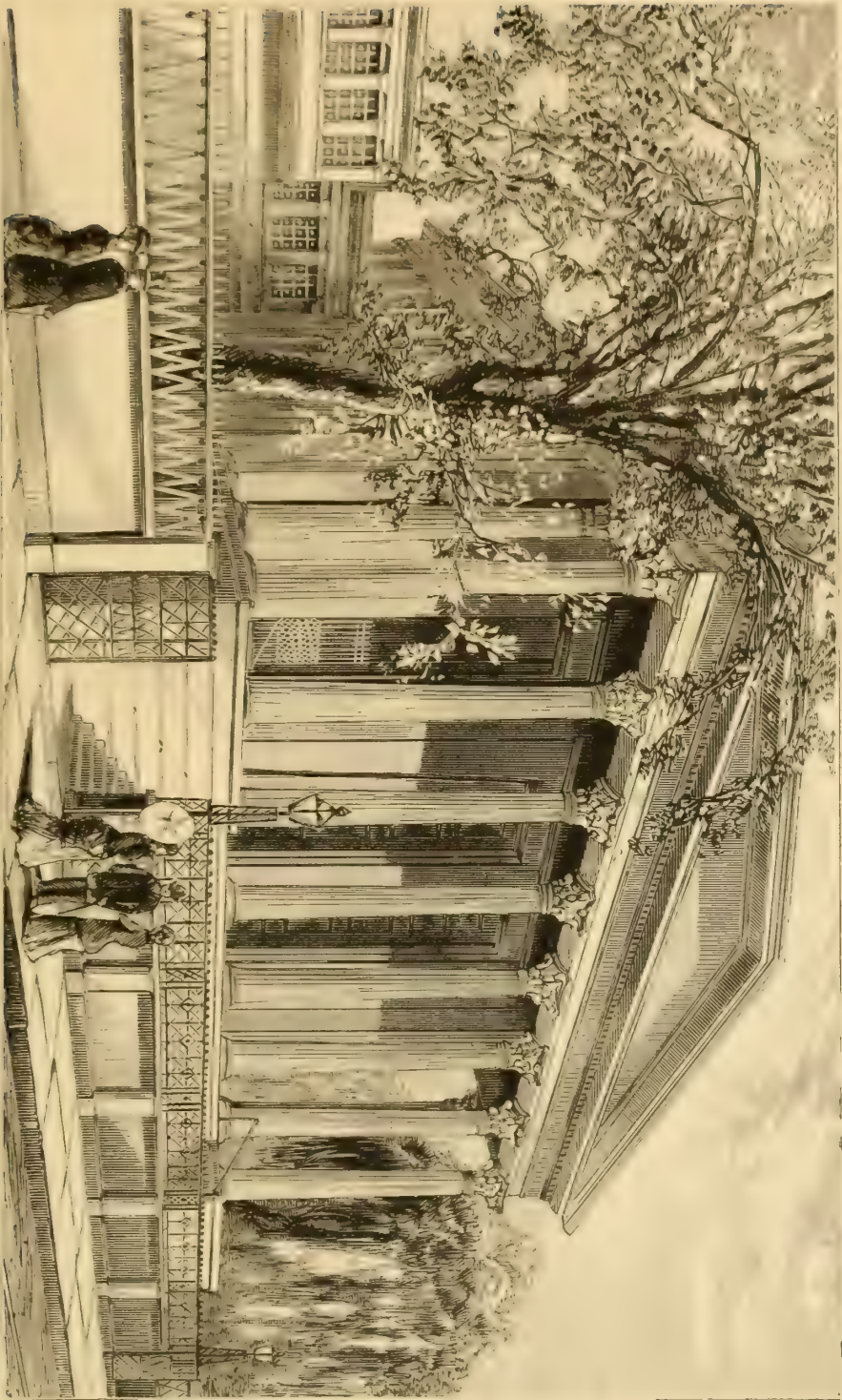
forgive rebellion exclaimed: 'Who sympathizes with Wilmer?' 'I do,' cried out the Bishop of Maryland. 'I claim to be as loyal as my brother of —, but I fully sympathize with Richard Hooker Wilmer.'—*Life of William Rollinson Whittingham, fourth Bishop of Maryland*. By William Francis Brand. II., p. 68.

personally of the cordial welcome which awaits you at our approaching General Convention. In this assurance, however, I pray you to believe that I do not stand alone. I have corresponded on the subject with the Bishops, and think myself authorized to state that they sympathize with me generally in the desire to see the fullest representation of the Churches from the South, and to greet their brethren in the Episcopate with the kindest feeling.

On the day of the opening of the General Convention, among the crowds making their way to St. Luke's was the Bishop of North Carolina. Greeted warmly by scores of friends, the bishop declined, though urged, to enter with his brethren, but as the service proceeded, and his presence in the congregation was recognized, one or two of the junior bishops left the chancel and soon returned with the bishop, whose unwillingness to act without his brethren, or to appear to separate himself from them, had been overcome. Welcomed by his brethren with outstretched arms and loving greetings, the service and sacrament proceeded with the happy consciousness that the first step towards a full restoration of the Church's unity had been taken. In the Lower House the secretary with ready tact forestalled all questions as to the right of the Southern deputies to seats by beginning the roll-call, at the organization, with Alabama, as of old. There was no response, but the meaning of this act was plain, and Texas, North Carolina, and Tennessee responded to their names ere the session closed. The Bishop of the South-west, Dr. Lay, had joined his brother of North Carolina, and in response to the inquiry, through the Bishop of New York, on what terms they would be permitted to occupy their former seats, Bishop Whittingham offered a resolution to the effect that "the Bishop of New York be requested to ask his brethren, in behalf of whom he had consulted the House, to trust the honor and love of their assembled brethren." The honor and love of the brethren were trusted, and the Church was reunited.

A special service was held in St. Luke's Church, as a public expression of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the restoration of peace to the country and unity to the Church; offering a glad contrast in its joyous solemnity to the spectacle of "the Church upon her knees," seen but three years before.

The consecration of the Rev. Dr. Charles Todd Quintard to the episcopate of Tennessee, made vacant by the death of the apostolic Otey at the height of the civil strife, was the crowning act of this happy reunion; and the service in St. Luke's Church, at which the presiding bishop, Dr. Hopkins, was the consecrator, and in which the Metropolitan of Canada, Dr. Fulford, participated, with Bishop Burgess, of Maine; Bedell, of Ohio; Odenheimer, of New Jersey; Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the preacher; and Cleveland Coxe, of Western New York, in the imposition of hands, was one of the grandest ceremonials which had occurred in our communion. To this gracious act, the wise and loving conservatism with which the many points still at issue were adjusted, and the fraternal regard and consideration extended on every hand to the bishops and deputies from the late revolted States, were added, and, in consequence, the Southern



ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

Confederacy was voluntarily dissolved within a few weeks, and, so far as the Church was concerned, all traces of the strife between brethren were removed.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

THE service of Thanksgiving for the return of peace and unity was as follows:—

Opening Sentences.—The Lord's throne is heaven: his kingdom ruleth over all.

The Lord sitteth above the water-flood, and the Lord remaineth a king forever.

The Lord shall give strength to his people: the Lord shall give his people the blessing of peace.

Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.

The special lessons were Isaiah xi. to verse 10; St. Matthew v. to verse 17.

Special thanksgiving.

O Lord, most glorious, the shield of all that trust in thee; who alone dost send peace to thy people, and causest wars to cease in all the world; for thy unspeakable goodness towards us, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to receive the free-will offering of our hearts and the praises of our lips.

Strong is thy hand, and thy wisdom is infinite, and thy name is love. Therefore do we laud and worship thee, and praise thy holy name, rejoicing continually in thy strength and thy salvation; for thou art the glory of our power, and by thy loving-kindness we are preserved. Notwithstanding the multitude of our sins, thou hast not forgotten to be gracious, but heapest blessing upon blessing. To thee, therefore, O God, our Saviour and defender, who inhabitest the praises of Israel, we offer our sacrifice of thankfulness, and adore thy loving-kindness.

Thou hast regarded us with pity in thy beloved Son; and by his intercession, passing by our grievous transgressions, thou hast healed our divisions, and restored peace to our land and the fellowship of thy Church; so that, by thy defence, our united land may now enjoy rest and quietness and assurance forever. For these and all thy other mercies, we praise thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great goodness, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

We beseech thee to continue thy wonderful goodness to this thy restored people, that our light may never be removed, nor thy mighty acts be forgotten; but confirm, O Lord, thy work to all generations. May we be taught by thy past corrections to fear thy justice, and may we be moved by thy long-suffering to love thy goodness and obey thy laws. Give us true repentance for our sins, that, with our bodies and our souls unfeignedly turning unto thee in newness of life, we may enjoy the continuance and increase of thy grace and goodness. Let no root of bitterness spring up to trouble us, nor any pride and prejudice hinder our godly concord and unity. Fill our hearts with loving-kindness for the destitute and ignorant, and for all who need our sympathy and care. Make us faithful stewards of every trust committed to us in the gifts of thy providence.

Be with our rulers to guide their counsels, and to strengthen their lawful authority; and sanctify the nation in the solemn privileges of freedom, self-government, and power. May our land be the sanctuary of civil liberty and religious truth, an example to the ends of the earth of the righteousness which exalteth a nation.

Hear, Lord, and save us, O King of Heaven, when we call upon thee: so shall we, and all thy Church and people, dwell under the shadow of thy wings, protected by thy power, preserved by thy providence, and ordered by thy governance, to thy everlasting praise, and our unspeakable comfort in Jesus Christ our Saviour; to whom, with thee, O Father, and thee, O Holy Ghost, be glory and praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

The twenty-third selection.

The special collect, in the Ante-Communion Office, as follows:—

Most mighty God and merciful Father, who hast promised to maintain and defend thy Church, so dearly purchased and redeemed with the precious blood of thy Son Jesus Christ: increase in his mystical body the spirit of unity and love, and draw together its members everywhere in one communion and fellowship in the faith once delivered to the saints, that as there is but one body, and one spirit, and one hope of our calling, so we may henceforth be of one heart and one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The 104th hymn.

The offertory was for the Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission, the first collection for that object.

The special prayer before the benediction, as follows:—

O Almighty Father, the God of peace and love, we beseech thee to enable us to put away from us all strife, envy, and malice, as becometh thy people; and that our late trials, under the guidance of thy providence and Holy Spirit, may be overruled for the furtherance of the Gospel in this land and throughout the earth. All which we ask for Jesus Christ's sake, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE RITUALISTIC CONTROVERSY.

THERE had been in isolated parishes and missions, notably in the city of New York, the revival of disused ceremonies and the introduction of usages unknown to the ordinary conduct of the services in the American Church, when a little book from the pen of the presiding bishop, in September, 1866, called attention not only to "the Law of Ritualism," but to the subject of Ritualism, in its widest sense. It had been issued but a short time when, on the 3d of October, the bishops met to consider the refusal of Dr. Howe to accept the Missionary Episcopate of Nevada, and, as it proved, for the election of a Missionary Bishop of Utah. The appearance of Bishop Hopkins's book, on a theme which had already become a "burning question," occasioned much discussion, and, early in the following year, a "declaration" on the ritualistic innovations was published bearing the names of twenty-four bishops.¹ The "declaration" was as follows:—

Whereas, At a meeting of the House of Bishops held in the City of New York in the month of October the subject of Ritualism was brought to the notice of the House, and considered with a great degree of unanimity; and

Whereas, On account of the absence of a number of the Right Reverend members of the House and the fact that the House was not sitting as a coördinate branch of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, it was regarded as inexpedient to proceed to any formal action; and

Whereas, It was nevertheless regarded as highly desirable that an expression of opinion on the part of the Episcopate of this Church should be given with respect to ritualistic innovations; therefore, the undersigned Bishops, reserving each for himself his rights as ordinary of his own Diocese, and also his rights as a member of the House of Bishops sitting in General Convention, do unite in the following Declaration:—

We hold to the language of the XXXIVth Article of Religion that every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change or abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority so that all things be done to edifying; and also in the language of the same article that it is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one or utterly alike for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word, and also that this Church was duly organized as a particular and national Church in Communion with the Universal or Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ, and that this organization which took place immediately after the American Revolution was settled under the careful direction and advice and with the cordial coöperation of godly, well learned and justly venerated divines, who were well acquainted with the history of the Church of England before and since her blessed Reformation, and who thoroughly understood what was and is still required by the peculiarities of this Country and its people. We hold therefore that the ceremonies, rites and worship then established, ordained, and approved by common authority as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer of this Church, are the Law of this Church, which every Bishop, presbyter and deacon of the same has bound himself by subscription

¹ The bishops who did *not* sign this paper were those of Vermont, Maine, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, and Oregon.

to the promise of conformity in Article VII. of the Constitution, to obey, observe and follow, and that no strange or foreign usages should be introduced or sanctioned by the private judgment of any member or members of this Church, Clerical or Lay.

We further hold that, while this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship, or further than local circumstances require, it yet has its peculiar place, character and duty as a "particular and national Church," and that no Prayer Book of the Church of England, in the reign of whatever Sovereign set forth, and no law of the Church of England have any force of law in this Church, such as can be justly cited in defence of any departure from the express Law of this Church, its Liturgy, its discipline, rites and usages.

And we, therefore, consider that in this particular National Church, any attempt to introduce into the public worship of Almighty God usages that have never been known, such as the use of incense, and the burning of lights in the Order for the Holy Communion, reverences to the Holy Table, or to the Elements themselves thereon, such as indicate or imply that the Sacrifice of our Divine Lord and Saviour "once offered" was not a "full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," the adoption of clerical habits hitherto unknown, or material alterations of those which

have been in use since the establishment of our Episcopate, is an innovation which violates the discipline of the Church, "offendeth against its common order and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren."

Furthermore, that we be not misunderstood, let it be noted that we include in these censures all departures from the Laws, rubrics, and settled Order of this Church, as well by defect, as by excess of observance, designing to maintain in its integrity the sound Scriptural and Primitive, and therefore the Catholic and Apostolic, spirit of the Book of Common Prayer.

The main points in this paper are the claim of the rights of "this national Church" to prescribe its own ritual and the condemnation of unauthorized vestments and ceremonies, and especially such usages "as indicate or imply that the sacrifice of our divine Lord and



John H. Hopkins
Presiding Bishop

Saviour, once offered, was not a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." The signers of this manifesto were careful to reserve "each for himself his rights as ordinary of his own diocese, and also his rights as a member of the House of Bishops sitting in General Convention;" and it was also stipulated that the diocesan should act his own pleasure as to the "publication or reception, in his own diocese," of this document, which, from the manner of its preparation and signature, could not be regarded in any sense as official, or of more than individual authority. The "declaration" was the subject of a general discussion; and at the meeting of the General Convention, in the year following its appearance, the subject of ritualism claimed and received the attention of both houses. In the House of Bishops an ineffectual attempt was made to have the declaration adopted as the action of the House, but although a majority of those present had affixed their names to this paper, the proposition was laid upon the table. In the House of Deputies, "memorials" asking for the enforcement of uniformity in worship, and for the repression of ritualistic innovations, were received and referred. The committee on canons, to whom these memorials were committed, presented a majority and a minority report. We give them in their order:—

The Committee on Canons to whom were referred sundry memorials touching greater uniformity in the conduct of public worship, and in the administration of the Rites and Sacraments of the Church, would respectfully report the following preamble and resolutions, which they recommend for adoption:—

Whereas, This Church seeks to keep the happy mean between too much stiffness in refusing and too much easiness in admitting variations in things once advisedly established; and holds that with regard to things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein as to those who are in places of authority shall from time to time seem either necessary or expedient; her aim being to do that which, according to her best understanding, may most tend to the preservation of peace and unity in the Church, the procuring of reverence, and the exciting of piety and devotion in the worship of God; and finally, the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil against the Church and its Liturgy; and

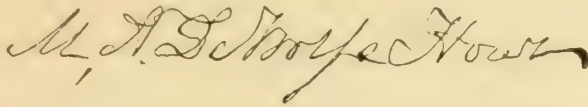
Whereas, It has been represented to this House by divers memorials numerously signed by presbyters and laymen of this Church, that the introduction, by certain of her ministers, of vestments, ceremonies, practices, and ornaments of churches, not heretofore generally known in the public worship of this Church, is marring her good order and harmony, wounding the consciences of many of her true and loyal children, scandalizing and repelling many without her fold, deferring hopes of Christian unity, and imperiling portions of the faith; and

Whereas, It has also been represented by memorials, likewise signed, that the neglect and disuse, by certain of the ministers, of vestments, usages, and, in some instances, rubrics, well established and generally observed in this Church, are marring her order and beauty, disturbing her uniformity, and encouraging individual lawlessness and self-will; therefore, be it

Resolved, The House of Bishops concurring, that with devout acknowledgment of that gracious presence and assistance of her Divine Master which has been so signally vouchsafed to this Church at many a crisis more perilous than the present, enabling her in the midst of aggressions from without and innumerable shortcomings and extravagancies from within, to maintain the integrity of her doctrine and the beauty, decency, and dignity of her worship, this Convention attributes this happy result in a great measure, under God, to that spirit of moderation which has hitherto guided the counsels of this Church, and which has rendered her averse to

all restrictions of the liberty of her children in things indifferent or unessential, so long as unity can be maintained and spiritual edification promoted in any other way. It is the sense of this Convention, therefore, that the enactment of any canon on the subject of ritual would be unwise and inexpedient at the present time. But it is none the less the sense of this Convention that the continued maintenance of the decency and order as well of the peace and harmony which, by God's blessing, have always characterized this Church; the avoidance of the dangers of irreverence and lawlessness on the one hand, and of extravagance and superstition on the other; the preservation of doctrine from peril of intentional or unintentional change, and a due regard to the scriptural canon of walking wisely toward them which are without, require from all ministers of this Church, celebrating divine service in churches or other established places of public worship, a conscientious and, so far as may be, steadfast adherence to such vestments, ceremonies, practices, and ornaments, as by reason of long-continued use or by authority, are recognized as properly belonging to this Church, avoiding errors either by excess or by defect. And, further, that in all matters doubtful, for the avoidance of unseemly disputes and contradictory practices, which tend neither to good name nor to godliness, reference should be made to the Ordinary, and no changes should be made against the godly counsel and judgment of the Bishop.

A portion of the committee, the Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) M. A. De Wolfe Howe and Mr. John N. Conyngnam, LL.D., presented a minority report with the following resolutions:—



Whereas, It has heretofore been one of the peculiar characteristics and attractions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, that its worship and the mode of conducting it have been in all places substantially alike; so that every child of the Church in any one of her sanctuaries, found a familiar spiritual home; and

Whereas, It has been especially distinctive of this Church, that while it has avoided the baldness of most of the modes of Protestant worship, it has still more decidedly put away the many-colored vestments, excessive ceremonial, and false symbolism of a foreign church with which it is not in communion; therefore

1. *Resolved*, As the sense of this Convention—the House of Bishops concurring—that the maintenance of our wonted uniformity and simplicity in worship is exceedingly desirable, to secure this Church from the insidious introduction of unsound doctrine, from the disturbance of the peace and comfort of its worshippers, and from exposure to evil report among them who are without.

2. *Resolved*, That while there is no absolute directory in the Canons or Rubrics of the Church, specifying all official vestments and practices, and all ecclesiastical ornaments which may be fitly used therein, yet there is the indication of great simplicity; and the traditional usages of the Church in this behalf, from the date of its organization here to the present period, is in conformity therewith, and has, in the hearts and minds of the great body of its loyal members, the force of law.

3. *Resolved*, That this Convention affectionately urges upon all who have to do with the ordering of the appointments of public worship, that they abide by the traditions and ceremonies of this American Church; that none other than the “clerical habits” known to our fathers, and referred to by the House of Bishops at the General Convention of 1814, as appropriate to ministers officiating in the congregation, “bands, gowns, and surplices,” with their customary appendages, cassocks, and black stoles, be provided, and that no strange ornaments of the sacred places, conducive to vain show or superstition, be introduced.

4. *Resolved*, That, in the judgment of this Convention—the House of Bishops concurring—the burning of lights in the Order for the Holy Communion, the burning of incense, reverences to the holy table, or to the elements thereon, the elevation of the elements, making the sign of the cross (except when prescribed in the Rubric) in and during divine service or the celebration of the Lord's Supper, are innovations on our mode of conducting public worship, offend against the com-

mon order of the Church, and wound the consciences of many of its true and loving members.

5. *Resolved*, That this Convention earnestly expresses its disapproval of the omission of any of those proprieties of apparel and demeanor, when ministering in the congregation, which either rule or general usage has made distinctive of our worship, and commends all who, being in holy orders, would deviate on the right hand or on the left, from the common order of the Church's worship, to seek first the counsel of their Bishops, and submit themselves to their godly judgments.

The consideration of the whole subject being made the order of the day, it was moved to amend the resolution reported by the committee by striking out all after the word "resolved" and inserting instead that portion of the resolutions accompanying the minority report, numbered, respectively, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) Littlejohn moved as an amendment to the proposed amendment the following:—

Resolved, That the House of Bishops be requested to set forth for consideration and adoption by the next General Convention such additional Rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer, as, in their judgment, may be deemed necessary.

Resolved, That meanwhile, in all matters doubtful, reference should be made to the Ordinary, and no changes should be made against the godly counsel and judgment of the Bishop.

Resolved, That copies of the reports of the majority and minority of the Committee on Canons be transmitted to the House of Bishops.

A substitute was offered for the several amendments before the House, being the resolutions adopted by the Convention of 1844, with reference to the "Oxford movement," as follows:—

Resolved, That the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies consider the Liturgy, Offices, and Articles of the Church sufficient exponents of her sense of the essential doctrines of Holy Scripture; and that the Canons of the Church afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standard.

Resolved, further, That the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of, and that the Church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this Church or otherwise.

This being defeated by a vote of 21 nays to 11 ayes and 2 divided of the clergy, and 20 nays to 7 ayes and 3 divided of the laity, the amendment offered by the Rev. Dr. Littlejohn was adopted by a vote of 21 ayes to 10 nays and 4 divided of the clergy, and 18 ayes to 8 nays and 4 divided of the laity.

This result having been communicated to the House of Bishops, on motion of the Bishop of Maryland it was

Resolved, unanimously, That the House of Bishops affectionately informs the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies that in the full trust that the spirit of the second of the three resolutions communicated by that House in its Message No. 78, will be carried out in the action of the clergy and laity of the several dioceses and missionary jurisdictions of this Church, this House deems it unadvisable to enter upon any alteration of the rubrics of our Book of Common Prayer by the insertion of additional matter; but that it will appoint a Committee whose duty it shall be to consider whether any additional provision for uniformity, by canon or otherwise, is practicable and expedient, and to report to the next General Convention.

The presiding bishop appointed as the committee to consider whether any additional provision for uniformity in matters of ritual,

by canon or otherwise, is practicable and expedient, and to report to the next General Convention, the Bishop of Delaware, Dr. Alfred Lee; the Bishop of Connecticut, Dr. Williams; the Bishop of New Jersey, Dr. Odenheimer; the Bishop of Rhode Island, Dr. Clark; the Bishop of Pittsburgh, Dr. Kerfoot.

The excitement with reference to ritualism had grown deeper and stronger during the three years intervening between the appointment of this committee and the presentation of their report to the Convention meeting in Baltimore, 1871. At this deeply interesting session, made memorable by the presence of the apostolic Selwyn, Bishop, first of New Zealand, and then of Litchfield, England, there was but one thought, one theme.

The report of the committee, as read in the Lower House was telegraphed through-

G. A. Litchfield

out the length and breadth of the land, and ere the secretary had completed his reading, the whole paper was in the hands of the citizens of the Pacific coast in the columns of the daily press. This report was as follows:—

The Committee of Five Bishops appointed by the House of Bishops, at the General Convention of 1868, "To consider whether any additional provision for uniformity, by canon or otherwise, is practicable and expedient, and to report to the next General Convention," having held sundry meetings at several different places, at each of which all the members of the Committee were present through the entire session; and having, as they believed, given to the subject-matter intrusted to them that careful consideration which its importance merits, respectfully ask leave to report:—

The resolution under which the Committee was appointed raises several questions for examination and answer. Is any legislation touching the performance of Divine Service and "the administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church" practicable? If practicable, is it, at this time expedient? If practicable and expedient, shall it take the shape of a canon or canons; or shall it be otherwise provided for? And, finally, what shall the actual details of legislation be? Assuredly, these are questions that touch the Church, and its ministers and members, in many and very vital points, and involve many delicate as well as precious relations.

In considering these questions, the Committee have endeavored never to forget that substantial uniformity is entirely compatible with very considerable individual liberty; that non-essentials should never be unduly magnified, and, far less, raised to an equality with essentials; that many troublesome and objectionable things are ephemeral in their nature, and "perish in the using;" and that, under any circumstances, hasty legislation is ever to be avoided. Nor have they omitted to keep in mind the wise words of the Thirty-fourth Article of Religion:—

"It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly alike; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. . . .

"Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

While, however, the Committee have kept these considerations in view, it has been and is their unanimous conviction that some action of the General Convention, in regard to the important matters named in the resolution appointing them, is very desirable, if not, indeed, absolutely demanded. Among many reasons for this conviction that present themselves, they venture to ask attention to the three following:—

First. It is obvious to remark that there are among us great and growing "diversities of use" in the performance of Divine Service and the offices of the Church. Unless something is done, and done soon, in the interests of uniformity, these diversities bid fair to equal, if they do not exceed, those which, at the period of the Anglican Reformation, were regarded as an evil to be removed; and which led to the decision that "the whole realm" should have "but one use." They occasion, moreover, even now, confusion, trouble, and perplexity among our people; and these evils must increase as their causes are multiplied.

Secondly. It is believed that various services over and above those provided in the Book of Common Prayer, or set forth in accordance with the provisions of Title I., Canon 13, § XIV. of the Digest, and not coming under the denomination of Sunday or other school services, are publicly used in certain churches. How far liberty in this regard is to be allowed, or in what respects it is to be restrained, the Committee do not undertake to say. It is obvious, however, that any such services are sources of disorder and confusion, in proportion as they are framed on principles and embody acts, words, or forms—come these from what outside quarter they may—that are not in accord with the "doctrine, discipline, and worship" of our own Church, or are foreign to the genius and spirit of our services.

Thirdly. The Committee have reason to believe that, in some instances, the services of the Prayer Book are unlawfully altered or mutilated, and, in others, are so performed as to make it difficult, to say the least, to distinguish them, except in the language employed, from those of the Church of Rome. Against such wrongs our people have a right to demand protection; and, whether they demand it or not, it would seem to be a plain and bounden duty to provide for it.

For these reasons, besides others which it is not necessary to rehearse, the Committee unanimously recommend action by the present General Convention; and after maturely weighing the different modes in which this recommendation may be carried out, they further unanimously recommend that any action which the Convention may take shall be in the form of a canon or canons.

In proceeding to state the various details which they believe ought to be made the subjects of such action as has been proposed, the Committee desire to say that, while on the great majority of the points presented there has been entire unanimity of opinion, some things are, nevertheless, proposed, and others are omitted, which, had each member's individual wish regulated the final result, would have been differently disposed of. They have strongly felt that uniformity necessarily involves the giving up of some things, and the acceptance of other things which individuals may desire, on the one hand, to retain, or, on the other, to remove.

The Committee report the following as the matters upon which they respectfully recommend legislation:—

I.

They recommend that certain acts in the administration of the Holy Communion, and on other occasions of public worship, hereafter be prohibited by canon, to wit:—

- (1.) The use of incense.
- (2.) Placing or retaining a crucifix in any part of the church.
- (3.) Carrying a cross in procession in the church.
- (4.) The use of lights on or about the holy table, except when necessary.
- (5.) The elevation of the elements in the Holy Communion in such manner as to expose them to the view of the people as objects toward which adoration is to be made, in or after the prayer of consecration, or in the act of administering them, or in conveying them to or from the communicants.
- (6.) The mixing of water with the wine as part of the service, or in presence of the congregation.
- (7.) The washing of the priest's hands, or the ablution of the vessels, in the presence of the congregation.
- (8.) Bowings, crossings, genuflections, prostrations, reverences, bowing down upon or kissing the holy table, and kneeling, except as allowed, provided for, or directed, by rubric or canon; it being provided that reverence at the mention of the name of the Lord Jesus is not intended to be disallowed; and it being further provided that private personal devotion, before or after official ministrations, is not to be understood to include or justify any of the acts prohibited.
- (9.) The celebration or receiving of the Holy Communion by any Bishop or priest when no person receives with him.

(10.) Employing or permitting any person or persons not in Holy Orders to assist the minister in any part of the order for the administration of the Holy Communion.

(11.) Using, at any administration of the Holy Communion, any prayers, collects, gospels, or epistles, other than those provided in the Book of Common Prayer, or under § XIV. of Canon 13 of Title I. of the Digest.

They further recommend here:—

(1.) That no Rector of a Parish or other minister shall be allowed to introduce the Choral Service without the consenting vote of the Vestry, or contrary to the prohibition of the Bishop.

(2.) That no surpliced choir shall be employed except under the same limitations; and when such choirs are employed, the only addition to their ordinary attire shall be a surplice reaching to the ankles.

(3.) That no chancel shall be allowed to be so arranged as to prevent the minister from officiating at the right end of the holy table. It is to be noted that a credence-table is lawful.

II.

The Committee further recommend that canonical provision be made touching the dress appropriate to clergymen ministering in the congregation; and that the only vestments declared to be appropriate to clergymen so ministering be:—

(1.) For bishops, the present episcopal robes.

(2.) For all ministers, a white surplice; a black or white stole; a black cassock not reaching below the ankles; a black gown; and bands.

They also recommend that provision be made:—

(1.) That on occasions of services, where expediency or necessity of health may require it, the university cap may be used.

(2.) That candidates for orders, who are licensed to act as lay readers, may use the academical black gown.

III.

In addition to the canonical provisions now recommended, and in consideration of the fact that "nothing can be so plainly set forth but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same," the Committee further unanimously recommend that some action be taken to carry out, in such manner as may secure its observance, the principle declared in the second resolution sent to this House by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, at the General Convention of 1868, to wit: That, "in all matters doubtful, reference shall be made to the Ordinary, and no changes shall be made against the godly counsel and judgment of the Bishop."

In conclusion, the Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That this report be communicated to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

Resolved, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring, That a Joint Committee, consisting of three Bishops, three Presbyters, and three Laymen, be appointed, to whom the subject-matter of this Report shall be referred, with directions to report to this Convention, at as early a day as practicable, such canons as they may deem necessary in the premises.

All which is respectfully submitted.

Alfred Lee

W. H. Odellheimer

J. W. Waring

S. B. Kerfoot

Resolved, That in the gravity of the subject and its bearings, this House is unprepared for immediate action on the Report submitted by its Committee on Ritual Uniformity, without previous consideration of the same in joint Committee of the two Houses of Convention.

Resolved, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring, That a joint Committee be appointed for the consideration of the above-named Report of the Committee of the House of Bishops concerning Ritual, and to report if any, and, if any, what, action may properly be taken in the premises.

The subject-matter of the above, together with a resolution to appoint the proposed committee by ballot, having been made the order of the day, the Rev. Cleland K. Nelson, D.D., of the diocese of Maryland, offered the following preamble and resolution : —

Whereas, In General Convention of 1868 the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies did request of the House of Bishops the setting forth of such additional rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer as in their judgment may be deemed necessary ; and whereas, the House of Bishops have not complied with the above-mentioned request, therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies do hereby, in reply to Message No. 5, from the House of Bishops, most respectfully and affectionately renew the request that our Right Reverend Fathers assembled as the House of Bishops prepare and propose for the consideration of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, some well-digested scheme of such additional rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer, or such further canonical legislation as, in their judgment, they may deem necessary.

The Rev. William H. Clarke, of the diocese of Georgia, moved to amend the above by striking out all after the word “Resolved,” and inserting instead thereof the words : —

I. That the House of Deputies do not concur in the resolution communicated in Message No. 5, from the House of Bishops.

II. *Resolved*, That this House request the House of Bishops to take definite action upon the report of their Committee on Ritual, and communicate the result to this House for their consideration.

The Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., of the diocese of Connecticut, offered the following resolution as a substitute for the whole matter before the House, which was finally adopted : —

E. E. Beardsley

Resolved, That this House concurs in the resolution contained in Message No. 5, from the House of Bishops, asking the appointment of a joint committee to consider the Report on Ritual Uniformity sent to this House with said Message.

The resolution itself, as amended, was then adopted. After no little discussion respecting the choice of the members, on the part of the lower House, of the committee contemplated in the above resolutions, the joint committee appointed to consider and report upon the report on Ritual Uniformity made to the House of Bishops by a committee of the said House of Bishops, reported the accompanying canon and resolution for action thereon by the two Houses of Convention : —

CANON OF RITUAL.

§ 1. This Church, holding fast its liberty in Christ its Head, recognizes no other law of Ritual than such as it shall have itself accepted or provided; meaning thereby in no wise to prejudice or arraign the differing rites, usages, customs, or laws of other branches of the Church of Christ.

§ 2. The provisions for Ritual in this Church are: —

1. The Book of Common Prayer, with the Offices and Ordinal thereto appended, as adapted to the use of this Church by additions, omissions, or other alterations from time to time constitutionally made.
2. The Canons of the Church of England in use in the American Provinces before the year 1789, and not subsequently superseded, altered, or repealed, by legislation, General or Diocesan, of this Church.
3. The Canonical or other regular legislative or judicial action or decisions of this Church, in its Conventions, General or Diocesan, or by its duly constituted authorities.

§ 3. For the greater uniformity and simplicity of the public worship of this Church — for the more effectual enforcement of due habits of solemn reverence in its congregations, and out of considerate regard to the conditions under which the extension of the Church is now and hereafter to take place — it is hereby declared and provided, that in all questions arising concerning Ritual Observance, the Administration of the Law of Ritual of this Church, whether for enforcement or for restriction, appertains to the office and duty of the Ordinary, whose official written determination, whether of his own motion, or at the official demand either of a Rector or of a Vestry, shall be held to be the settlement of any question which shall at any time arise concerning Ritual: *Provided*, however, that contradictory determinations shall be subject, on memorial or otherwise, to revision by the House of Bishops, under such rules and regulations for bringing the same before them, as said House of Bishops shall prescribe.

WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM,

Bishop of Maryland.

WILLIAM COOPER MEAD,

Chairman of the Committee on the part of the House of Deputies.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON RITUAL.

Resolved, That a joint committee of three of each Order be appointed to examine the Canons of the Church of England, of 1603, and report to the next General Convention what portions were in use in the American Provinces in the year 1789, and how far the same have been modified by repeal, or alteration, or other mode, by action of this Church, in its Conventions, General or Diocesan, and whether any portion requires modification or repeal.

The Rev. Daniel R. Goodwin, D.D., LL.D., of the diocese of Pennsylvania, offered the following amendment to the Canon on Ritual reported by the joint committee, to wit: —

Resolved, That the proposed Canon be amended by inserting in the first section, after the word "Provided," the words "in her Canons and Book of Common Prayer," and by striking out the whole of the second section.

The Rev. William Cooper Mead, D.D., of the diocese of Connecticut, moved as an amendment to the amendment to the resolution reported by the joint committee on the report made to the House of Bishops on Ritual, to strike out Subsection [2] of § II. of the Canon of Ritual, and to insert after the words "constituted authorities" in subsection (3) the words "and under this head," etc., so that the canon, as amended, would read: —

CANON OF RITUAL.

§ 1. [As reported by the joint committee.]

§ 2. The provisions for Ritual in this Church are: —

1. [As reported.]

2. [As reported, with the following addition: —]

And under this head the following acts in the administration of the Holy Communion, and on other occasions of public worship, are prohibited: —

(1.) The use of Incense.

(2.) Placing or retaining a Crucifix in any part of the Church.

(2.) The use of lights on or about the Holy Table, except when necessary.

(4.) The elevation of the elements in the Holy Communion in such manner as to expose them to the view of the people as objects toward which adoration is to be made, in or after the prayer of Consecration, or in the act of administering them, or in conveying them to or from the communicants.

(5.) The mixing of water with the wine as part of the service.

(6.) The washing of the Priest's hands, or the ablution of the vessels, as part of the service.

(7.) Bowings, crossings, genuflections, prostrations, reverences, bowing down upon or kissing the Holy Table, and kneeling, except as allowed, provided for, or directed by rubric or canon; it being provided that reverence at the mention of the name of the Lord Jesus is not intended to be disallowed; and it being further provided that private personal devotion, before or after official ministration, is not to be understood to include or justify any of the acts prohibited.

(8.) The celebration or receiving of the Holy Communion, by any Bishop or Priest when no person receives with him.

(9.) Employing or permitting any person or persons not in Holy Orders to assist the Minister in any part of the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion.

(10.) Using, at any administration of the Holy Communion, any Prayers, Collects, Gospels, or Epistles, other than those provided in the Book of Common Prayer, or under § XIV. of Canon 13 of Title I. of the Digest.

§ 3. [As reported by the joint committee.]

The Rev. Dr. Goodwin withdrew his amendment, and accepted that offered by the Rev. Dr. Mead in its stead.

The Rev. Philander K. Cady, D.D., of the diocese of New York, offered the following amendment to the amendment offered by the Rev. Dr. Mead, to wit, to strike out all of the Canon of Ritual as reported, and substitute therefor as follows: —

CANON OF RITUAL.

In all matters of Ritual that are doubtful, reference shall be made to the Ordinary, and no changes shall be made against the godly counsel and judgment of the Bishop.

Mr. Bernard Carter, of the diocese of Maryland, moved the indefinite postponement of the whole subject under consideration.

Pending action on this motion, Message No. 50 from the House of Bishops informed

the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies that it has, in conformity with the recommendation of the Joint Committee on Ritual Uniformity, adopted the following Canon of Ritual, to be

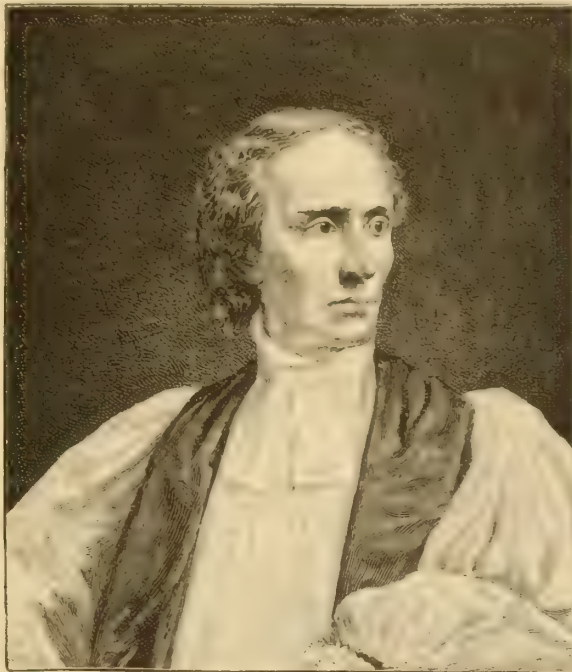
CANON —.

§ I. This Church, holding fast its liberty in Christ its Head, recognizes no other law of Ritual than such as it shall have itself accepted or provided; meaning thereby in no wise to prejudice or arraign the differing rites, usages, customs, or laws of other branches of the Church of Christ.

§ II. The provisions for Ritual in this Church are: —

1. The Book of Common Prayer, with the Offices and Ordinal thereto appended, as adapted to the use of this Church by additions, omissions, or other alterations from time to time constitutionally made.
2. The Canons of the Church of England agreed upon in 1603, and in use in the American Provinces and States before the year 1789, and not subsequently superseded, altered, or repealed, by legislation, General or Diocesan, of this Church.
3. The Canonical or other regular legislative or judicial action or decisions of this Church, in its Conventions, General or Diocesan, or by its duly constituted authorities.

§ III. For the greater uniformity and simplicity of the public worship of this Church, for the more effectual enforcement of due habits of solemn reverence in its congregations, and out of considerate regard to the conditions under which the extension of the Church is now and hereafter to take place, it is hereby declared and provided, that in all questions arising concerning Ritual Observance, the Administration of the Law of Ritual of this Church, whether for enforcement or for restriction, appertains to the office and duty of the Ordinary, whose official written determination, whether of his own motion, or at the official demand either of a Rector or of a Vestry, shall be held to be the settlement of any question which shall at any time arise concerning Ritual: *Provided, however,* that contradictory determinations shall be subject, on memorial or otherwise, to revision by the House of Bishops, under such rules and regulations for bringing the same before them as said House of Bishops shall prescribe.



RT. REV. W. R. WHITTINGHAM, D.D., BISHOP
OF MARYLAND.

Resolved, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring, That a joint committee of three of each order be appointed to examine the Canons of the Church of England of 1603, and report to the next General Convention what portions were in use in the American States in the year 1789, and how far the same have been modified by repeal, or alteration, or other mode, by action of this Church, in its Conventions, General or Diocesan, and whether any portion requires modification or repeal.

The House having resumed consideration of the Report on Ritual, leave was granted to Mr. Bernard Carter to withdraw his motion of indefinite postponement of the whole subject under consideration, whereupon Rev. Dr. Cady withdrew the amendment offered by him to Dr. Mead's amendment.

The Rev. Abner Jackson, D.D., LL.D., of the diocese of Connecticut, offered the following amendment to the amendment offered by the Rev. Dr. Mead, to wit:—

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That a joint committee, consisting of five Bishops, five presbyters, and five laymen, be appointed, to sit during the recess of this Convention, in order to ascertain and determine clearly what is the existing Law of Ritual in this Church; and then to inquire whether any, and if any, what, further provision is required for securing the due performance of Divine Service, and report the same to the next General Convention, for its action thereon.

At a later stage of the discussion leave was refused to the Rev. Dr. Jackson to withdraw his amendment, which was then defeated by a vote of 20 nays to 14 yeas, and 6 divided of the clerical order, and 21 nays to 12 yeas and 2 divided of the lay delegations.

Mr. S. Corning Judd, LL.D., of the diocese of Illinois, then moved to amend the amendment before the House (that offered by Rev. Dr. Mead) by striking out, in § I., the words "recognizes no other law of ritual than such as it shall have itself accepted or provided," and "thereby," and by inserting before the word "meaning," in said section, the word "and," and adding after the words "Church of Christ," the words "declares as follows," so that the section as amended would read:—

CANON OF RITUAL.

§ I. This Church, holding fast its liberty in Christ its Head, and meaning in no wise to prejudice or arraign the differing rites, usages, customs, or laws of other branches of the Church of Christ, declares as follows, etc.

The Rev. John H. Egar, of the diocese of Pittsburgh, offered the following as a substitute for the amendments under consideration, to wit:—

CANON OF RITUAL.

When Ritual observances are called in question before the Ordinary, and such observances are not expressly provided for or prohibited by the Book of Common Prayer, or the Constitution or Canons of this Church, recourse may be had for the establishment of precedent to the Rubrics and Canons which were in force, and to the usage which was allowed in the Church of England, while this Church was a part of said Church,—that is to say, after the Reformation and before the year 1776: *Provided* that no Rubrics or Canons of the said Church of England shall be considered as in any way binding, which have been superseded by the legislation of the General Convention of this Church.

The question being taken on the substitute offered by the Rev. Mr. Egar, it was lost.

Mr. William Cornwall, of the diocese of Kentucky, offered the following as a substitute for the amendments before the House, to wit:

CANON OF RITUAL.

§ I. This Church, holding fast its liberty in Christ its Head, recognizes no other law of ritual than such as it shall have itself accepted or provided; meaning thereby in no wise to prejudice or arraign the differing rites, usages, customs, or laws of other branches of the Church of Christ.

§ II. The provisions for Ritual in this Church are:—

The Book of Common Prayer, with the Offices and Ordinal thereto appended, as adapted to the use of this Church by additions, omissions, or other alterations from time to time constitutionally made.

Every minister of this Church shall be liable to presentment and trial for using any ritual, acts, or observances which teach or symbolize any doctrine contrary to that held by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Resolved, That this Canon shall be placed after Subsection [2] of Canon 2, of Title I. of the Digest of the Canons.

The question being taken on the substitute offered by Mr. Cornwall, it was lost.

The Rev. John McNamara, D.D., of the diocese of Nebraska, moved to lay the whole subject under discussion on the table; which motion was lost.

The question then recurring on the amendment offered by Mr. Judd, it was lost.

Mr. George W. Race, of the diocese of Louisiana, moved to strike out the second subsection of the amended Canon as proposed by the Rev. Dr. Mead, to wit, the words:—

2. The Canons of the Church of England, agreed upon in 1603, and in use in the American Colonies or States before the year 1789, and not subsequently superseded, altered, or repealed by legislation, General or Diocesan, of this Church.

Which motion was lost.

The question then recurring on the amendment proposed by the Rev. Mr. Mead, there were 11 dioceses voting aye, 25 nay, and 4 divided, of the clerical order; and 21 nays, 10 ayes, and 4 divided of the laity.

The report of the joint committee was thereupon, on motion, laid on the table.

It was moved by the Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, D.D., LL.D., of the diocese of New York, that the House "concur with the House of Bishops in Message No. 50."

Mr. William Welsh, of the diocese of Pennsylvania, moved to amend the canon communicated to the House by Message No. 50, from the House of Bishops, by striking out the words in § III. following the word "*Provided*," and inserting instead the words "that said determination shall have moral force, but no legal effect, unless in the case of a trial and judgment by a legally constituted court; and provided, also, that the operation of this canon shall cease at the close of the next general convention;" which motion was lost.

The Rev. Meyer Lewin, D.D., of the diocese of Maryland, moved to amend the canon communicated in Message No. 50, from the House of Bishops, by striking out "1603" from § II., and "a" before "Rector," and "a" before "Vestry," and inserting the word "the" before "Vestry."

Mr. Samuel B. Churchill, of the diocese of Kentucky, moved to amend the amendment offered by the clerical deputy from Maryland, as follows:—

Amend by striking out Subsection 2, and striking out § III., and inserting in lieu thereof the following:—

Every minister in this Church shall be liable to presentment and trial for using any ritual acts or observances which teach or symbolize any doctrine contrary to that held by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, and that the authorities of the Church shall take steps, with all reasonable promptness, to suppress all services, ceremonies, or acts which symbolize or teach the doctrine commonly known as Transubstantiation.

Which was lost.

The question recurring on the amendment offered by the clerical deputy from Maryland, it was lost.

The question then recurred on the motion of concurrence with the House of Bishops, which was lost.

There were 40 dioceses represented by clerical votes, of which 20 dioceses voted in the affirmative, 13 dioceses in the negative, and 7 dioceses divided.

There were 34 dioceses represented by lay votes, of which 18 dioceses voted in the affirmative, 14 dioceses in the negative, and 2 dioceses were divided.

The bishops on the closing day of the session sent the following message (No. 71) :—

The House of Bishops informs the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies that it has adopted the following resolution :—

Resolved, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring, That the following Canon be adopted and enacted, to be entitled

CANON —.

The elevation of the elements in the Holy Communion in such manner as to expose them to the view of the people as objects toward which adoration is to be made, in or after the Prayer of Consecration, or in the act of administering them, or in carrying them to or from the communicants, and any gesture, posture, or act implying such adoration; and any ceremony not prescribed as part of the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion, in the Book of Common Prayer, and the celebration or reception of the Holy Communion by any Bishop or Priest when no person receives with him; likewise the use, at any administration of the Holy Communion, of any Hymns, Prayers, Collects, Epistles, or Gospels, other than those appointed in the authorized formularies of the Church, or under § XIV. of Canon 13, of Title I. of the Digest, are hereby forbidden.

On the question of concurrence, the vote being taken by dioceses and orders, there were 39 dioceses represented by clerical deputies, of which 17 dioceses voted in the affirmative, 18 dioceses voted in the negative, and 4 dioceses were divided. Of the laity there were 33 dioceses represented, of which 18 dioceses voted in the affirmative, 12 dioceses voted in the negative, and there were 3 dioceses divided. The resolution was therefore lost for lack of concurrence of the two orders.

The Rev. Theodore B. Lyman, D.D., of the diocese of California, offered the following resolutions :—

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That this Convention hereby expresses its decided condemnation of all ceremonies, observances, and practices which are fitted to express a doctrine foreign to that set forth in the authorized standards of this Church.

Resolved. That in the judgment of this House the paternal counsel and advice of the Right Reverend Fathers, the Bishops of the Church, is deemed sufficient at

this time to secure the suppression of all that is irregular and unseemly, and to promote greater uniformity in conducting the public worship of the Church, and in the administration of the Holy Sacraments.

A division of the question having been called for, the resolutions were successively adopted with but little, if any, opposition.

In the course of the protracted and brilliant discussion on this exciting subject, and as a part of a speech of great eloquence and power, the Rev. Dr. DeKoven, of Wisconsin, uttered the following words, which are here recorded as a part of the history of this session : —

It is impossible for me, in the space allowed, to go into the doctrine of the Real Presence. I only want to say something with regard to it, and then something with respect to another question.

First of all, the objection that I have to this Canon,¹ or any other like it, is that it bears upon doctrine, and seems to settle it in one direction. Now, questions of doctrine should not be settled by any Canon which does not bear directly upon doctrine. Our Church has always acted on this principle. It has a Canon providing that if people teach false doctrine they should be tried and suspended, or punished in accordance with that Canon; and the objection to this is that it implies that people teach false doctrine by certain ceremonies and then punishes them, where, perhaps, they use those ceremonies without teaching false doctrine. I want to do what my brother from Wisconsin did yesterday, only in another direction; I want to give anybody in this House the opportunity of presenting me for false doctrine if he wishes; and, in order to do so I choose some language which is rather bolder and bolder than any I myself would use excepting in a company of theologians, and I use this language for another purpose which I will explain presently. I believe in — and this will be printed to-morrow, and I will write it out, if necessary, for anybody who wants to use it — I believe in “the Real, Actual Presence of our Lord under the form of bread and wine upon the altars of our churches.” I myself adore, and would, if it were necessary or my duty, “teach my people to adore Christ present in the elements under the form of bread and wine.” And I use these words because they are a bold statement of the doctrine of the Real Presence; but I use them for another reason: they are adjudicated words; they are words which, used by a divine of the Church of England, have been tried in the highest ecclesiastical court of England, and have been decided by that ecclesiastical court to come within the limits of the truth held in the Church of England. So much so that that very Sir Robert Phillimore, whose judicial decisions have been quoted here before, has decided that “if he were to pronounce these words wrong” — now I read his very language — “I should be passing sentence, in my opinion, upon a long roll of illustrious divines who have adorned our University and fought the good fight of our Church from Ridley” — whom the clerical delegate from Massachusetts quoted as entertaining his view — “from Ridley to Keble — from the divine whose martyrdom the cross of Oxford commemorates, to the divine in whose honor that University has just founded her last college.”²

It was reserved to a later date to effect the passage of a canon on ritual. In 1874, by a clerical vote of 38 ayes to 2 nays and one divided diocese, and a lay vote of 28 ayes, a single negative and 2 divided dioceses, the present Section II. of Canon 22 of Title I. was adopted. This canon condemns the introduction of “ceremonies or practices not ordained or authorized in the Book of Common Prayer, and setting forth or symbolizing erroneous or doubtful doctrines” “during the celebration of the Holy Communion, such as —

a. The elevation of the Elements in the Holy Communion in

¹ That communicated in Message No. 71, from the House of Bishops.

² Debates of the House of Deputies, pp. 505, 506.

such manner as to expose them to the view of the people as objects toward which adoration is to be made.

b. Any act of adoration of or toward the Elements in the Holy Communion, such as bowings, prostrations, or genuflections; and

c. All other like acts not authorized by the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer."

As an outcome of this whole discussion, action, after a discussion in secret session occupying seven days, was taken by the House of Deputies declining to confirm the election of the Bishop-elect of Illinois, Dr. George Franklin Seymour, in consequence of his supposed ritualistic views and practices. Certain questions of fact growing out of this painfully interesting and absorbing discussion, and giving rise to subsequent criminations and recriminations, need not be considered here. The result of the week's debate, so far as the charge of sympathy with ritualism urged against Dr. Seymour, may be given in the words of the late Rev. Dr. Andrews, of Virginia, — himself an earnest and acute participant in the discussion, — as follows: "The candidate, however, sustained no loss by the scrutiny, since the conviction of his being a Ritualist was at least not so general after the inquiry as it was before."¹

There had grown up — partly in consequence of apprehensions excited by the progress of "ritualistic" views and partly as a result of earlier controversies on cognate subjects — a revolutionary spirit, in some earnest and active ministers and members of the Church, which showed itself in refusing obedience to rubrical requirements and canon law; in claiming a flexibility in the use of the Church's offices, and a toleration of unauthorized forms and practices, and in manifesting a disregard of episcopal authority, and a threatening of secession, that could not fail to excite alarm in the minds of the timorous and a measure of indignation on the part of the loyal members of the Church. "Memorials" from sympathizers with this faction and others praying for the allowance of rubrical relaxation were refused by the Convention; in the upper House, the Bishop of Massachusetts, Dr. Eastburn, who was in no sense a sympathizer with "advanced" views, being the writer of the report recommending adverse action. Efforts were made to relieve tender consciences to whom the word "regeneration" in the baptismal office had become an offence, and a "declaration" was signed by the bishops in council declaring the opinion of the signers that, in the office for the baptism of infants "the word *regenerate* is not there so used to determine that a moral change in the subject of baptism is wrought by the sacrament." This declaration received the signature of all the bishops present, — forty-eight in number.

Great excitement had been occasioned by difficulties in the diocese of Illinois. The Rector of Christ Church, Chicago, the Rev. Charles E. Cheney, had, in consequence of the omission of the words *regenerate* and *regeneration* in the office for baptism, been brought to trial and suspended by the bishop, Dr. Whitehouse, on the

¹ Church Review, xxvii., p. 36.

18th of February, 1871. The sentence of the ecclesiastical court being disregarded by the offender, a second trial ensued, and Mr. Cheney was, on the 2d of June, displaced from the ministry of the Church for contumacy. Later, the Assistant Bishop of Kentucky, Dr. George D. Cummins, whose participation in a "Communion" service, under the auspices of the "Evangelical Alliance," and in connection with the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Payne Smith, had given rise to adverse criticism, became dissatisfied with the Church, and, under date of November 10, 1873, addressed a letter to his diocesan, announcing his purpose of transferring his "work and office" to another sphere. The Bishop of Kentucky, Dr. Bosworth Smith,

B. B. Smith

Presiding Bishop

on receiving this notice of abandonment of the communion of the Church, at once instituted proceedings against Dr. Cummins, suspending him from the exercise of his ministry, and finally pronouncing his formal deposition on the 24th of June, 1874. This act was ratified by the House of Bishops at the meeting of the General Convention in the following October. The action of the bishops is as follows:—

Whereas, On the 10th day of November, 1873, George David Cummins, late Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky, did abandon the communion of this Church by a letter addressed to the Senior Bishop; and

Whereas, The precedent requirements by Canon 8, Title II. of the Digest having been duly complied with, the Senior Bishop, acting under the advice of persons learned in the law of the Church, with the consent in writing of a majority of the Bishops entitled to seats in this House, did on the 24th day of June, 1874, depose said George David Cummins, late Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky, from the Ministry of this Church, and did pronounce and record in the presence of two Bishops that the said George David Cummins had been so deposed; but a doubt has arisen whether the consent of the Bishops so given was regular, a majority of the House of Bishops being now present and concurring; it is hereby

Resolved, That the action of the Senior Bishop in deposing the said George David Cummins, late Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky, from the Ministry of this Church, be, and the same is hereby, consented to, ratified, and confirmed.

Resolved, That, without waiving the effect of the consent (*nunc pro tunc*) declared in the preceding resolution, and in order to prevent any question being hereafter raised in respect thereto, the consent of a majority of the House of Bishops is hereby given that the said George David Cummins, late Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky, be deposed from the Ministry of this Church.

Resolved, That leave be given to record upon the official Journal of this House the sentence of the Senior Bishop deposing from the Ministry of this Church George David Cummins, late Assistant Bishop

of the Diocese of Kentucky, which sentence, signed by the Senior Bishop, and attested by the Bishops of Maryland and Pennsylvania, is as follows, to wit:—

W. W. Whittingham.

BE IT KNOWN, That I, Benjamin Bosworth Smith, D.D., Senior Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, by virtue of my office, in pursuance of Canon 8, Title II. of the Digest, and with the consent of a majority of the House of Bishops, do depose from the Ministry George David Cummins, late Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky. And I do hereby pronounce and record, in the presence of the Bishops of Maryland and Pennsylvania, that the said George David Cummins has been so deposed.

Given under my hand this seventeenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four.

BENJAMIN BOSWORTH SMITH,

Senior Bishop.

Done in our presence this seventeenth day of
October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four.

WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM,

Bishop of Maryland.

WILLIAM BACON STEVENS,

Bishop of Pennsylvania.

This action was adopted without opposition. The presiding bishop thereupon pronounced and recorded the sentence in the words above given, and due record of the same was made on the minutes of the House of Bishops.

The organization of what is known as the "Reformed Episcopal Church" grew out of the secession of Dr. Cummins. It numbered among its adherents not a few earnest and active men; but it is neither uncharitable nor untrue to say that its growth has thus far failed to realize the hopes and expectations of its founders. In the Church itself, the removal of numerous malcontents was followed by a marked decrease of party feeling and by a corresponding increase of unity and united work for the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MISSIONARY CONVENTION OF 1880.

THE General Convention of 1880 met in the city of New York under circumstances of great interest. The exciting questions which had occupied the time of preceding Conventions, to the exclusion of many important matters of a practical nature, and had well-nigh rent the Church in twain, were no longer discussed. The Church, ceasing to concern itself about the mint, anise and cummin of ritual, or the shibboleth of party, had arisen to a new life and a more hearty consecration. He "who maketh men to be of one mind in an house," in giving unity, had added the purpose and power for aggressive effort. It was felt and confessed that the making of canons and the amendment of the constitution, important as these measures might possibly have been in the past, or might be again at some future day, were not so important as the consideration of questions relating to the spiritual life or the outward growth of the Church of God. The missions of the Church were found to be of such absorbing interest and such commanding importance, that much of the time of the two Houses, sitting together as the Missionary Society of the Church, was given to the Church's aggressive work. For the first time in the history of our Church the missionary bishops, both of the home and foreign field, and those Western bishops into whose sees the tide of immigration was pouring with unexampled rapidity, found a welcome and a hearing in the presence of the representatives of the Church at large; and could tell the story of the spiritual needs of their jurisdiction and the difficulties and trials environing them in their arduous work,—an opportunity never offered them before. As might have been anticipated, the Church in convention assembled, stirred by the appeals and aroused by the enthusiasm and devotion of her missionary apostles, awoke to a desire, and inaugurated efforts to make herself the Church of the land and the Church of the people, entering with full purpose of heart and greater vigor than ever before into the work of missions at home, abroad, in all the world.

To this, the "Missionary Convention," there gathered a representation of bishops, clergy and laity, larger by far than ever before. The conviction of our catholicity on the part of those who had thrown off the yoke of the Romish infallibility, was attested by the presence of the Rt. Rev. Edward Herzog, D.D., the Christian-Catholic Bishop of Switzerland, who by his participation in the services, sacraments, and daily sessions of the Convention, was brought into intimate relation with a Church catholic, but not Roman; protesting against error, but neither rationalistic nor infidel. The Swiss bishop, vested in his alb and richly embroidered cope, and wearing his pectoral cross,

formed a novel and picturesque feature in the long procession of bishops at the opening service in St. George's, New York. The Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr. Henry Cotterill, representing the Church whence Seabury received the succession, was also present during the early days of this Convention, as was a bishop and synodical deputation from the Canadian Church. Three missionary bishops were elected, and, after the rising of the Convention, consecrated to their apostolic work, the Right Rev. George Kelley Dunlop, D.D., for New Mexico and Arizona; the Rev. Leigh Richmond Brewer, D.D., for Montana; and the Rev. John Adams Paddock, for Washington Territory. An important report on the functions of rectors and wardens and vestrymen presented in the upper House by the Bishop of Pennsylvania,

Amos A. Stevens,

and in the lower by the Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, laid down as "plain principles" the facts that the Church existed before any parishes, that the clergy were commissioned to their office and administration before any parish existed; that the Church and the ministry are divine in their origin; perpetual in their existence, and essential to the maintenance of the kingdom of Christ; that the vestry is a purely human institution, a creature of civil law, or conventional arrangement, and utterly without divine authority or sanction, and consequently that "the wardens and vestry are not and cannot lawfully or scripturally be masters and rulers of the clergy; but they are auxiliary to the clergy as important adjuncts and aids in the work in which they have been set by the Holy Ghost."

In the House of Bishops important action was taken in the unanimous adoption, first in "Council and then in open session," of a "Declaration on Catholic Reform." This important paper we give in full. To it was affixed the signature of every American bishop present in the House of Bishops on the occasion of its adoption:—

DECLARATION OF THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

Whereas, The Lambeth Conference of 1878 set forth the following declaration, to wit:—

"We gladly welcome every effort for reform upon the model of the Primitive Church; we do not demand a rigid uniformity; we deprecate needless divisions; but, to those who are drawn to us in the endeavor to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition, we are ready to offer all help, and such privileges as may be acceptable to them, and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles as enunciated in our formularies."

Which declaration rests upon two indisputable historical facts:—

First: That the body calling itself the Holy Roman Church has, by the decrees of the Council of Trent, in 1563, and by the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, in 1854, and by the decree of the Infallibility of the Pope, in 1870, imposed upon

the consciences of all the members of the National Churches under its sway, as of the faith, to be held as of implicit necessity to salvation, dogmas having no warrant in Holy Scripture or the ancient Creeds; which dogmas are so radically false as to corrupt and defile the faith.

And second; That the assumption of a Universal Episcopate by the Bishop of Rome, making operative the definition of Papal Infallibility, has deprived of its original independence the Episcopal Order in the Latin Churches, and substituted for it a Papal Vicariate for the superintendence of dioceses; while the virtual change of the divine constitution of the Church, as founded in the Episcopate and the other orders, into a Tridentine consolidation, has destroyed the autonomy, if not the corporate existence, of National Churches.

Now, therefore, we, Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, assembled in Council as Bishops in the Church of God, asserting the principles declared in the Lambeth Conference, and in order to the maintaining of a true unity, which must be a unity in the truth, do hereby affirm that the great primitive rule of the Catholic Church — *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur* — imposes upon the Episcopates of all National Churches holding the primitive faith and order, and upon the several Bishops of the same, not the right only, but the duty also, of protecting in the holding of that faith and the recovering of that order those who, by the methods before described, have been deprived of both.

And, further, the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, assembled in Council, not meaning to dispute the validity of Consecrations by a single consecrator, put on record their conviction that, in the organization of reformed Churches with which we may hope to have communion, they should follow the teaching of the Canons of Nicæa, and that when Consecration cannot be had by three Bishops of the province, Episcopal Orders should, at all events, be conferred by three Bishops of National Churches.

In the adoption of an outspoken protest against the toleration of polygamy in the Territory of Utah as seriously impeding "the work of the Church of Christ and the best interests of Christian civilization;" in the careful consideration given to the affairs of the Church of Jesus in Mexico; in the effort to secure for the Indians legal protection of their civil rights by placing them under obedience to law; in the furtherance of the work of the commission on ecclesiastical relations with other churches; in the comprehension of the delegates from the missionary jurisdictions to the House of Deputies, and the members of the Board of Managers, in the membership of the missionary society of the Church; in the organization of a church-building commission; in the commendation of the work among the colored people, and the adoption of a scheme of systematic beneficence for missions; and in the discussion of the questions relating to the tenure of church property, the Convention showed itself to be occupied with matters of expansion and work. Party spirit found no opportunity for display in a session where every day's debate and labor were given to matters of practical work or to questions relating to the spiritual good or growth of the Church. A united Convention, imbued with the missionary spirit, indicated a Church alive to its Master's will and word and at peace within. It was to be expected that the records of the years last past bore ample testimony to a laborious work and abundant results. The "Missionary" Church was a living and a growing Church, and in its development on every side, in its added members, its wide influence, its splendid charities, and its deepened spiritual life, it stood before the world a glorious Church yet to be presented without spot or blemish before the God and Father of us all.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CHURCH'S CENTENNIAL: A HUNDRED YEARS OF GROWTH AND PROGRESS.

IT was fitting that the Convention of the American Church, marking the beginning of the centennial period of that Church's independent existence, should assemble in old Christ Church, Philadelphia. This historic edifice was the scene of those preliminary meetings a century ago, out of which the General Convention of the Church took form and being. Here, nearly two centuries since, in the humble structure soon supplanted by the present venerable pile of brick and stone, the Church was planted in the midst of Quakerism.¹ Here ministered Thomas Clayton, the first rector of the Church in Pennsylvania, who died "of a contagious distemper caught in visiting the sick." Here came and preached again and again the first mission priest of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Rev. George Keith, A.M., a convert from Quakerism and the means of reclaiming many of his fellow-religionists to the Church. Here ministered the apostolic John Talbot; and the erratic and acrimonious Robert Welton, on whose head hands had been laid in communication of the non-juring episcopate. Here when the true apostles were denied to the infant Church in the colonies by the authorities of Church and State at home, this man, a son of Belial, exercised by stealth his episcopal office, and was scarce restrained from stamping the Church in America with a seditious and schismatic spirit from the start. Here served in after years, Cummings, Jenney, Peters, Smith, and others, the founders of the Church in Pennsylvania. Here Whitfield preached ere his enthusiastic spirit drove him from the Church of his ordination vows to the meeting-house or the fields. Here Franklin was a regular attendant. Here Washington worshipped. Here William White was baptized on the 25th of May, 1748; and here he ministered as priest and bishop, and here his sacred dust rests beneath the chancel pavement his feet so often pressed. From this old-time pulpit² the patriot preachers, Jacob Duché, who offered "the first prayer in the Continental Congress;" William Smith, whose sermon on "the Present Situation of American Affairs" was published at home and abroad, translated into various languages, and distributed by thousands; and Thomas Coombe, whose Fast-day sermon was hardly less popular than the others, — fired the popular heart with florid eloquence in their bold espousal of the side of the oppressed amidst the opening scenes of the

¹ The first "Christ Church" was erected in 1695. It was "a goodly structure for those days, of brick, with galleries, large enough to accommodate more than five hundred persons. The

cost was upwards of £600." *Vide Dr. Dorr's Historical Account.*

² Built in 1770.

Revolution. Here, on the 20th of July, 1775, the Continental Congress assembled for worship on the day set apart by their own appointment for "general humiliation, fasting and prayer throughout all the American Provinces." Here the bells chimed out their glad notes when independence was proclaimed. Here, when other churches were closed at the breaking out of the war, it was decided by the vestry, on the memorable 4th of July, 1776, "to request the Rector and Assistant Ministers, for the peace and well-being of the Church, to omit those petitions in the litany wherein the King of Great Britain is prayed for, as inconsistent with the declaration made this day by the honourable Continental Congress that the American Colonies were free and independent States." Here the wise and far-seeing clergy and laity of the Church assembled when peace was gained to consult about the revival of the Church of their love and membership. The primary Convention of the diocese of Pennsylvania was held in Christ Church, on Rogation Monday, May 24, 1785. This was the first ecclesiastical assembly in any of the States, consisting partly of lay members.¹ Here the General Convention of the churches in the Middle and Southern States met, September 27, 1785, agreeably to the recommendations of the preliminary meeting in New York, in October, 1784, and took measures for organization, for securing the episcopacy and for the revision of the Liturgy. Here the amiable and excellent White was warmly welcomed on his return to the land of his birth as a bishop of the Church of God, the first in the English line, and the first incumbent of the see of Pennsylvania. Here the great Missionary Bishop of the North-west, the saintly Kemper, was sent forth to his work. Here historic associations meet us at every turn. This quaint old structure is the focus towards which all our notable events and our most sacred memories converge. A hundred years had been spent in the work of laying foundations. It was well that this new century of upbuilding and glorious results should date from the old cradle-home of the Church's younger days. Conscious of these associations, and under the brightest auspices, the Convention of 1883 entered upon its work in perfect harmony, in a spirit of thorough earnestness, with a profound realization of responsibility and a confidence in God and the cause of the Church of Christ, which made the session from the start a success. No more noteworthy or brilliant Convention is noticed in our annals as a Church.

The Bishop of Rhode Island delivered the opening sermon; its theme was the "Mission of the Episcopal Church:"—

Ninety-eight years ago, sixteen clergymen and twenty-six laymen, representing seven States, met together in this place, and on Wednesday evening, September 28th, a committee was appointed "to prepare and report a draft of an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and also "to consider of and report such alterations in the Liturgy as shall render it consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States; and such further alterations in the Liturgy as it may be advisable for this Convention to recommend to the consideration of the Church here represented." The next day the committee reported that they had made some progress in the business referred to them, but not having completed the same, desired leave to sit

¹ Bishop White's Memoirs, p. 94.

again. On Saturday morning their work was declared to be finished, and on Friday, of the succeeding week, the Convention "attended Divine service in Christ Church, when the Liturgy, as altered, was read by the Rev. Dr. White." It may be doubted whether any task of similar importance was ever achieved by a deliberative body in a shorter space of time.

It is not easy for us to apprehend or appreciate the peculiar circumstances under which this first Convention assembled. The body of Christians which they represented had claimed an inheritance in the land for more than a hundred and fifty years, and in some portions of the country the English Church had long been a preponderating power; but, in the history of Christendom no important branch of the Church of Christ had ever been called to exercise its functions under such extraordinary and depressing restrictions. Every other religious body in the American colonies had brought with it all that was essential to its organic completeness, but here was a body without a head, an Episcopal Church without an Episcopate, with an order of confirmation in the Book of Common Prayer and no one authorized to administer the rite, an office of ordination and no one competent to ordain either Priest or Deacon, with Churches that never could be consecrated, and a discipline that never could be administered.

It is not strange that the Church languished as it did under the colonial policy, and obtained no stronger hold upon the life of the community. The clergy who were imported from abroad — and they constituted a large proportion — were not likely to comprehend the peculiar condition of the people whom they served, and still less, the ways of thinking that were going on outside of the Church, and in some instances they were men whose influence was not likely to be of much service in any quarter. It is a fact of some significance that the Church is strongest to-day in those regions where the largest proportion of the leading clergy in the beginning were of native growth; as, for instance, in the Diocese of Connecticut, which is far in advance of all others in the ratio of communicants to the population.

When the Convention of 1785 assembled here the Church had not begun to recover from the staggering effects of the Revolution; many of her best clergymen had been compelled, by conscientious scruples, to abandon their posts; the Church was suffering under the ban of a general suspicion that its ministers and members were to a great extent in sympathy with a political rule which the Colonies had now rejected; the very name by which this Church had been known carried with it an unpleasant flavor; it was only by an unauthorized mutilation of the Service that public worship was possible anywhere; and now that the superintendence of the Bishop of London had practically come to an end, there was no authority in any quarter for the regulation of things; there were no recognized Dioceses — this primary Convention being constituted, as the Journal shows, of "Deputies from the several States," while it did not pretend to act for any other portion of the Church, and the most emphatic resolution that it passed, to the effect that "The Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving, as reported by the committee, be used in this Church on the Fourth of July *forever*," does not appear to have been much regarded.

It was under these circumstances that the first step was taken for the organization of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America. When we consider the embarrassments under which the framers of our constitution labored, and the possibilities of mischief incident to such a crisis as this, we may well thank God for the wisdom that guided their steps, and for what they left undone, as well as for much which they did. They might have so organized the Church that it would have been only a sect among sects; for there were some who were ready to break with the mother-Church altogether, and sunder the historical tie which binds the Church of to-day with the Church of the Apostles. There were others who were disposed to improve the occasion by screwing the ecclesiastical cords up to a higher tension. At first it was proposed to part with the Nicene Creed, which has always been held in common by the Eastern and the Western Church; while there were others who would have retained the Athanasian Creed, with all its maledictions; but in the end wiser counsels prevailed, — an earnest and respectful address, signed by all the members of the Convention, was prepared and forwarded to the Bishops and Archbishops of England, asking for the Episcopate at their hands, and, although, so far as the Book of Common Prayer is concerned, the revision was not in all respects just what any of us might have desired, when we take into view the influences and circumstances by which its framers were environed, we have cause to be grateful for the good work which they accomplished. And now, after the lapse of nearly a century,

this Convention will be called to revise and enrich their work of revision, with the advantages that come from a long period of trial, and an intelligent understanding of the peculiar demands and needs of our American society, associated with a reverent regard for the time-honored formularies, that we have inherited from the earlier ages of the Church.

The history and progress of this Church since its organization is a sufficient testimony to the wisdom which inspired the men who laid the foundation upon which we have since built.

The influence of the Church which is here represented is not to be measured by its numerical strength; for, while in some of our more populous cities, we have gathered into the fold a large proportion of the population, there are many regions of the land where the members of our communion are as yet in a very feeble minority. Our growth is uniform and steady, and those who come to us from without generally continue to be loyal to our standard, and rarely leave our ranks; but there are other considerations, independent of all statistics, which vindicate the right of this Church to exist in our American Republic. Its importance and value grow out of its peculiar institutions, by which it is identified with the Church of the past, and the doctrinal position which it sustains amid the changes and revolutions that are everywhere going on around us. We hear a great deal, in various quarters, of "new departures in theology;" old creeds are revised and modified and explained away, — sometimes they are wiped out altogether; multitudes of men are adrift and blown about with every wind of doctrine, and some have ceased to believe in anything. The modes of argument by which the truth was once defended and sustained are set aside as irrelevant and unsuited to modern habits of thought. The testimony of history is counted of little value, and we are told that every man must be guided by the light that is in him, and not by anything reflected from without; the catholic teaching of the Church — the *communis sensus* of Christendom, is of no more authority than the opinion of the individual, and, in some quarters, it all ends in setting aside, both the witness of the early Church and the inspired record upon which that witness rests.

It is a noticeable fact that in those quarters where the most rigid and elaborate forms of doctrine were once enforced, as in the city of Geneva and in other parts of Europe, there prevails at the present time the most radical and ruthless unbelief in everything supernatural. Great ecclesiastical structures, which had environed themselves with solid walls of metaphysical dogma, and bastions bristling with the sharpest points of doctrine, and towers high enough to allow a sweep of the whole horizon of the Divine decrees, and gates strong enough to exclude all who are not ready to pledge their belief in a multitude of mysteries, which the human mind is by its constitution incompetent to comprehend or fathom, have fallen by their own weight, — the very elaborateness of their defences proving to be the occasion of their ruin.

This extraordinary decadence in what were once regarded as the strongholds of orthodoxy is not attributable merely, and perhaps not mainly, to any defects in their ecclesiastical organization; we must look deeper than this to find the cause. It is impossible in the nature of things that elaborated definitions of doctrine, constructed according to the prevailing philosophy of any particular age, should continue to carry the same weight and retain the same significance, generation after generation. This may not be true in respect of a formula like the Apostles' Creed, which is a statement of facts, and not a system of hermeneutics, but it must be so, wherever the attempt is made to formulate a complete and exhaustive digest of metaphysical doctrine, as was attempted on some two hundred different occasions soon after the epoch of the Reformation.

The terrible apostacies, to which we have referred, are explicable only on one ground, and it is this: The attempt was made to erect a Church upon the basis of an elaborate compend of ontological postulates and deductions and philosophical inferences from detached texts of Scripture, which should leave nothing unresolved, whether as regards the actions, or the motives and eternal designs of the Almighty, called by a strange misnomer a "Confession of *Faith*;" and this complicated system was then declared to be identical with the Gospel which the Apostles preached, so that they must stand or fall together; and, in process of time, they did fall together, and great was the fall thereof.

The Church of our inheritance is based upon the fact of the Incarnation, and in virtue of this, it keeps its moorings amid the tumultuous waves of doctrine that are surging all around us. It does not pretend to solve all the mysteries of Divine

providence, or to reconcile all the difficulties which are incidental to the Divine administration. It allows its ministers and members to construct their complicated schemes of doctrine according to the best light which they have, but it does not demand assent to any of these schemes, as matters of faith. We are all called to rally round one fixed and common centre, and that is the one great truth which, from the beginning, has been the power of God unto salvation, even Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever. We may have our private differences of opinion, as the Apostles did, but we all recognize it as the one great purpose of the Church, to draw men to Christ for pardon and sanctification, and to induce them to live according to His law. To whatever school of theology we may belong, I trust there are none of us who are not ready to say, "Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel!"

This, then, is the first distinguishing feature of the Episcopal Church, its *conservatism*. It is conservative because of the foundation on which it rests, and also because it does not undertake to build upon that foundation any structure more ambitious and aspiring than that of which we have the pattern in the Church of the Apostles. If some of us had our way, we might be glad to add to this building a few of our own fond designs, and make it higher or lower or broader than the primitive model, but the Church says to us all, "Our work is done, so far as the matter of construction goes; you may indulge your private fancies as you please, so long as they do not impair the integrity of the ancient and divinely-constructed temple, but you must not ask the Church to give its official sanction to any of your plans and improvements."

Because of our conservatism, and building as we do upon the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, it is safe for us to allow the same play of individual thought and opinion in respect of all matters, which are not strictly of the Faith, that existed in primitive times. In all great communities, absolute uniformity of sentiment can exist, only on the condition that individual thought is suspended, and this is equivalent to spiritual death. It is better that the winds should blow, even if they occasionally break forth in a tornado, than that there should be perpetual calm. It is better that the stream should at times overflow its banks than that it should become a stagnant pool.

The Church of the living God must be a living Church, and life always supposes progress and growth. When any living thing ceases to grow it begins to die. The oak retains its identity century after century, but every year it clothes itself with fresh verdure and increases in strength and bulk. Our eyes must be very dim, and our ears very dull of hearing, if the flood of light which has been pouring in upon us during the space of eighteen centuries, has not made some things more luminous than they were in the earlier ages of the Church. It would be most extraordinary, if the Church had learned nothing all this while. It has learned something; it has learned much from its own failures and blunders and gropings in the dark; it has discovered the limit of its human faculty, by its vain and futile efforts to penetrate the impenetrable; it is gradually learning to sit down reverently and be still, in the presence of those awful mysteries, which can be comprehended only by Him who is Himself the great mystery.

The Church has also unlearned certain things which it once approved and defended. It no longer calls upon the Civil Power to open the way for its advance, with torch and sword and blood; it has ceased to find the panacea for doubt and unbelief in racks and gibbets and headman's blocks and consuming fires; as its views of the Divine Being have become more Christ-like, it has become more gentle and patient with God's creatures, and, in this nineteenth century, we shudder at the thought of cruelties, upon which our forefathers looked with indifference, if not with approbation; the great law of humanity, which was the burden of the Saviour's first sermon, and upon which He based His kingdom, is more distinctly recognized than it ever was before; secular knowledge has advanced and science has won her splendid triumphs under the fostering shield of a progressive Christian faith; and the social sins, which once made the world so sad and dark and dreary, have abated much of their vileness, now that the pure and holy ethics of the Gospel have come to be better apprehended. There is a law of growth and development in Christianity, as Christ Himself foretold, "First the blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear."

Being thus conservative and free, linked to the past by an indissoluble tie and in full sympathy with the living present, it would seem as if the Episcopal Church might be called to do a great work in this land during the century that is to

come. Its position, as compared with that of other religious bodies, is in some respects peculiar. It is one which exposes us to the charge, on the one hand, of requiring too much as the basis of a Christian profession, and, on the other hand, of requiring too little. The same might have been said of the Apostles, when they put the simple question to those who presented themselves for baptism, "Do you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ?" The ground taken by this Church is, that it is bound to demand of its communicants all which the Apostles would have required, and *nothing more*. It is this feature which has attracted to our communion not a few persons who are alarmed at the doctrinal disintegration that is going on in the ecclesiastical bodies with which they have been connected, and are anxious to have some assurance as to what their children will be taught, after they have passed away. Many of our most active and serviceable laymen, and some of our most eminent clergymen, have come into our ranks, because they felt that, in a Christian Church, there should be some recognition of the divinity of the Being from whom the Church takes its name. They were not ready to accept the decrees of the Synod of Dort, or the articles of the Westminster Confession, or any of the more modern platforms constructed of timber taken from these elaborate structures, but they could receive the simple creeds, which have been affirmed "through the ages all along," and repeat them with a clear conscience and an intelligent assent. Where could they have found refuge if this Church had not existed? Another class have left the communion in which they were bred for the same reason that would have prevented the former from entering it, and they are drawn to us by the simplicity as well as the stability of our Creed. The question is now debated in many quarters whether it may not be well to reinstate the Apostles' Creed in place of the cumbersome and ensnaring compends of theology which obstruct the entrance to Christ's visible kingdom; and if the unity of the Church is ever to be restored, it must be on the basis of some such primitive platform as this.

I do not mean to speak disparagingly of the attempts which from time to time have been made to formulate abstract and exhaustive schemes of theological science and reduce everything pertaining to religion to a complete and consistent philosophical system; the intellectual power of the Church has been greatly stimulated by these efforts, and they may have served to resolve some difficult problems which the Scriptures had left unexplained, while they may also have suggested difficulties which do not appear on the inspired page; but the fatal results which have attended the determination on the part of certain bodies in Christendom to build up a Church on some such metaphysical foundation as this, and the absolute impossibility of ever bringing the great multitude of Christian believers into agreement with any one of these systems, only confirms the wisdom of our own Church in requiring of her baptized members a simple affirmation of the Apostles' Creed. And to what nobler object could our thoughts and labors be directed than the restoration of the broken unity of the Church? The main difficulty in sustaining our Christian institutions grows out of the innumerable schisms which divide the hosts of Christendom; towns and villages only strong enough to sustain one respectable church, must have their half-dozen houses of worship, all feeble, all struggling for existence, all supported, more or less, by outside aid, all battling with each other, perhaps more vigorously than they fight the common enemy, the world, meanwhile, looking on and smiling at their folly, or exulting over their contentions; all professing to accept the same inspired standard of doctrine and each faction interpreting that standard after its own fashion; sect after sect starting into being on the ground of some trifling conceit which is magnified until it becomes more prominent than the most vital doctrines of the Gospel, — sects with names which are a reproach to Christianity and an insult to common sense, — it is this which accounts for the meagre support of so many of our clergy, the want of efficiency in so many of our parishes, and the slow progress that we make in converting the world.

What a change there would be in the aspect of affairs if all who profess and call themselves Christians were willing to conform to the polity which for fifteen hundred years was universally recognized in the Church, and which is recognized to-day by the great majority of Christian people, and to accept as the standard of their faith the simple creed which has come down to us from the beginning! With such a unity as this, there need be no undue interference with the freedom of individual action, or of individual thought; there might still be variety in forms of worship, in the styles of weapon used by the different branches of Christ's Catholic army, in the modes adopted to reach the unconverted multitude and the unenlightened heathen; while the mighty host of believers, recognizing one Lord, one

faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, one royal banner, marches on in triumph until the whole world bowed in humble reverence and adoration before the cross of Jesus.

In studying the Gospels we cannot fail to be impressed with the thought that Christ established His kingdom, with the intent that it should grapple with the world at every point, rectify all the disorders of society, check the rapacity of trade, protect the laborer, watch over the household circle, regulate the marriage relations, purify public amusement, reorganize human governments, elevate the general tone of public sentiment, and alleviate to all the wants and woes of men,—making the earth in which we live, brighter and better and happier, while it is trying also to save men from the wrath to come.

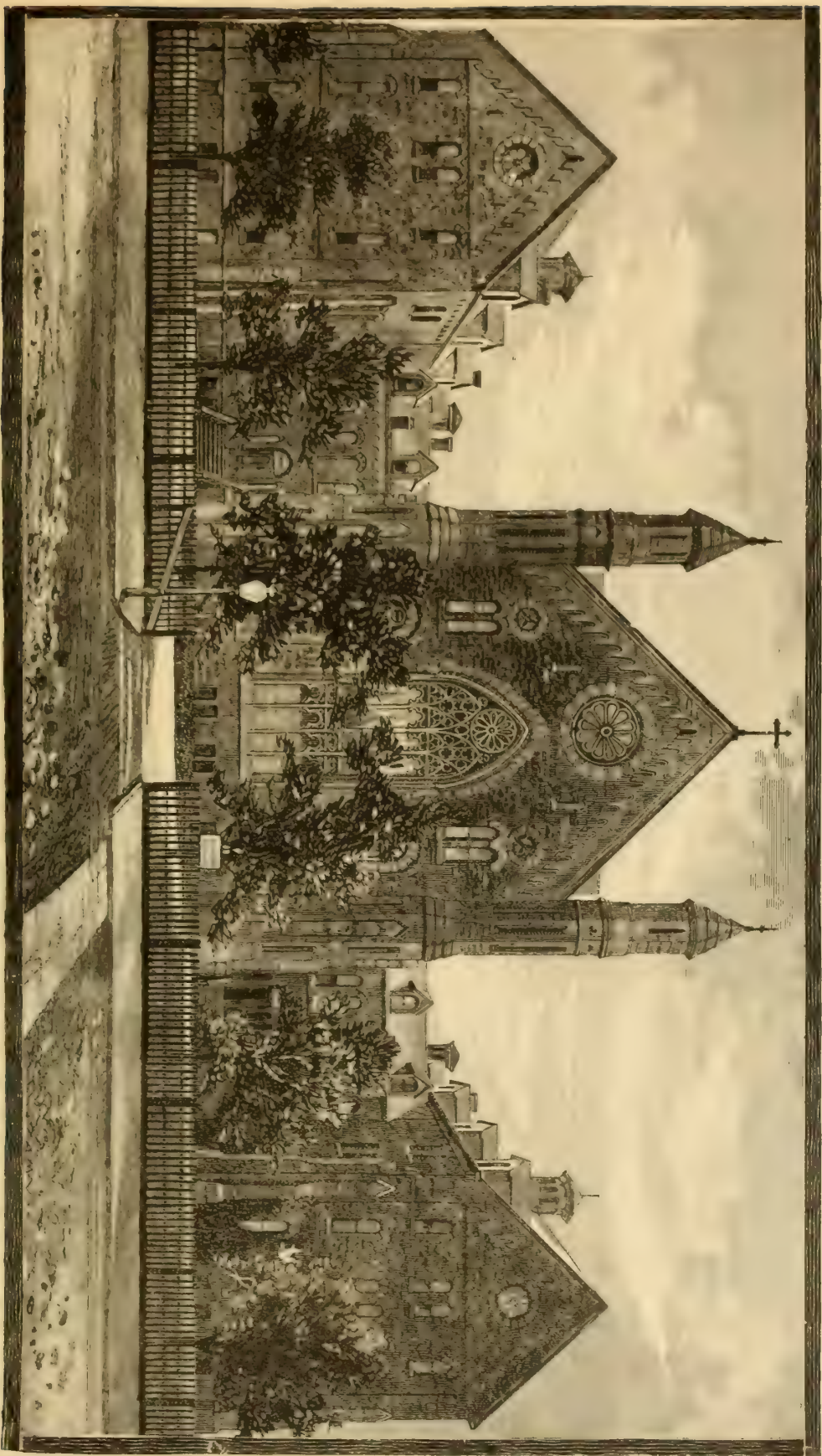
But thus far, for the most part, the world has gone one way and the Church another, and the distinction between things secular and sacred is regarded as equivalent to the distinction between things sinful and holy. In some respects, the line of demarkation that separates the Church from the world is very distinct, while, in other respects, it is not as clearly marked as it should be. Those persons who are communicants in the Church are regarded as amenable to its discipline; while others are allowed to follow their own desires until such time as they may repent and conform to the statutes of the Church; and so business men have their own very imperfect code of morals, and pauperism keeps its grim hold as relentlessly as ever, and the education of the young is given into the hands of those who neither fear God nor believe in His existence; and while demoralizing amusements may be sternly denounced, no effectual measures are adopted for their reform, and civil government is too often intrusted to the control of men whose word would not be taken in the ordinary transactions of life, and war still flaunts its blood-red banner, and is even waged in the Name of Him at whose coming the angels sang in the clouds of heaven, "Peace on earth, good will towards men."

Nothing is foreign to the Church that pertains to humanity. Christ did not pray that His disciples might be taken out of the world, but only that they should be delivered from the evil. He Himself lived in the world preëminently, and made Himself familiar with men in all the relations of life. He visited their homes, attended their weddings, sat at their feasts, walked about their market-places, talked with men on the highway, watched them at their fishing and planting, drew His illustrations, for the most part, from what He saw going on around Him, and He tells His people that they are to be in the world as a salt to purify it and as a light to illuminate it.

The strongest argument that can be urged in behalf of the kingdom of Christ is the benefit that it is to the world.

Of late years, our own Church has begun to recognize the fact that the sphere in which it is called to work is bounded by nothing but the necessities of the race to which we belong. In the establishment of hospitals, and homes of all sorts for the destitute, reading-rooms and places of wholesome resort for the floating population, and free churches for all classes and conditions of men, I think it may be said, without vain boasting, that the Episcopal Church has taken the lead. There are individual parishes which are doing more to-day, in a great variety of practical ways, for the direct elevation of the humbler classes of society than was done by the whole Church half a century ago. A great deal of secular work, which becomes sacred by the spirit which prompts it, is now required of both priest and people, that was never dreamed of in former days. And this is only the beginning of an extension of Christian influence in other quarters where it is much needed. Simultaneously with this work of general charity there has been enkindled an interest in the cause of Christian missions, which, though it is by no means universal, has been steadily increasing during the last few years. At the General Convention, held half a century ago, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society reported their expenditures as follows: "On account of the Greek Mission, \$3,975; Green Bay Mission, \$5,000; Domestic Missionaries, \$1,275; other domestic objects, \$1,500; total, \$11,750." That was the day of small things, and it is still the day of small things, as compared with what we hope to do in the future.

Nothing has done so much to quiet dissensions in the Church as the hearty enlistment of ministers and people in charitable and missionary work. The blotting out of party lines has not been effected by argument; we have "shot our arrows, even bitter words," and they have returned to us void. But when the cry is heard on the wind from a perishing world, "Come to our help!" we forget our disputes



HOSPITAL OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

and vain janglings, and every faithful servant of Jesus asks, "What can I do to rescue those who are perishing for lack of knowledge?"

Standing in the presence of great realities, and in immediate view of the solemn charge that has been given us to "preach the Word, and be instant in season and out of season, our interest in all visionary schemes of doctrine and in all minute details of form and ceremony, of necessity ceases: in matters of life and death, eternal life and eternal death, we have no time left to expend upon trifles. In the heat of battle, the commander cares very little about the ornaments of his dress or the jewels on his scabbard; as a matter of course he wears the uniform prescribed by those whom he serves, and that is all which concerns him. He marshals his troops according to the manual, but in an emergency the rigid rules of military etiquette have to give way.

When the Apostles went forth on their errand of mercy, the burden of their mission was the story of Christ. They told the people how the Son of God had come into the world and died for their redemption. They never perplexed their hearers with subtle questions of theology, or with metaphysical theories of depravity, with discussions of prevenient grace and the grace of congruity, of moral and physical inability, of imputed righteousness as distinct from actual righteousness, of the philosophy of the atonement, of the nature and limits of Divine inspiration. They did not undertake to solve the mystery of Christ's double nature, or to explain the mutual relations of the three Persons in the Godhead, but they made men feel that they were sinners and uncovered the awful depths of corruption in which their souls were sunk; they declared in terms that could not be misunderstood the stern and impartial justice of God, and the absolute certainty of punishment for every unforgiven sin; they published abroad the inexhaustible love and mercy of God, and how He is always waiting for the return of His rebellious children, and ready to receive them with open arms whenever they come back as the prodigal did, sorrowing and repenting. They proclaimed the grace which bringeth salvation, and led men to the cross, and showed them the Saviour bleeding there in expiation of their transgressions; then they taught their converts plainly and explicitly what were the duties which they owed to God, and just how those duties must be discharged. They enforced a Gospel of righteousness and temperance, and chastity, and charity, and honest and honorable dealing. They told parents and children, and masters and servants, and governors and employers, and laboring men, how they should conduct themselves, and what were the motives by which they should be guided; they spoke blessed words of comfort to the weary and heavy-laden, the weak and the suffering, the down-trodden and oppressed. They told men how in Christ Jesus death had lost its sting and the grave its victory, and pointed to a world where the tears are wiped from every eye, and where there is no more sin, or sorrow, or dimness of vision, and it was thus that men were lifted heavenward and brought into the fold of Jesus. And when the ambassador of Christ is in earnest, whether he ministers to the refined and cultivated citizen of the metropolis, or the rougher and more enterprising emigrant on the outer borders of civilization, or to the oppressed and persecuted Indian, or to the unenlightened freedman, or the besotted and ignorant heathen, it is the same story of a loving Saviour which inspires his heart and gives efficacy to His Word.

If the little band of faithful men who met together in this consecrated place nearly a century ago could look in upon our Convention to-day, representing as it does a great Church, thoroughly consolidated and fully equipped for the work which it is called to do, with its sixty-six living Bishops, and its clerical and lay representatives from regions which, at the time of their assembling, were an unbroken wilderness, and are now teeming with a refined and enterprising people; if they could have foreseen in 1785, that they were legislating for a Church which, in the course of a century, would cover a territory more than double the size of the Roman Empire, when it was said to rule the world, how impressive and eventful would the work have seemed to be, which in all humility and lowliness of heart they had assembled to do!

A very solemn responsibility rests upon the Convention, which is assembled to carry on the work which they so well inaugurated. By excess of legislation, or by defect of legislation, the progress of the Church may be seriously hindered, and while we must always be true to the doctrine and spirit of our one only Lord and Sovereign, and to every usage and doctrine which is essential to the integrity of the Church, we should carefully consider the circumstances which surround us, and conform ourselves to the peculiar condition and necessities of the people among



CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, PHILADELPHIA.

whom we live, remembering that arrangements which might have suited precisely the state of society as it existed in England two or three hundred years ago may not be in every particular adapted to the wants of our heterogeneous and shifting community. There is other work for us to do beside fortifying and defending our citadel. Constitutions and canons are of value, so far as they aid in discharging the mission intrusted to us, and no farther. Rubrics are only the regulating power of the machine, — indispensable parts of the mechanism, but without any inspiring force. And while we continue to walk in the old paths, let it be with an accelerated pace, and with our eyes looking forward, and not backward.

This Church may become the rallying point and centre of unity for those who are weary of sectarian divisions, and are content to accept the simple faith, as we have received it from Christ and His Apostles. It was once the home of the English-speaking race, and if it had been as wise in its generation as it should have been, it might possibly have continued to be their home to the present day.

The entrance upon the centennial period has been marked by nothing more important in the action of the Convention of 1883 than the changes proposed by the Committee on the Book of Common Prayer, and, as agreed to by the Committee of Conference of the two Houses, adopted with a singular unanimity at the close of the long and brilliant session of the Convention held in "Holy Trinity Church." Although the changes thus approved do not become operative until further action has been taken in a subsequent General Convention, the favorable interest they have excited, and the general approval they have received, indicate with a sufficient certainty their ultimate adoption. These changes are chiefly in the direction of the enrichment of our services and a flexibility in their use. The addition to the canticles and the increase in the number of versicles serve to bring our service-book in closer accord with the English prayer-book. The recognition of certain customs which have obtained in various quarters, — such as the use of the offertory anthem, the expression of thanks for the Gospel at its close, and a form of presenting candidates for confirmation, — show a disposition to adopt that mode of ritual which has found favor in use. The addition of the Beatitudes of the Gospel as a separate office, or an addition to the services, has been widely approved. Other changes of greater or less importance come before the Church with the indorsement not alone of the Liturgical Committee, made up of representative men of all shades of opinion and from all schools of thought in the Church, but with the careful consideration of a Convention than which no ecclesiastical body, in modern days at least, ever came to its task of examining and weighing such matters with greater or more varied learning or with a fuller sense of responsibility and devotion to duty. The new lectionary, the tentative use of which had proved its value and its improvement on the old, was formally adopted. Little was done, and even less was needed, in the change of old canons or the preparation of new. A new diocese — the forty-ninth — was created by the division of the see of the Bishop of North Carolina. The change of the name of the diocese of Illinois to that of Chicago was approved. The board of trustees of the General Seminary was made less unwieldy, and the control of this important institution vested in the bishops who consent to serve in this capacity, and the dean and fifty clergyman and laymen, of whom half are to be appointed by the



GRACE CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.

General Convention and half by the dioceses, in proportion to their past contribution to the Seminary funds. The bounds of the missionary jurisdiction of Niobrara were enlarged and the name changed to that of South Dakota, while North Dakota was made a missionary district and a bishop chosen as its head. No little interest centred around the splendid ceremonial of the consecration of the Rev. Dr. H. C. Porter, as Assistant Bishop of New York, in his own parish church; a service attended by nearly forty bishops and upwards of three hundred clergy. The consecration of the Bishop of Indiana and the Assistant Bishop of Virginia,—the one in St. Mark's, Philadelphia, and the other in his own parish church of Emmanuel, in Baltimore,—and, after the rising of the Convention, that of the Bishop of North Dakota in New York, added to the numbers and the strength of the House of Bishops, which now numbered its one hundred and thirty-fourth member in the person of the Rt. Rev. Alfred A. Watson, D.D., the first Bishop of East Carolina.

The progress of the Church, as appeared from the statistics presented to the Convention, was full of encouragement. As reported for the past fifty years by the Committee on the State of the Church, the figures were instructive.

The solemn recognition of the centennial period with its noteworthy days was earnestly urged upon the Church. In these observances, and in acquainting the members of the Church and others with the principles underlying our ecclesiastical constitution, as brought prominently into notice in the references to the church's annals these celebrations require, the progress of the fathers of the American Church towards organic unity and a wise comprehension, may be reverently traced. At the beginning of a second century of church growth and development we shall be wise if we study the records of our earliest days. The work done for us a century since, we are to transmit to the ages yet to come. As in the past so in the future, "God, even our own God, shall bless us." For the Church of our love and membership we may well breathe the confident hope and prayer, *ESTO PERPETUA!*

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE.

STATEMENT showing the progress of the Church, in the number of Dioceses, Parishes, Clergy, and Communicants, from 1833 to 1883. The dates are those of the several Triennial Conventions, and returns derived from less than the whole number of Dioceses are indicated by appropriate notes: ¹—

¹ Prepared by the Committee on Church Growth, Rev. B. J. Douglass, Chairman.

DATE.	No. Dioceses.	No. Parishes.	No. Clergy.	Whole No. of Communicants.	Whole No. of Baptisms.
1832	18	462 in 12 D.	592	30,939 in 16 D.	23,127 in 14 D.
1835	19	590 in 12 D.	763	36,416	21,849
1838	25	.....	951	45,930 in 23 D.	18,758 in 12 D.
1841	25	.....	1,052	55,427	34,465 in 23 D.
1844	27	.....	1,096	72,099 in 26 D.	37,119 in 22 D.
1847	28	.....	1,404	67,550 in 27 D.	33,774
1850	29	.....	1,558	79,802 in 28 D.	42,025
1853	30	.....	1,651	105,136	48,157 in 28 D.
1857	31	.....	1,828	119,540	70,527 in 30 D.
1859	33	2,120	2,064	139,611	89,282
1862	33	1,728 ¹	2,286	124,340 in 23 D.	71,533 in 22 D.
1865	33	1,687 ¹	2,450	148,068 in 26 D.	80,621 in 25 D.
1868	35	2,299 ¹	2,662	195,835 in 34 D.	99,720
1871	40	2,767	2,876	236,929	117,267
1874	41	2,741 ¹	3,082	282,359 in 40 D.	122,640 in 39 D.
1877	45	2,401 ¹	3,086	297,387 in 40 D.	129,757 in 41 D.
1880	48	2,917 ¹	3,355	344,789	137,617 in 45 D.
1883	48	2,937	3,572	407,481 ²	134,933

STATEMENT OF CHURCH PROGRESS.

Items available for more recent dates only.

Date.	No. of Missionary Jurisdictions.	No. of Missions.	OFFERINGS FOR MISSIONS.			Total Offerings.
			Domestic.	Diocesan.	Foreign.	
1865	...	...	.....	.....	.....	\$6,471,669
1868	...	...	.....	.....	.....	11,291,655
1871	7	626 ³	.....	.....	.....	16,384,712 in 35 D.
1874	8	918 ³	496,527	231,701	456,417	17,964,024 in 39 D.
1877	13	959 ³	461,606	231,303	500,766	21,535,506 in 43 D.
1880	13	1,295	515,917	274,163	506,882	20,251,824
1883	14	1,355	.....	.....	.....	28,912,731

The most complete measure of the progress of the Church, for the period from 1832 to 1883, is the increase in the number of communicants; but the immediate comparison of one triennial report with the preceding one is not practicable, because of the incompleteness of the returns in some cases. By grouping the triennial periods, however, we find that the ratio of increase becomes clear, and that for the entire period of fifty years it averages 20 per centum upon each triennial report, the successive reports being so much greater in each case; and for the whole period from 1832 to 1883, the increase is more than tenfold in the number of communicants.

During the 50 years from 1832 to 1883, the growth of the Episcopal Church, as shown by the preceding Tabular Statements, has been such as to more than double the number of dioceses, 18 to 48; to increase the number of parishes in a large ratio, but less distinctly defined; to increase the number of clergy fivefold, 592 to 3,572, and the number of communicants more than tenfold, 30,939 to 372,484; also the number of Baptisms in nearly the same proportion.

For the more complete statistics of the more recent part of this period, the number of Missionary Jurisdictions shows a gain of one hundred per cent. since 1871; the number of Missions, the like gain; and the offerings a gain of one hundred per cent. in the short period from 1868 to 1880. The increase in the number of Communicants is very striking, but the progress in resources, as shown by the increase in Offerings is still more remarkable.

¹ Incomplete: two or more dioceses not making report. ² Wanting in returns from two or more dioceses.

³ Estimating for 42 parishes omitted

GENERAL COMPARISON.

Date.	No. of Dioceses.	No. of Clergy.	No. of Communicants.	Population.
1790	7	190	.....	3,929,214
1800	8	210 inc. 10 %	11,978	5,308,483
1810	9	218 " 3 "	.....	7,239,881
1820	13	331 " 50 "	.....	9,633,822
1830	20	534 " 60 "	.....	12,866,620
1840	25	1,059 " 100 "	.....	17,069,453
1850	29	1,589 " 50 "	87,794	23,191,876
1860	33	2,156 " 30 "	146,588 inc. 66 %	31,443,321
1870	40	2,838 " 40 "	220,000 " 50 "	38,558,371
1880	48	3,432 " 21 "	344,789 " 56 "	50,152,866
1883	49	.....	407,481	.....

The ratio of increase for the longer series, shown in the previous tables, has exhibited an average gain in the number of communicants of 20 % for each triennial period, while the ratio of gain in population for the whole country is much less, and not more than 10 to 12 % for the same period.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS.

Lay Readers	.....	1,143
Candidates for Holy Orders	.....	401
Mission Stations	.....	1,307
Church and Chapel Buildings	.....	3,732
Church Institutions, viz. : —		
Hospitals	.....	45
Orphanages	.....	48
Homes for aged and others	.....	32
Academies	.....	99
Colleges	.....	17
Theological Schools	.....	16
Other institutions	.....	56
Communicants added since 1880	.....	62,692

William Brewster Perry.

Illustrative Monographs.

MONOGRAPH I.

THE GENERAL ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH; ITS HISTORY AND RATIONALE.

BY THE LATE REV. FRANCIS LISTER HAWKS, D.D., LL.D.,

First Historiographer of the American Church.

BEFORE proceeding to a consideration of the principles underlying the Constitution of the American Church, it may conduce to perspicuity, and serve as an auxiliary in the interpretation of the instrument itself, to call attention to a brief historical sketch of the condition in which the war of the Revolution left the Church, and of the measures pursued by the several independent States of the infant confederacy.

When the war commenced there were Episcopal churches in New Hampshire, Massachusetts (including Maine), Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

In Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas the Church was the establishment, and in all of these States, except North Carolina, possessed a considerable share of strength, and consequent influence. In the New England States, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, it had always encountered the opposition of a large part of the inhabitants, who adhered either to independency, or some other form of dissent from the Church of England; and in this region of country it was never strong. In New York the Church could not properly be called the establishment, though there were laws which purported to confer privileges upon it. In the city, indeed, it derived support from the countenance afforded by the governors, and others connected with the administration of public affairs; out of the city the churches were not only few, but incapable of sustaining themselves without aid from the mother-country. In New Jersey were some of the oldest congregations on the continent; but they also were feeble, and looked for support to the society in England for propagating the gospel. Pennsylvania, with the lower counties that now make Delaware, was not as favorably situated as New York. In the city of Philadelphia were four clergymen, and out of it not more than six or eight; all of the latter being missionaries from England, and deriving support from thence.

At the close of the revolutionary war the Church had still an existence in each of the States above named, though in some of them it had become but little more than nominal. The first inquiry that presents itself, in the prosecution of our subject, is into the relation which the churches in these several States bore to each other. Were they one Church, and but one? or were they several distinct portions of the Church catholic?

While the States were colonies all were alike subject in ecclesiastical matters to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. They were consequently one, and but one, in the particular of Episcopal authority.

Professedly they were one also in rites, ceremonies, and doctrine, and but one. The *union* and the *unity* of the Church (for it will at once be seen that they are different things) were therefore both preserved during our colonial existence. The first, by means of subordination to the same ecclesiastical law, and a common ecclesiastical ruler; the last, by an adherence to the same common faith of the Gospel.

The effect of the Revolution could be felt in but one of these particulars of union and unity. The reason is obvious. The one was the creation of conventional arrangement among men, and rested only upon an agreement, entered into, or acquiesced in, under a given state of circumstances. The union of the churches in any country must be the act of man, for man must make the regulations by which different Christian churches consent to adopt one system of government or polity. The other, unity, depends on an adherence to what God has declared to be his truth, and no political convulsions can alter that truth, or release man from his obligations to obey it; and thus the Revolution not only could not, by any necessary consequence, destroy the unity existing among the churches in the several colonies on this continent, but it did not disturb it, as between them and the Church of the mother-country, from which, politically, they were just severed. The Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States are now both "in the unity of the catholic Church," though under different systems of polity.

The Revolution did, however, destroy the union of our churches with the Church of England; for subordination to the canons of that Church, and to the Bishop of London was impossible, without a violation of that Christian duty of allegiance and obedience to the law which the churchmen of America owed to their own country. Relations, created originally by human appointment merely, were completely changed by circumstances, and human wisdom might, therefore, lawfully enter upon the task of devising new relations, and forming new bonds for their establishment. "When, in the course of divine Providence" (thus speaks the preface to our Book of Common Prayer), "these American States became independent with respect to civil government, their ecclesiastical independence was necessarily included." Did the severance of the union between the colonial churches and that of the parent land destroy also the union *among themselves*? It could not do otherwise, for it removed the only bond

of union they had, viz. : a common ruler and the same laws. While, therefore, the unity of the Church was unimpaired, its union was completely destroyed; and a sense of the value and importance of that union led very soon to measures for its renewal.

We are thus brought to the question : In what attitude did the churches in the several States stand to each other in entering on this work of once more uniting? The question is one of fact; and the testimony would seem to leave no doubt that in each State, the Church considered itself an integral part of the Church of Christ, perfectly independent in its government of any and every branch of the Church in Christendom. Such an opinion would the more readily be adopted from the fact that the several States considered themselves, in their civil relations, as independent sovereignties, and as such, sought to find a bond of union, first in the articles of confederation, and afterward in the Federal constitution. Many of those who were employed in laying the foundations of our civil polity were also aiding by their councils in the establishment of our ecclesiastical system; and hence it is not surprising that there should be found not a few resemblances between them. We present now the facts that show the sense of independence entertained by the churches in the several States.

The constitution was not finally adopted until October, 1789. Let us examine the steps that preceded it; and first, as to the independent action of the States.

As early as March, 1783, before any general meeting had been held, or any proposition made from any quarter for a union, the Church in Connecticut proceeded to organize itself; and to carry out its purposes, the clergy of that State elected Dr. Seabury their bishop, and he proceeded to Europe for consecration. This he obtained in November, 1784, at the hands of the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal church; and, returning to this country, he was recognized by the clergy of Connecticut as their bishop, in August, 1785.

In August, 1783, Maryland moved in the business of her organization. This also was before any general meeting, or any proposition for such a meeting. The principal work of this Convention, in August, was the setting forth "a declaration of certain fundamental rights and liberties of the Protestant Episcopal Church in *Maryland*." The first clause of this declaration places the opinion of the Church in Maryland, as to her independent character, beyond all doubt. It is as follows : "We consider it as the undoubted right of the said Protestant Episcopal Church, in common with other Christian churches under the American Revolution, to complete and preserve herself as an entire Church, agreeably to her ancient usages and professions; and to have a full enjoyment and free exercise of those purely spiritual powers which are essential to the being of every church or congregation of the faithful, and which, being derived from Christ and his apostles, are to be maintained independent of every foreign or other jurisdiction, so far as may be consistent with the civil rights of society." In June, 1784, Maryland repeated her declaration, and acted on her independent principles. In May, 1784, Pennsylvania acted, and appointed

"a standing committee of the Episcopal Church *in this State*," and authorized them "to correspond and confer with representatives from *the Episcopal Church in the other States*, or any of them; and assist in framing an ecclesiastical government." This was the first step taken toward an union of the churches in the States generally. At this meeting, also, Pennsylvania set forth her fundamental principles.

In September, 1784, Massachusetts acted as an independent church, in framing certain articles, in which the right of each State *separately* to apply abroad for the episcopate is distinctly asserted. This also was before any general meeting of the churches from the States.

The standing committee appointed by Pennsylvania did correspond and confer with churchmen in the other States; so that on the 6th of October, 1784, the first *general* meeting of Episcopalians, to adopt measures for a union, was held in New York. At this meeting representatives were present from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. From Virginia, Dr. Griffith was present by permission. He could not sit as a delegate, because Virginia (a State which, through its whole ecclesiastical history since the Revolution, has always asserted its independent diocesan rights) had forbidden by law her clergy to interfere in making changes in the order, government, worship, or doctrine of the Church. Virginia asserted the entire independence of the Church within her limits of all control but her own.

At this meeting for conference (it was nothing more) but one opinion prevailed, as to the light in which the churches in the several States were to be viewed. It was recommended to the States represented, and proposed to those not represented, to organize or associate "themselves in the States to which they respectively belong, agreeably to such rules *as they shall think proper*;" and when this was done, not before, they further recommended and proposed that all "should unite in a general ecclesiastical constitution." As the basis of this constitution they proposed certain "fundamental principles," in which the independent character of the Church in each State is fully recognized. They also invited the churches in the several States to send delegates to a future general meeting, for the purpose of accomplishing an union.

Pursuant to this recommendation and proposal some of the other States acted. Early in 1785 the clergy of South Carolina met and agreed to send delegates to the next general meeting; but, in complying with the invitation to cooperate in the measures necessary to effect a general union, they accompanied their compliance with an unequivocal proof of their sense of the independence of the South Carolina Church, for they annexed to it an understanding that *no bishop* was to be settled in that State.

In the summer of 1785 New York and New Jersey appointed their respective delegates, and in September of that year the general meeting was held.

At this meeting the proceedings were such as show that the churches in the several States were deemed independent. Thus the

first vote of the assembled body was taken *by States*, and the principle was formally recognized of voting, not individually, but by States. A committee was appointed consisting of one clergyman and one layman, from each State represented, to prepare and report an ecclesiastical constitution, "for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America;" and this is the second instance in which the whole of the Episcopal churches in this country are spoken of collectively as one body, or religious community; the first being in the fundamental articles proposed in October, 1784.

The instrument then proposed and adopted, in conformity with the "fundamental principles" before propounded at the first meeting, is the basis of our present constitution, and repeatedly speaks of the "Church in each State," and in its final article provides that "this general ecclesiastical constitution, when ratified by the Church in the different States, shall be considered as fundamental, and shall be unalterable by the Convention of the Church in any State." This general constitution, however, as Bishop White informs us, did not form a bond of union among the churches throughout the land; for it stood upon recommendation only; and the real and only bond, by which all the Episcopal congregations in the country were held together, until 1789, was in the common recognition of the Thirty-nine Articles.

It would seem, then, that the churches of the several States came together as independent churches, duly organized, and so considered each other, for the purpose of forming some bond whereby they might be held together as one religious community throughout the whole United States.

We have said the churches of the several States convened; from this remark, however, Connecticut must be excepted, for she had pursued her own course as an independent part of the Christian Church; having sought (as she had a right to do) the episcopate for herself, and, after obtaining it, she furnished one of the plainest proofs of the general sense of American Episcopalians to the independent character of the churches in the States, for it was after negotiation with the General Convention, in 1789, that Connecticut came into union as a church fully and duly organized with a bishop, priests, and deacons.

We next inquire what was the mode by which they proposed to accomplish this desirable end? Did they merely purpose to establish a *concordat* or mutual and fraternal acknowledgment of each other among these independent churches? Did they mean to make nothing more than a league between them, thus forming them into a simple confederacy? They went far beyond this: they designed to do so, and most wisely. What was it that the Revolution had destroyed? Not unity, but union. They had been but one Church; their wish was to return to union, and to supply the bond for that purpose, of which the casualties of war had deprived them. They declared that they came together "in order to *unite*," and placed this declaration as a preamble to the very instrument by which they sought to accomplish their end. To unite in what? They answered for themselves: "in a constitution of ecclesiastical government:" that is, in a system of polity, to be of general force and application. Indeed, there was nothing

else in which they could unite, for in all other matters they were already one. It is an error of dangerous tendency to the harmony and stability of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States to take any other view of the plans and purposes of those who met to form her constitution.

But a union between parties perfectly independent may be formed upon various terms and conditions. Every independent right may be surrendered, or some only may be given up; so, too, a greater or less equivalent may be given for such surrender; we next ask, therefore, what were the terms of the union agreed on? In other words, what is the true meaning of the constitution? The instrument itself can, of course, be expected to do no more than present certain great general principles. It cannot provide by express declaration for each case specifically; for this would make it rather a statute-book than a constitution; whereas, its true purpose is to furnish certain guides to action in the future formation of a statute-book. Its interpretation, therefore, should be liberal, and rather according to its general spirit, than to its strict letter, when the rigor of literal interpretation would tend to defeat the great end of *union*, contemplated by its framers. Let it never be lost sight of, that in all such matters as fairly arise under this general constitution, the polar star in interpretation is, that it was made for the purpose of binding us all to "walk by the same rule." And yet it must also be remembered that no liberality of interpretation should so stretch its powers as virtually to destroy those diocesan rights that are as essential to our well-being as union itself. The experience of our civil history shows that few points are more difficult of adjustment, than the respective rights and powers of the State and general governments. A similar difficulty, to some extent, exists in the system of polity adopted by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States; for the analogy between the two forms of government is in some particulars very close, and was made so intentionally. In the government of the United States an ultimate arbiter in interpretation is provided in the Supreme Court. In the Church, however, we possess no such advantage; for we have no tribunal that can authoritatively declare to the whole Church what the meaning of the constitution is. The House of Bishops may, indeed, express an opinion, if it pleases, and the churches generally respect it, as they should do; but such opinion is neither law, nor authorized judicial exposition of law. Hitherto there has been practically but little difficulty; but it is easy to foresee, as our numbers increase, the certainty of future conflict. It is difficult to lay down a general principle on this delicate subject, of the respective rights of the Church at large, and the churches in the several dioceses. What is desirable is, on the one hand, to promote such a union as is compatible with diocesan independency; and on the other, so to uphold the just rights of the latter as to prevent their merger in the former.

What then did the several dioceses retain under the constitution? They retained very clearly the following rights:—

1. To organize as a distinct Church within the territorial limits of each State, district, or diocese.

2. To elect their own ecclesiastical head.
3. To hold the sole and exclusive jurisdiction in the trial of offending clergymen within their respective limits; and to prescribe the mode of trial.
4. To hold their own ecclesiastical legislatures and make all such laws as they might deem necessary for their well-being, provided they did not defeat the purpose of union, by contravening the constitution, and constitutional enactments of the Church general.
5. To have an equal voice in the general legislation of the Church at large.
6. To have their respective bishops subject to no other prelate, and to be interfered with in the discharge of their duty by no other bishop; but, in all things belonging to their office, to be equal to every other bishop in the Church.
7. To have their several bishops of right entitled to a voice in the councils of the Church, not as representatives of dioceses, but individually as Christian bishops.

What did they surrender? As we apprehend, the following things:—

1. Such an exercise of independency as would permit them to withdraw from the union at their own pleasure, and without the assent of the other dioceses.
2. They surrendered the right of having the bishop whom they might elect consecrated without the assent of the Church at large.
3. They surrendered the right of sole and unrestricted legislation for themselves, in the dioceses alone, but consented that part of their laws should be made in a general legislature of which they were members.
4. They surrendered the right of framing their own liturgy, and agreed through all the dioceses to use the same, when all should have ratified it.
5. They surrendered the right of making separately any alteration in the great compact or charter of union.

These things, as it seems to us, were done by the proposed constitution of 1785. But this instrument was not binding on the Church as its constitution, for it was yet to be ratified by the Conventions of the several States. It was accordingly sent to them for that purpose, and much diversity of opinion prevailed in the dioceses concerning its adoption. In June, 1786, a Convention was held of delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, and the constitution of the previous year underwent revision and alteration in that body. It still, however, remained to be ratified by the several State conventions, and it was accordingly recommended to them that they should authorize and empower their deputies to the first General Convention, meeting after a bishop or bishops had been consecrated, to confirm and ratify a general constitution. They did so, and the first Convention after obtaining the episcopate was held in July, 1789. At this meeting the delegates declared themselves authorized by their respective Conventions to ratify a constitution; and it was referred to a committee of one from each

State, to consider the constitution proposed in 1786. It underwent much discussion, and finally, on the 8th of August, 1789, the constitution was formally adopted, and became the fundamental law of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The work commenced at the first general meeting of Episcopalians, in October, 1784, was thus consummated in August, 1789, and during the intervening period there was no bond holding the churches on this continent together, but the bond of a common faith.

Francis L. Hawks

HOW FAR WE ARE BOUND BY ENGLISH CANONS.

By FRANCIS WHARTON, D.D., LL.D.,

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The question of the conflict of laws as to time—in other words, of the relation of present to prior legislation—has been discussed by many able jurists. To it Savigny devoted the concluding chapter of his great work on the "System des heutigen Röm. Rechts;" and on the same topic we have a special treatise by Schmidt, a learned Swiss professor, entitled, "Die Herrschaft der Gesetze nach ihren räumlichen und Zeitlichen Grenzen." Windscheid (Pandekt., § 31) and Vangerow (Pandekt., § 24) have given to the theme much valuable thought; and it engaged the attention, though more cursorily, of Chancellor Kent, in the opening chapters of his "Commentaries;" of Judge Cooley, in his work on Constitutional Limitations; and of Mr. Sedgwick, in his work on Statutory Law. The following conclusions, I may venture to say, are sustained not only by the authorities to which I thus refer, but by a number of adjudicated cases which it would be out of place here to cite.

1. When the law-making power sets forth a code, which is declared to be complete, this repeals all prior laws.

2. When a code in force under a prior system is reënacted, with omissions, this implies that the omissions, unless merely verbal, are declarations that what is prescribed or forbidden by the omitted clauses under the old system is not prescribed or forbidden under the new system.

3. Even partial legislation as to a specific topic renders inoperative the common law on that topic. We have an illustration of this in the English rulings on the subject of what is called malicious mischief. It was held at an early period in England, and it has been held frequently in this country, that for one man maliciously to injure the property of another is indictable at common law. This is all very well, and has led, in some of our States, to a series of decisions by which

offences of this class are accurately and adequately mapped out. But in England, in order to punish more severely some peculiarly dangerous offences of this kind, statutes — *e.g.*, the "Black Act," and the statutes protecting machinery — were passed, singling out certain articles from a category, and imposing heavy penalties on the destruction of such articles. A statute, for instance, is passed making it indictable maliciously to kill cows; and when such a statute is passed, it is held that, though at common law the malicious killing of an ox is indictable, yet the taking up the topic by the legislature, and singling out a particular branch of that topic for the imposition of a penalty, is virtually saying, "As to other branches of this topic no penalty is to be imposed." We have innumerable rulings of the courts, both in England and this country, to this effect; and these rulings are based on a well-known maxim of the Roman law: "*expressio unius est exclusio alterius.*" Nor is there anything artificial in the reasoning of which this maxim is the expression. It is simply this: when, on a particular topic the legislature has not spoken, then we must decide what is indictable according to the common law. But when the legislature speaks, then we must take as our guide the legislature's definitions, and not our own.¹

Applying these rules to the question before us the following conclusions are reached: —

1. The only rubrics binding our American Episcopal Church are those which have been adopted as part of our American Episcopal prayer-book; the only canons which bind us are those which are included in the digest of canons set forth by the General Convention.

2. When we have reënacted English rubrics and English canons with omissions, the inference is that we do not forbid what the omitted clauses forbid, and that we do not prescribe what the omitted clauses prescribe. To this, however, it is replied, that the preface to our Book of Common Prayer declares "that this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship; or further than local circumstances require." It is alleged that this means that we retain English canon and rubrical law until repealed. I answer that this passage has no such effect.

(1.) Declarations of this kind are not laws. At the time the preface before us was prepared similar declarations were common. We

¹ It is a mistake to suppose that the English common law prevails in this country by its own force. In Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Maryland, it was adopted after the Revolution, "so far as concerns our situation and government," by constitution. In Virginia it was, with a similar limitation, adopted by statute in 1776; and in the greater majority of our States, where it is in force, it is in force under statutory or constitutional sanction. (See 1 Kent's Com., 473.) Unless by legislative or constitutional adoption, either expressed or implied, the English common law is without force in this country. It may be said, in reply, that it is in force in Pennsylvania without such adoption. But this is not true. It was partially in force in Pennsylvania before the Revolution; and by the first legislation that took place after independence it was con-

structively accepted as binding in all matters appropriate to our altered circumstances. (See Sedgwick Stat. and Const. L., 10.) In the United States, as a federal system, it has been expressly ruled there is no common law. (Pennsylvania v. Bridge Co., 13 How., 519.) Even by the colonies the English common law was not accepted as a binding system. "The common law of England is not to be taken in all respects to be that of America. Our ancestors brought with them its general principles and claimed it as their birth-right; but they brought with them and adopted only that portion which was applicable to their condition." (Story, J., in *Van Ness v. Paerard*, 2 Pet., 144.) See to same effect Franklin's Works, by Sparks, iv., 271, where Dr. Franklin comes to the same conclusion as to the colonies before the Revolution.

were emerging from a revolution which had ended in overthrowing the supremacy on our shores of the British crown. The country, however, was far from being united. A strong minority had been always averse to independence; and there were still large and influential classes, including much of the wealth and cultivation of the country, who were nervously afraid that the Revolution would go too far, and that in casting aside British sway, we would cast aside those traditions of English common law, and of English parliamentary government, on which liberty and property alike depend. To relieve anxieties of this class innumerable declarations were issued to the effect that the Revolution was not intended to make any essential change in the English common law, and that its object was rather to vindicate than to impair the principles of English liberty. Clauses were inserted in the Declaration of Independence expressly to this effect, and there was not a State in the Union which did not usher in its new constitution with similar protestations. No one pretended, however, that such declarations implied, by their own force, reënactment of English statutes as coördinate with our own. And when codifications are now set forth, as they frequently are, with the announcement that they do not change any "essential" principle of the old law, no one pretends that this retains the old law in force.

(2.) The expression now before us, which is relied upon by those who maintain the authoritativeness in our Church of English canons and rubrics, appears for the first time, let it be remembered, in the "Proposed Book." The authors of that book, among whom were Bishop White, Dr. C. H. Wharton, and Dr. William Smith, declared that the system they established did not vary "in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship, or further than local circumstances require," from the Church of England. The changes they made will show how far they held these exceptions to extend. Among these changes the following may be specified:—

(a.) The Athanasian and the Nicene Creeds were left out.

(b.) The word "regenerate" was dropped from the Baptismal service.

(c.) That part of the service for the Visitation of the Sick which relates to the examination and absolution of the sick person was omitted.

As "local circumstances" did not "require" these changes, we must hold that the framers of the "Proposed Book" did not regard them as an essential departure from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. Very significant, also, are the changes in our present book. The Athanasian Creed continues to be excluded; the Nicene Creed is made only optional; an extraordinary explanation of the "descent into hell" is interpolated in the Apostles' Creed; and though the word "regenerate" is restored to the Baptismal service, we find, in the Communion service, a change of momentous significance. The English Communion service was intentionally so constructed that Roman Catholics, at least those of moderate views, could join in it without violation of conscience; and during the reign of Edward VI., of Elizabeth, and of James I., they were in the habit of

so communing. Our American book, however, is so constructed as to preclude this. In the oblation, which occurs *after* the Consecration, the elements are called "thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine," — a description applied to them in the English book *before* the Consecration. The consequence is, as Bishop Thirlwall points out, that persons believing in transubstantiation cannot conscientiously take the Communion in the American Episcopal Church, though there is no bar to their taking the Communion in the Church of England. If these changes are not "essential," — and that they were not so in the minds of the compilers of our prayer-book their own declaration attests, — then we must regard the essence of our faith as virtually limited to the Apostles' Creed; and if only what is essential in the Church of England is retained by us, this implies nothing more than that we retain the Apostles' Creed. But, in point of fact, what they meant to say is, not "all the canons, ritual, and rubrics of the Church of England are essential, and are therefore retained by us," but "what is essential to us we retain, and the rest we let go."

An important circumstance to be remembered by us, in construing this expression, is, that in no case did the compilers of our book, or their successors, undertake to prosecute for the breaking of any canon not passed by our own distinctive legislation, or of any rubric not in our book; nor have dispensations and mitigations allowed by the English system been allowed by us, unless specifically incorporated in our own legislation. Under the first head the following illustrations may be given:—

Posture. — The Canons of 1603, as revised in 1665, provide (No. 18), among other things, that "when in time of divine service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, *as it hath been accustomed.*" According to Wheatley, "as it hath been accustomed" restricts this command to bowing when our Lord's name is mentioned in the creed. Is this obligatory in this country? If not, then it can only be on the ground that the English canon is not here in force. But Bishop White never bowed in the creed, and on two distinct occasions gave his opinion in print, that the custom was not obligatory; and there is no period in our history in which, even in dioceses where the custom is most prevalent, an attempt to enforce it by prosecution would not be scouted at. The same may be said of the provision that "all manner of persons then present shall reverently kneel *upon their knees*" when the prayers are read. If in force in England, no one maintains that this provision is in force in this country.

Dress. — In Canon 24, "a decent cope" is prescribed for the "principal minister," at the holy communion, "in all cathedral and collegiate churches;" while on other occasions (Canon 25), when there "is no Communion, it shall be sufficient to wear surplices," with the exception that graduates shall be entitled "to wear with the surplices such hoods as are agreeable to their degrees." The 74th canon, which is as much a part of the "constitutions and canons ecclesiastical" as is the 24th, is peculiarly imperative in its prescriptions in this relation. It begins by invoking the ancient Church, so that gainsayers might not

say that the system of a distinctive clerical dress is purely of modern imposition. "The true, ancient and flourishing churches of Christ," it tells us, "being ever desirous that their prelacy and clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people," etc. It then prescribes that all "bachelors in divinity," "masters of arts," and others, "having any ecclesiastical living, shall usually wear gowns with standing collars, and sleeves straight at the hands, . . . with hoods or tippets of silk or sarcenet, and square caps." . . . "All the said ecclesiastical persons above-mentioned shall usually wear in their journeys cloaks with sleeves, commonly called priest's cloaks, without guards, welts, long buttons, or cuts; and no ecclesiastical person shall wear any coif or wrought night-cap, but only plain night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet." "In private houses, and in their studies, the said persons ecclesiastical may use any comely and scholarlike apparel, provided that it be not cut or pinkt; and that in public they go not in their doublet and hose, without coats or cassocks; and that they wear not any light-colored stockings." This is just as obligatory, and far more precise, than the "ornaments-rubric." If the canon as to dress is not in force because it has not been reënacted, the ornaments-rubric is not in force for the same reason. If the ornaments-rubric, or any other law of the Church of England as to dress, is in force in this country, then the canons just cited are in force. But we have, in the very costume even of the most ardent maintainers of the obligation of the ornaments-rubric, an admission that they do not consider the English canons as to clerical dress in force. Who of them visit "in gowns with standing collars, and sleeves straight at the hands?" Where are their "night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet," which they should carry with them on their journeys? There is not a clergyman of our Church to whom we may not, when we meet him out of the chancel, appeal as a witness to the fact that the English laws as to dress are not binding in our particular communion. And, if not in force out of the chancel, these laws are not of force in the chancel.

Intrusion in other Parishes.—If the English legislation on this topic were in force all intrusion by one clergyman within another's parochial cure would have been prevented from the outset. Under that legislation all officiating in unconsecrated buildings is forbidden, and no one could officiate in a consecrated church without the consent of the incumbent, or, in case of vacancy, of the wardens. That this legislation was not regarded as binding us is clear from the Canon of 1792, one of the earliest adopted. That canon forbids, not officiating in "conventicles," or in unconsecrated buildings, which would have been a reproduction of English legislation, but officiating "within the parish or within the parochial cure of another clergyman, unless he have received express permission for that purpose from the minister of the parish," etc. "This canon," says Dr. Hawks, when commenting on it, "was made from an experimental knowledge that it was necessary;" but it would not have been necessary had the English legislation been in force. Yet the canon, as it did not define parishes, left

open a loop-hole for incursions which would not have been left open under the English legislation. A travelling agent of the American Sunday-School Union undertook, according to Dr. Hawks, to hold services for that institution in a village against the protest of the sole settled Episcopal clergyman of the place, and he defended himself by saying that he addressed "Presbyterians and Congregationalists" who were not part of the "parochial cure" of the protesting clergyman. Under the English legislation short work would have been made of the intruder had his prosecution been pressed. He would have been presented for preaching in a "conventicle;" and this would have summarily disposed of the question. That the English legislation, however, was not in force among us is shown by the passage of a canon on parish boundaries, passed in 1829, Dr. Hawks tells us (p. 292), to preclude—wisely or unwisely—intrusions of this special class. The "agent of the American Sunday-School Union" required a new canon to prevent his repeating the supposed offence. Had the English legislation been in force here, no new canon would have been required.

"Strangers" to be excluded from Communion.—Canon 28 provides that "strangers" who "come often and commonly from other parishes" shall be forbidden to attend the Communion, and shall be remitted "to their own parish churches and ministers, there to receive the Communion with the rest of their own neighbors." Not merely our practice, which has from the beginning been based on the right of every person to attend the church he prefers, but our legislation, show that this canon was not regarded after the Revolution as in force among us, though before the Revolution there are some indications that it was regarded as in force in Virginia.

"Strange" Ministers excluded from Chancel.—The 50th canon requires that "no person" shall be suffered to preach without showing his license. Was this canon in force after the Revolution? Dr. Hawks evidently thinks not, since he speaks (Const., and Can. 331) of facts which made legislation on this topic necessary, which would not have been the case had the English canon been in force. And by a canon adopted in 1792 a provision, substantially the same as that of the English canon, was enacted, which would not have been the case if the English canon bound us.

Bidding Prayer.—By the 55th canon, "before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer," etc., specifying the address. Did any clergyman in this country ever regard this canon as obligatory? But if not obligatory, why not? It relates as intimately to the mode of conducting worship as does any rubric in the prayer-book; and its rejection can only be explained on the general ground that the English canons, unless reenacted by us, do not bind us.

Preaching and Administering Communion in private houses.—The 71st canon, carrying out in detail in this respect the conventicle act adopted on the restoration of the Stuarts, provides that no minister shall preach or administer the Communion in private houses, unless in cases of sickness, and the conventicle act forbids the holding

of public worship unless in consecrated churches. When we examine the addresses of our early bishops, we will find that a large part of their Episcopal services were performed in private houses, in school-houses, and in the places of worship ordinarily occupied by other communions. Not only Bishop White, and Bishop Moore, and Bishop Griswold, but Bishop Hobart and Bishop Ravenscroft, repeatedly tell us that, on visiting certain places they occupied, through the courtesy of the Presbyterians, or the Baptists, or the Methodists, the houses of worship belonging to those to whom they were thus indebted. Bishop White, than whom there was no man more sensitive to the obligation of law, presided, year after year, at meetings of the Bible Society in the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia; and Bishop Hobart, who, in respect to the apostolic succession, held the highest ground, took every occasion to express his acknowledgments to clergymen of "other denominations" for their hospitality in lending him their "churches." Here, again, is a canon which concerns intimately our mode of worship, which has never been regarded as in force by a single bishop or clergyman of our Church, since the liberty in this respect taken by the bishops has been taken by our officiating clergymen without exception.

The criticism which has just been made might be extended so as to embrace every canon in force in the English Church at the time of our separation. It is sufficient to say, generally, that there is not a single instance in our history, since our organization as a distinct national communion, of a prosecution in our courts based upon English legislation, as such. Even at the beginning of our distinctive existence, before we had matured a code of our own, offences remained unpunished until we passed specific canons prohibiting them. If this was the case when our legislation was on its face temporary and incomplete, *à fortiori* is it the case when we have adopted what purports to be a complete code of laws.

Are we, however, to cast aside, as not affecting us, the whole legislation, not only of our mother-church, but of the ancient church? I think that, in answering this question, we can fall back on the analogies of secular jurisprudence. In the United States courts, and in the courts of several of our States, no common law criminal jurisdiction is recognized; *i.e.*, there can be no conviction for any offence unless made indictable by local statute. It does not follow, however, that the jurisprudence accepted by these courts goes no further back than the date of the codes under which they act. On the contrary, in construing these codes, recourse has frequently to be made to the old law. "Burglary," to suppose a case, is made penal by the statutes of one of our States; and by this statute "burglary" is defined, we may suppose, to be "the breaking into a dwelling-house in the night-time." But what is "breaking," and what is "dwelling-house," and what is "night-time?" To understand the meaning of any one of these terms, we call in to aid it decisions of English courts, and of the courts of our older States. The legislature, we assume, in adopting the terms, adopted them with the meaning judicially assigned to them. A similar mode of construction is to be applied in reference

to our canons and rubrics. A clergyman, for instance, is "indefinitely suspended," or is "suspended for a year," or is "degraded." These sentences may be those the court is authorized by the canon to impose; but their meaning is not defined by canon, and for their definition we must go to the rulings of the courts of England, and to the rulings of the courts of other communions, ancient and modern. Or a clergyman is presented under the canons for "immoral conduct;" and the question comes up, What is included in this term? Is it essential to sustain a prosecution that the canon should go on and define the particular kind of immorality; or, under this general term, are we entitled to comprehend all acts which, for a clergyman, would be immoral? This was the question presented many years ago on the trial of one of our bishops;¹ and it was rightfully held by the court that, although the canon did not specify the particular form of immorality with which the defendant was charged, yet a presentment would be sustained for any act — *i.e.*, lying — which is immoral. Had it been necessary, it would, no doubt, have been held competent for the court, in defining the word "immoral," to go back to the meaning attached to it by courts, both ecclesiastical and secular, domestic and foreign. If the term was one with an accepted ecclesiastical meaning, then the presumption is, that if adopted by an ecclesiastical body or ecclesiastical court, it was adopted with this meaning. But beyond this the presumption is not to be stretched. We cannot, on this pretext, interpolate in our laws any canon or rubric which the framers of our system did not choose to reënact, and which is excluded from our prayer-book and digest. Nor have the authorities we thus appeal to as definitions the force of *laws*; they are arguments, and nothing more. They possess *auctoritatem*, but not *protestatem*. They advise, but do not bind us. If we can prove that a particular word in a particular canon had a distinct ecclesiastical meaning attached to it at the time the canon was enacted, then we ought, as a matter of construction, to give it this meaning now; just as we ought, when a word is taken from secular jurisprudence, to take the meaning assigned to it by that jurisprudence. But this is all. The decisions of English ecclesiastical courts do not any more bind us as to the meaning of ecclesiastical terms than do the decisions of English secular courts bind us as to the meaning of secular terms. They instruct, but they do not control. And English ecclesiastical legislation cannot in any case be inserted to fill up any gaps in our own legislation. This was the case at the very beginning of our independent existence, no supposed offence being held open to presentment until a canon had been passed covering it. It is still more strongly the case now, when we have published what purports to be a complete code of the laws by which we are bound.²

¹ See Hawks' Const. and Can., 338.

² In connection with the text I beg to call attention to an able argument by Mr. Hill Burgwin, in the "American Church Review" for July, 1881, p. 111, *et seq.* In the points made by Mr. Burgwin I in the main concur; and what I give above is to be regarded as supplementary to, rather than as a substitute for, his conclusions.

I should add, however, that I must have expressed myself somewhat carelessly in my short note on this topic to the "Churchman," to have led to so great a misconception of my position as that given by Mr. Burgwin on pp. 117-18. Nor do I suppose that Mr. Burgwin would differ on this point from the view as I now express it at the close of the text. Since the text was written,

DISTRIBUTION OF SOVEREIGNTY.

At the first glance our ecclesiastical structure exhibits very much the appearance of a confederation. When a vote by orders is called, each diocese answers as a unit, the smallest diocese having the same vote as the largest. There is no supreme executive, such as we are accustomed to in the United States, and such as we have learned to regard as essential to a well constituted State. There is no supreme common judiciary. There are as many courts as there are dioceses; but each of these courts is supreme. No judgment can be revised by a superior tribunal; and though, when a clergyman has been disciplined, the General Convention has given a process by which he may, on his own motion, be restored, no process is given by which he can be restored without the concurrence of the diocese in which he was convicted. Relief from the General Convention, as a legislative body, the House of Deputies, by a resolution adopted almost unanimously on October 17, 1844, has declared, cannot be obtained. The bishops, also, meet in council very much in the same way in which the sovereigns of confederated States meet in council. There is something, in fact, in a council of our bishops that reminds us of the congresses of Vienna and of Verona. A meeting of sovereigns, or of their representatives, is held for the purpose of determining in what way certain duties of public policy shall be performed. There is no authoritative constitutional presiding officer. Each sovereign represented in the Congress has the same vote, no matter how great or how small may be the jurisdiction over which he presides. No one is bound by the action of the majority, except so far as he chooses to take the obligation upon himself.

When, however, we examine the printed constitution of our Church we find ourselves confronted with what looks very much like parliamentary absolutism. This will be more obvious by taking some prominent features of our secular system and comparing them with analogous features of our ecclesiastical system.

Education is of all duties of the body politic that which is the most far-reaching in its influences; but in education, our civil Federal government as such does nothing, and the State does everything. Our secular common schools, with the single and comparatively slight exception of those in the District of Columbia, are all under State or territorial control. But education in our Church, so far as preparation for the ministry is concerned, is controlled by the General Convention.

No function of government is more important than that of the disposal of corporate franchises. Our great corporations exercise

I have found the same position thus substantially taken, in an analogous case, by Judge Cooley:—

“It is also a very reasonable rule that a State constitution shall be understood and construed in the light and by the assistance of the common law, and with the fact in view that its rules are still in force. By this we do not mean that the common law is to control the constitution, and that the latter is to be warped and perverted in its meaning in order that no inroads, or as few

as possible, may be made in the system of common law rules; but only that for its definitions we are to draw from that great fountain, and that, in judging what it means, we are to keep in mind that it is not the beginning of a law for the State, but that it assumes the existence of a well-understood system, which is still to remain in force and be administered, but under such restrictions as that instrument imposes.”—*Cooley's Const. Lim., 4th edit., 74.*

many attributes of sovereignty; and some of them possess patronage and power as vast as the patronage and power of some European States. These corporations, however, are, all of them, with few slight exceptions, the creatures of State legislation. In our Church, it is not so. All our great societies are instituted by the General Convention.

Although no State can so limit the franchise as to discriminate against the African race, it is entirely within the province of each State to adopt educational or property tests of franchise. In our Church the tests of Communion are prescribed by the General Convention exclusively.

Marriage has been frequently and rightly declared to be an institution above the State. Yet it is for each State to determine what ceremonies constitute a valid marriage within its borders; and with this question the Federal government has nothing to do. In Massachusetts, for instance, no marriage can be validly solemnized unless by a justice of the peace or minister of religion upon a certificate duly taken out from the clerk's office; and a consensual marriage in that State, in which those conditions are not complied with, is invalid. In New York and Pennsylvania consensual marriages, without license, and without the interposition of any clergyman or magistrate, are valid. The Federal government can do nothing to remove these inequalities, nor can it do anything to prevent the dissolution by particular States of the marriages of their domiciled citizens. Now, in our Church it is just the opposite. All our legislation on marriage and divorce springs from the General Convention; none of it from State Conventions.

It may be said that State sovereignty has been much qualified by the late civil war, and that the result of that great struggle has been to explode what may be called the States-rights system. I do not so understand the legislation which followed the war. Undoubtedly certain functions which previously belonged to the States have been taken from them. Before the reconstruction amendments a State could exclude persons of African descent from the suffrage. Now it can do so no longer. But this goes to strengthen, not weaken, the States-rights hypothesis on which I conceive our complex political structure rests. According to that hypothesis, all powers not given to the Federal government are reserved to the States. Every new constitutional amendment giving to the Federal government a specific power not previously possessed, gives additional sanction to that hypothesis. Did the residuum of sovereignty remain in the Federal government, all that would be necessary for Congress to have done, in order to prevent negro disfranchisement, would have been to pass a statute to that effect. But it was because the residuum of sovereignty is in the States, and because the power of settling the franchise is in their hands, that it was necessary, in order to take this power from the States and give it to the Federal government, to obtain by a constitutional amendment assented to by three-fourths of the States, a cession of this power to the general government. *Expressio unius est exclusio alterius*. That even in the throes consequent upon a civil

war it was necessary, in order thus to settle the franchise, to obtain this cession from the States, adds additional proof to the position that with the States continues the residuum of the sovereignty. And, whatever we may think of this question speculatively, it is by State legislation that nine-tenths of the rights we possess are moulded.

Now, how is it with our ecclesiastical constitution? I must say that after a careful and anxious scrutiny of the constitution and canons of our General Church, the power of the General Convention seems to me unlimited, while that of the Diocesan Convention is only that which the General Convention is pleased to concede. I say this reluctantly, because I think that such a concentration of power in the General Convention is not only out of harmony with our political system, but is in itself unwise. But that the General Convention is thus superior a rapid survey of its constitution and legislation will show.

It would have been easy for the constitution of our Church to have limited the powers of the General Convention. We have several examples of such limitations in the constitution of the United States. Congress can pass no law taking away jury trials, or destroying the liberty of the press, or interfering with the right of the people to assemble together, or restraining religious liberty. It would have been within the power of those who framed our ecclesiastical constitution to have provided that the General Convention shall pass no law depriving the dioceses of certain enumerated rights, or conflicting with certain leading sanctions of our faith. It would have been within their power, also, to have provided, in analogy with corresponding clauses of the constitution of the United States, that all legislative powers not expressly granted to the General Convention should be reserved to the dioceses. So far, however, from these or similar limitations on the power of the General Convention being introduced, that power, on the face of the constitution, is unlimited. It can legislate, and legislate finally, on every topic that concerns us ecclesiastically. It cannot amend either the constitution or the prayer-book, it is true, without sending notice of the proposed amendment to the dioceses. But this notification is all that is required. No assent of the dioceses is necessary to give these amendments the force of law. The dioceses might all dissent, yet the ensuing General Convention might adopt the amendment.

It might, it is true, have been plausibly argued, in the first few years of our independent organization, that dioceses are convertible, in our constitution, with States; and that, as a State in our system is sovereign, so in our constitution, as originally constructed, in which the terms "diocese" and "State" are used interchangeably, the diocese is sovereign. As our political system, even since the reconstruction, is, as was well said, an indestructible union of indestructible States, — as, to use the language of Chief-Justice Waite, in *U. S. vs. Cruikshank*, 92 U. S., 542, "we have in our political system a government of the United States and a government of each of the several States;" and as, according to the same high authority in the same opinion, "each one of these governments is distinct from the

other, and each has citizens of its own who owe it allegiance, and whose rights, within its jurisdiction, it must protect,"—so it might have been well said, on the face of our constitution as originally adopted, since each State was regarded as giving the bounds of a diocese, so each diocese had the sovereignty of a State. This view was strengthened, in the early days of our Church, by the fact that when one bishop had jurisdiction over several States these States were regarded as distinct dioceses. The New England States, indeed, excluding Connecticut, were called the "Eastern diocese;" but this was a generic term, since the dioceses of Rhode Island, of Vermont, and of New Hampshire were regarded as retaining independent, though dormant, existence, ready to be called into activity whenever an independent episcopate was needed. The same state of things existed with Pennsylvania and Delaware, the bishops of Pennsylvania assuming jurisdiction over Delaware only provisionally until the Delaware diocese should be independently organized. The first article of the constitution provided that "a majority of the *States* which shall have adopted the constitution" should be represented as a prerequisite to business. The second article provided that "the Church in each *State* shall be entitled to a representation . . . chosen by the Convention of the *State*, and in all questions, when required by the clerical and lay representation from any *State*, each order shall have one vote, and the majority of suffrages by *States* shall be conclusive in each order." Article IV. provided that the "bishop or bishops in every *State* shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the Convention of that *State*." In article VI., "in every *State* the mode of trying clergymen shall be instituted by the Convention of the *Church therein*." In 1835, however, a resolution changing "State" into "diocese," wherever it occurs in the constitution, went through its preliminary stage of approval without, so far as the journal (pp. 62, 98, 137) indicates, a single dissenting voice. It was approved at the next General Convention; nor among the many able men in that body, some of them experienced statesmen of the States-rights school, others distinguished ecclesiastics holding to high Episcopal prerogative, does it appear that a single voice was lifted in opposition to the change. Yet the change was fundamental. The analogy between "States" and "dioceses" was thereby broken down, and the way opened to the indefinite multiplication of dioceses. Not only does the idea of diocesan sovereignty thus receive a serious shock, but in proportion to the weakening of the dioceses by subdivision is the power of the General Convention increased.

That the sovereignty of the Church is in the General Convention is shown by an almost unbroken current of legislation. By a resolution adopted at a single Convention, and never sent to the dioceses, it appended to the prayer-book the Institution office,—an office on which it is maintained, rightly or wrongly, distinctive doctrinal conclusions can be based. By resolutions, adopted necessarily without careful and special consideration of each hymn, we have given to us a hymnal, not only excluding all prior hymns or psalms, but offering for use what is virtually a collection of documents from which the

most important theological inferences can be drawn. The terms of theological education; the tests of admission of clergymen from other communions; the extent of parish limits; the relations of pastor to parish; the transfer of communicants; the mode of registering baptisms and confirmations, are all regulated by canons of the General Convention. If there is a function which we would suppose would peculiarly belong to a diocese it is that of regulating missions within its borders. This function the General Convention, through the domestic and foreign committees, has undertaken. It is true that the domestic committee, when operating within a diocese, pays greater or less deference to the bishop of the diocese. But this is only because the domestic committee, as a matter of courtesy, chooses to pay this deference, or because the General Convention, by canon, chooses to order it to be paid. Episcopal prerogative is spoken of as the basis of our system; but here, when that prerogative clashes with the law-making power, the prerogative has to yield. No matter how distasteful a particular clergyman is to a bishop, that clergyman has to be received if he be called to a parish and comes with clean papers. No matter how obnoxious a parish may make itself to the bishop, visit that parish officially once every three years he must. If he refuse to receive the obnoxious clergyman in the first case, if he refuse to visit the obnoxious parish in the second case, the bishop exposes himself to presentment and trial. And if tried, as the law is peremptory, it is hard to see how he can escape conviction. It is difficult to see any limit, on the face of the constitution, to the powers of the General Convention.

That it is, in a political sense, wise for a constitution to confer on a legislative body such unlimited power, cannot, I think, be maintained. That it is our duty to revise the constitution in such a way as not only to bring our system more in harmony with the political conditions of the country, but to make more prominent what I conceive to be the apostolic feature of diocesan sovereignty, I respectfully submit. In the meantime it may be observed that in at least one important instance we have practically recognized an exception to the supremacy of the General Convention. Of that supremacy it is an important element that it should determine the way in which ecclesiastical orders are to be communicated.

If a bishop can impart a valid succession in defiance of the canons of the church of which he is a member, then we must hold that there is an inherent sovereignty in bishops which no legislation can divest. And that such is the case our communion has more than once asserted. Cardinal Newman once said that the difference in this respect between the Roman and the Anglican communions is that in the former the Church makes the bishops, in the latter the bishops make the Church. I do not say that in the Anglican communion the bishops make the Church, but I do say, that, according to traditions of that Church, the Church cannot unmake a bishop. In Queen Mary's time the Church of England, or whatever remained of it, deposed or suspended the bishops who subsequently consecrated Archbishop Parker; yet to Archbishop Parker we have always maintained there passed a valid

succession. During the late civil war Bishop Wilmer, of Alabama, was elected to the episcopate, and was confirmed and consecrated, without the assent of the majority of our bishops and of our standing committees, as is required by our constitution; but no one has ever denied the validity of Bishop Wilmer's orders. That the bishops from whom Bishop Herzog derives his title transmitted the succession originally in defiance of analogous limitations will not be questioned. If, therefore, there is in our constitution no reservation of sovereignty to the diocese, there is in our history a practical recognition of the doctrine that a bishop has an inherent right of perpetuating his order of which he cannot be deprived by the legislature of the Church to which he belongs. And this is a check—the only one we now have—on what would otherwise be the unbroken sovereignty of the General Convention.

James Wharton

NOTES ON DR. HAWKS'S COMMENTS ON THE "CONSTITUTION."

By S. CORNING JUDD, LL.D.,

Chancellor of the Diocese of Chicago.

[The references to Dr. Hawks's Annotations are to the volume as published by the author himself.]

[Insert "(1)" between the words "country" and "Relations" in the ninth line from the bottom of page 3.

Annotation:]

(1.) This remark concerning "subordination to the Canons" of the Church of England should be understood as having reference only to such canons as were inapplicable to the Church in this country, by reason of the change of condition.

[Insert "(2)" between the words "itself" and "The" in the ninth line from the bottom on page 9.

Annotation:]

(2.) Nor should there be any stringency of construction that would minimize "the polar star of interpretation" indicated in the text, namely, that the constitution "was made for the purpose of binding us all to 'walk by the same rule.'" There is danger of magnifying what are conceived to be "diocesan rights," of which there are none not in subordination to the General Convention, except such as are in terms or by fair implication reserved in the constitution or secured by catholic law.

[Insert "(3)" in the second line from the bottom on page 9, between "intentionally" and "in."

Annotation:]

(3.) The writer is unable to perceive any such "close" analogy,

except in the fact that there are two Houses in each of "the two forms of government," the one having a virtual veto upon any proposed legislation of the other, and except that the Lower House in each case is representative. "The respective rights and powers of the State and General Governments," in our civil relations, are as variant as is possible from those of our diocesan and general Church governments. The sources of authority in the Church are directly the reverse of those in the State, and the principles upon which "rights and powers" in church government are ascertained are different. The churches in the several States, having once united and consented to jurisdiction on the terms and conditions specified in the general constitution, the authority of the General Convention, in subordination only to Catholic law, became supreme save as otherwise provided in the constitution. The Federal government derives all its powers by delegation from the States, or from the people through the States; whereas the National Church receives and has received no more authority from the dioceses than bishops do from the respective dioceses which elected them, and that is simply *none at all*. The consent or submission to jurisdiction is one thing, and the source of authority is quite another. Such consent of the dioceses to submit to the jurisdiction of a National or Provincial Church, in no sense imparted functions to such Church. The constitution contains not a word looking to the delegation of powers. That instrument assumes that all needed powers exist somewhere in the provincial organization. In the State, under our theory of government, all authority ascends from the people, whereas in the Church it descends from our Lord to the bishops. These propositions are fundamental. The notion that *dioceses* can, by delegation, confer *functions* upon bishops is simply monstrous. The bishops, by agreeing to the constitution, in effect created the House of Deputies their permanent "Council of Advice," without whose consent the inherent legislative functions of the former, as the governing or ruling order in the Church, are not to be exercised. The House of Deputies derives its legislative authority only by grant or concession from the bishops, and only to the extent and upon the terms and conditions expressed in the constitution. The bishops are the *governing* order in the Church. The "Power of the Keys" was, by our Lord, committed to the apostles and their successors "even unto the end of the world." "The Bishops succeeded the Apostles—they were constituted through the whole world in the place of the Apostles."—*Isidore, of Pelusian, Lib. ii., c. 5*. St. Ignatius, a companion of the apostles, asks: "What is the Bishop but one who hath all principality over all, so far forth as man can have it?"—*Ignat. Ep. ad Trall., c. vii*. St. Irenæus, in the second century, wrote of the bishops as "those to whom" the apostles "committed the Churches themselves," . . . "whom also they left to be their successors, delivering to them their own office of government," etc.—*Irenæi adv. Hæres, Lib. iii., c. 3*. Origen, early in the third century, said that to the bishop "the ecclesiastical government over us all is committed."—*Origen in Jerem., Homil. ii., t. i., oper. 114*. Theodoret wrote of Epaphroditus, "the Apostle of the Philippians," who "was intrusted with the Episcopal government as

being Bishop."—*Theod. in Tim.*, c. iii., 1. St. Cyprian, early in the third century, said: "It is not a matter left to our own free choice whether the Bishops shall rule over us or no, but the will of our Lord and Saviour is, that every act of the Church be governed by her Bishops," etc.—*Cyp.*, Ep. 27, edit. Pamel; or, Ep. 33, edit. Oxon., § 1. Eusebius says that "Irenæus succeeded to the Bishopric of the Parish (Diocese) of Lyons which Prometheus had ruled."—*Ecc'l Hist.*, Book v., c. 5. Many other fathers of the primitive Church in express and explicit terms recognize the ruling or governing authority of bishops, as do also all the "Ancient Canons" wherever therein reference is had to the subject. "A Bishop is a Minister of God, unto whom with permanent continuance there is given not only power of administering the Word and Sacraments, which power the Presbyters have, but also a further power to ordain ecclesiastical persons, and a power of chiefly in government over Presbyters as well as layman, a person to be by way of jurisdiction, a pastor even unto pastors."—*Ecc'l Pol.*, book vii., § 2; 1 *Gibson's Codex*, xvi.; *Stillingfleet's Ecc'l Cases*, 6, et seq.

[4. On page 10, after the word "trial," at the end of the third proposition as to rights retained by the several dioceses, insert "(4)".

Annotation:]

(4) Article VI. of the constitution, as adopted in 1789, provided that "in every diocese the mode of trying clergymen *shall* be instituted by the convention of the Church therein." In 1841 this provision was amended so as to read, "In every Diocese the mode of trying Presbyters and Deacons *may* be instituted by the convention of the Diocese." There has been and still is much contrariety of opinion in regard to the effect of changing from the mandatory "shall" to the permissive "may;" some holding that, in the absence of diocesan enactments on the subject, the General Convention may provide the mode of trial, and others holding the contrary.

There has likewise been some difference of opinion, in view of the provision quoted, as to whether or not the General Convention has authority to establish an appellate court, with power to review decisions of diocesan tribunals on appeal taken by the accused. It is argued, on the one hand, that the hearing on appeal would be part of the *trial* which is committed to the diocese concerned; to which it is replied, on the other, that the constitutional provision authorizes a diocese merely to "*institute*" the "*mode*" of trial in the diocesan tribunal, which cannot fairly be construed as having been intended to prevent a review of the finding, at the instance of the accused, by a court established under authority of the General Convention.

Whatever construction of this constitutional provision may be held, there can be no manner of doubt that two or more dioceses may establish an appellate tribunal for themselves, with authority to review decisions of diocesan courts on appeal by the accused, as has been done by the three dioceses in Illinois.

5. [At the end of the second proposition as to things surrendered, stated on page 11, insert "(5)".

Annotation:]

(5.) If by "the Church at large" is meant anything more than *a majority of the bishops* of the Church subject to the constitution, then the writer cannot assent to this proposition. The practical effect of adopting the constitution was the organization of a province of the Church. The constitution itself has nothing to say upon the subject of a diocese having or not having the bishop whom it might elect "consecrated without the assent of the Church at large;" but ecumenical law requires the assent of a majority of *the bishops of the province*. No other assent than this was involved in adopting the constitution, and thereby consenting to provincial jurisdiction. See the IVth and Vth Canons of Nicæa. And see also the XIXth and XXIIIrd of Antioch, and the XIIth of Laodicea. In this connection it should be remembered that the Canons of Antioch and Laodicea have ecumenical sanction by express provision in the first Canon of Chalcedon.

[On page 12, at the end of the introductory comments, after the word "faith," insert "(6)."

Annotation:]

(6.) There is one provision of the constitution which the writer, in this connection, feels constrained to notice, although Dr. Hawks in the foregoing comments does not bring the matter into discussion.

In the third article it is provided that if the House of Bishops, within three days after any proposed act of the House of Deputies shall have been reported to them for concurrence, shall not signify to the latter House their disapprobation, in writing, then such proposed act "shall have the operation of a law." The writer hereof does not hesitate to pronounce this provision inoperative and *void*, as being in conflict with higher law than the constitution. The functions of government within the Church are by divine law vested in bishops, as has been sufficiently shown in these notes; and there never has been and never can be any ecclesiastical enactment having the "operation of law" without episcopal consent. If it be argued that such consent is found in the bishops' agreement to the constitution, whereby they delegated to the House of Deputies plenary legislative authority in the case indicated; it is enough to reply that such legislative functions cannot be delegated. Even if there were no higher reasons, secular analogies sufficiently demonstrate this proposition. Neither personal nor official trusts can be delegated, except so far as special provision is made to that end by the creating power. An agent cannot delegate his agency unless specifically authorized by his principal. The Senate of the United States would perpetrate a stupid farce by attempting to abdicate its legislative functions in favor of the Lower House of Congress.

S. Corning Judd.

MONOGRAPH II.

THE HUGUENOTS IN AMERICA, AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE CHURCH.

BY THE REV. A. V. WITTMAYER.

Rector of the Church of the Saint Esprit, New York City, and Secretary of the Huguenot Society of America.

ACCORDING to the best estimates some four hundred thousand Frenchmen, comprising the best elements of the population of France, rather than abjure their religious convictions, became exiles in foreign lands. Many of these refugees finally found their way to America, where their history is inseparably connected with that of their adopted country. They were the first Protestant colonists of the New World, and the influence which they have exerted upon American character and civilization is much greater than is generally supposed. Even numerically they were far from forming an inconsiderable part of the population of America at that time. But their strength did not lie in their numbers; for they were not ordinary emigrants. They came here, not to seek fortunes, but free homes and free institutions; and they brought with them pure morals, a high standard of education, refined manners, the love of toil, and a practical knowledge of the useful arts. The existing registers of their births, marriages, and deaths bear conclusive witness to the fact that few of them were unable to read and write; and it is said that in some of their colonies courts of justice were practically needless. These excellent qualities they turned to the best account. They won the confidence of the natives, and were among the first to bring to them a knowledge of the gospel. They explored the virgin forests, changing the barren wilderness into flower-gardens, fruitful fields, and teeming meadows. They created the industrial arts, and leavened society generally with their own character and principles. And they took special measures that their children should be taught the same virtues. Alongside of their churches they built schools, and, where no churches and schools could be established, they taught their children themselves. Nor were their efforts in vain. Whether it be in Church or State, in Literature or Science, in Commerce or in the Arts, everywhere their descendants have left the impress of their character and genius. Such names as Baudouin, Boudinot, Daillé, Faneuil, Fresneau, Gallaudet, Jay, De Lancey, Laurens, Manigault, Marion, De la Montague, Neau, De Peyster, and others, would grace the annals of any country.

THE FLORIDA COLONIES.

The protection which Coligny originally accorded to the Protestants was based solely upon the principle of religious toleration.

But his long imprisonment after the fall of St. Quentin afforded him ample leisure to study the Scriptures, and he became, in consequence, a sincere believer in the religion of which he was ever afterwards the most judicious and fearless promoter. Only a month, therefore, after the important Edict of January, 1562, had been wrung from Charles the Ninth, he sent out a colony to Florida. Florida had been discovered by the Spaniards, who designated by that name the whole eastern section of the present territory of the United States; but the natives had driven them out on account of their cruelty, and Coligny was apparently not unwilling, if necessary, to measure himself with his old enemies in this new field. The result was a double tragedy, such as civilized history has happily few to record. The expedition, fully approved by the young king and the queen-mother, was under the command of Jean Ribaut, a brave soldier, and a true Huguenot. It was composed of much the same elements as the one previously sent to Brazil, and the object of it was rather a voyage of discovery than the immediate foundation of a colony. On the 1st of May, 1562, the little squadron safely arrived at the mouth of what is now St. John's River, but which Ribaut and his companions named, in memory of the day of their arrival, the River of May. Returning thanks to God for the successful issue of their voyage, they took possession of the land in the name of Charles IX. But, as their principal object was to explore the coast, they at once resumed their course northward, giving to the successive streams which they met the names of rivers in their native France. At length, on the 27th of May, they discovered a large and fair haven, which they named Port Royal; and there, on what is now called Edisto Island, in South Carolina, they erected a small fort, to which they gave the name of Charlesfort. Considering now his object as practically accomplished, Ribaut decided to leave the fort in charge of some twenty odd men, in order to return to France and report to Coligny.

In the mean time, however, the first civil war had broken out, and Ribaut himself, instead of immediately returning to Florida, as he had intended to do, joined the ranks of the Huguenots. For the time being, therefore, Charlesfort was abandoned to its own meagre resources, and the feeble garrison proved entirely unequal to the difficult task. Famine soon set in, and, all hope and courage having disappeared, there was but one desire left, — that of returning to France as soon as possible. With the help of the Indians an indifferent brigantine was constructed; and so anxious was every one to return that not even sufficient stores were provided for the voyage. By and by, exhausted, dying from hunger and thirst, some of the wretched men succumbed, and the rest, to sustain themselves a little longer, ate one of their own number. These were at length picked up by an English ship, which, after landing the most exhausted among them in France, carried the rest to England.

It has frequently been said that where the French sow other nations reap. It was so in this instance. Their attempt to colonize Florida only served to attract the English to the same regions. One of the shipwrecked men taken to England was brought before the

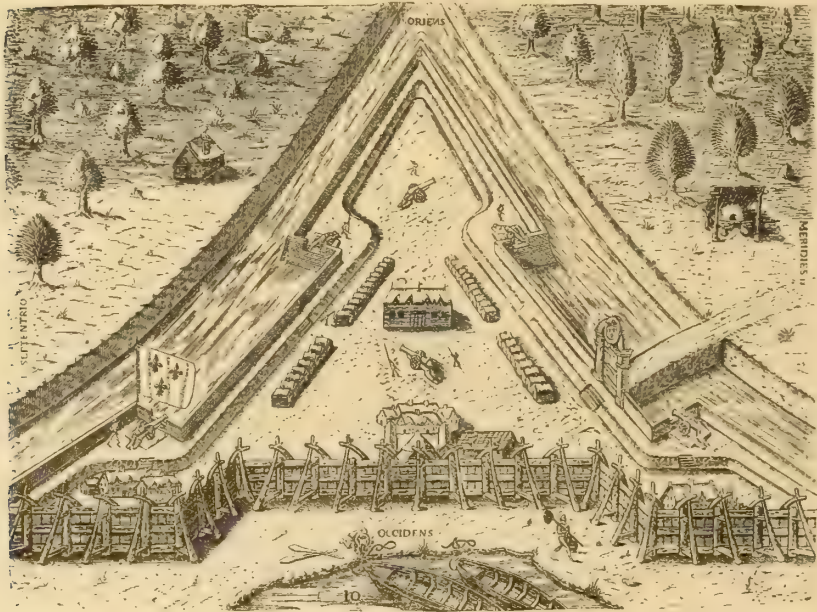
queen, to whom he gave a detailed account of their experiences. The interest excited in Florida by this narrative was greatly heightened by the appearance of Ribaut's book, in which the natural advantages of that country were highly extolled.

Meanwhile, however, the persevering admiral by no means relinquished the hope of ultimate success in Florida. As soon as he had cleared himself of all suspicion of complicity in the assassination of the Duke of Guise he gave his whole attention to the formation of a second expedition. It consisted of three small sail, — the "Elizabeth," the "Breton" and the "Faucon," — and the intention was to effect a permanent settlement. In the absence of Ribaut, who was still in England, the command devolved upon René de Laudonnière, a distinguished officer of the former expedition. After a voyage of two months the little fleet safely arrived, on the 22d of June, 1564, at the mouth of the St. John's. They were warmly welcomed by the natives, who remembered some of them; and after a careful examination of the river and the coast, Laudonnière determined to establish a fort at a distance of about five miles from its entrance, probably on what is now called St. John's Bluff.

For a while everything went on smoothly. The construction of the fort, which, in honor of Charles the Ninth, was called Fort Caroline, was rapidly pushed ahead; the country was further explored, and the orders of the commandant were faithfully executed. But the vices inherent in the organization of the colony soon manifested themselves. In the first place, the colonists themselves were unsatisfactory. Many of them were nobles, who held all manual labor in contempt; young men of good families, attracted by a life of adventure; and men of modest means, only intent upon enriching themselves. The rest were common soldiers, sailors, artisans, etc., most of whom had been hired to come out. It is true that, as in the case of the preceding expeditions, the majority were Huguenots; but few of them seemed, as yet, to possess the noble qualities which were soon to render that epithet one of the proudest appellations in history. For the great number Florida was still a fairy-land, which spoke to their excited fancy of hidden treasures and long life, rather than of an asylum for the victims of religious intolerance, which, by dint of hard work, incessant vigilance and self-denial, might become a home for the oppressed of all nations. Secondly, notwithstanding their previous experience, neither leaders nor followers seemed yet to understand that, above all in such a colony, the tilling of the ground is the first condition of successful colonization. Indeed, it is very characteristic that, whilst an *artist* was specially attached to the expedition, apparently not a single farmer had been sent out. And, thirdly, Laudonnière, although an excellent man and mariner, lacked the firmness and sagacity of a successful leader.

It is evident that, with such organic defects, the colony was doomed from the outset. The first difficulties arose from Laudonnière's vacillating course. After having first decided upon a policy of neutrality he allowed himself to become a party to the jealousies and quarrels of the native tribes. Siding now with one and then with an other chief, he by degrees incurred the distrust and the enmity of all. At

the same time still greater troubles were fast becoming rife in the colony itself. The sameness of the daily life, hard labor, and crushed expectations bred general dissatisfaction, which culminated in the attempt of some to poison Laudonnière, the supposed cause of all their misfortunes. The plan miscarried, and Laudonnière had the weakness to pardon the ringleaders, who continued to plot the ruin of the colony. First, they secretly sent letters to Coligny, charging his lieutenant with aiming at founding an independent establishment in Florida; and then, joining a few sailors, whom Captain Bourdet, a private cruiser, had left at the fort, they turned pirates. The latter example proved contagious. A conspiracy, to which most of the remaining men were privy, was



FORT CAROLINE.

formed; the commander, ill with chills and fever, was imprisoned on board the "Breton;" and Fourneau, one of the chief conspirators, forced him to sign a commission authorizing them to cruise among the West India islands. Their career was nearly as short-lived as that of the previous party. After having taken several Spanish vessels they captured the Governor of Jamaica, who, on pretence of sending to his wife for money to pay his ransom, succeeded in conveying intelligence of his position to the Spanish squadron. Overpowered in turn, nearly all were killed or reduced to slavery. The others, twenty-six in number, escaped; but hunger drove them to Fort Caroline, where they found Laudonnière reinstated in his command; and at the earnest instance of La Caille, who had been mainly instrumental in delivering the commandant, they were duly judged and executed.

Although the first acts of hostility in America proceeded from the French, due justice had been done, and order and harmony once more prevailed at Fort Caroline. But the colony had received a severe blow which the improvidence of the men rendered fatal. The natives, who had become totally hostile, furnished provisions very grudgingly, and, when their own meagre supplies gave out, the colonists were threatened with starvation. At this turn the notorious slave-trader, John Hawkins, piloted by one of the shipwrecked men who had been taken to England, arrived at the fort. He generously supplied the garrison with provisions, and offered either to take them back to France, or to give them one of his ships, in which they might return. Laudonnière naturally hesitated to accept the unexpected offer, but his men, only intent upon getting away from Florida, insisted upon his accepting the proffered ship.

Meanwhile, on the 27th of August, 1565, Ribaut, with seven ships and about one thousand men, suddenly arrived, and the projected departure was abandoned. Coligny, who had been informed of the state of the colony, determined to equip a third expedition, and, in order to secure a better management of the affairs of the colony, he recalled Laudonnière. For the first time, also, a minister, named Robert, accompanied the expedition. In this hope, however, the admiral was doomed to bitter disappointment. Scarcely had a new and better life begun at the fort when a formidable and most cruel enemy made his appearance. Although there was at the time a lull in the religious struggles of France, emissaries of the papal party conveyed intelligence to the Spanish court of Ribaut's intended expedition. In the same spirit Philip the Second, who could not brook the idea of a Huguenot settlement in Florida, now eagerly listened to the proposal of Pedro Menendez de Abila to undertake the conquest of that country, and he liberally aided him in obtaining and equipping the necessary forces. Menendez, whose ability only rendered his intense bigotry more dangerous, unexpectedly arrived in Florida at the beginning of September, 1565, and boldly announced his intention to exterminate the hated "Lutherans." He at once attacked four of Ribaut's vessels, which were riding at anchor outside of the harbor. Unable to offer any resistance the deserted crafts fled to the sea; and Menendez, giving up the pursuit, returned in the morning with a single ship and endeavored to effect a landing. Foiled in this by Ribaut, who had assumed the command, he sailed southward until, on the 7th of September, he came to an inlet about thirty-five miles south of St. John's river. Having taken possession of the land in the name of Philip, he founded the city which still bears the name of St. Augustine, after which he prepared to attack Fort Caroline by land.

In the meantime the French held a council of war, in which Ribaut, contrary to the advice of all the other officers, determined to bring Menendez to a naval engagement. This ill-advised plan brought about the ruin of the whole colony, and, with that, the end of all independent Huguenot colonization in the New World. The squadron, sailing in quest of the Spaniards, was entirely wrecked in a violent storm, at a point some sixty miles south of St. Augustine. The

troops, barely escaping with their lives, were separated into two bodies, and thus attempted to return to the St. John's by land. But they never reached there. When the first detachment, which had been cast ashore nearer St. Augustine than the other, arrived at the Matanzas river, it was met by Menendez. He informed the officers, in an interview which they had sought, that Fort Caroline was in his power, and that the garrison had been put to the sword. In this the Spaniard spoke only too truly. On the 20th of September, Fort Caroline, in which Ribaut had left only about two hundred men, women, and children, was surprised and taken by Menendez. Laudonnière, who was in command, ultimately succeeded, with some twenty others, in boarding their two remaining ships, in which they soon afterwards returned to France. But the rest, with the exception of seventy women and children, whose lives appear to have been spared, were savagely slaughtered; and it was even reported that Menendez, in order to deepen their ignominy, hanged some prisoners on trees, bearing this inscription: "Hanged, not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans."

This horrible execution augured ill for the fate of Ribaut's shipwrecked men, whom the fall of Fort Caroline placed in a most critical position. Destitute of everything, what were they to do? On the ground, that there was then peace between France and Spain, the first party, in their interview with Menendez, simply asked for a ship and provisions, so that they might return to their own country. But the fanatical Spaniard, refusing to succor heretics, denied their request. They then asked to be allowed, at least, to ransom their lives, offering to pay twenty thousand ducats. But this, too, Menendez refused to do, and insisted upon their unconditional surrender. His language, as later reported by himself, was: "I answered, that they might lay down their arms and throw themselves upon my mercy, in order that I might do unto them as the Lord should command me." These words have ever since been held to imply a virtual pledge of mercy, and that they were so understood by the French is proved by the fact that they accepted the terms and surrendered themselves. But we shall see at once what the infamous Spaniard meant by it. As soon as they had given up all their weapons he ordered them to be brought across the river by tens. As they arrived they were led behind a sand-bank, where they could not be seen by those who were still on the other side of the river. There, on pretence that they outnumbered their captors, their hands were securely tied behind their backs with the match-cords of their own arquebuses. They were about two hundred strong, and it was nearly sundown when all had been brought over and their hands secured. Then Menendez asked each man whether he was a Catholic or a Lutheran. Out of the entire number only eight declared themselves Catholics. These were immediately sent in a boat to St. Augustine, while the others, guarded by their enemies, began their march ostensibly for the same place. Arrived at a point on the way, agreed upon in advance, the blood-thirsty leader and soldiers fell upon the unarmed men and murdered them in cold blood.

On the following day the remainder of Ribaut's men arrived at

the Matanzas, and the same barbarous scene was reënacted. To assure them that Fort Caroline had been really taken objects belonging to it were shown them; and, to intimidate them still more, they were asked to view the bodies of their dead companions. As on the previous day, Menendez demanded that they should surrender at discretion; but, if the French accounts of the transaction may at all be trusted, they were assured by others, in his name, that their lives should be spared. It was in vain that Ribaut tried to obtain better, or more explicit, conditions. In his thirst for Huguenot blood Menendez even refused a ransom of one hundred thousand ducats. Fortunately some of the French doubted the Spaniard's sincerity, and Ribaut deferred a definite answer until the next day. During the night about two hundred of his men, who were unwilling to surrender under such circumstances, retreated towards the sea, where they intrenched themselves; and, whether their enemies were at last sated with blood, or for some other reason, their lives were afterwards saved. But all the others, numbering, according to some, one hundred and fifty, and, according to others, three hundred and fifty men, surrendered the next morning. As they were brought across the river and their hands were bound Ribaut at last understood the fate in reserve for himself and his men; and they died as brave soldiers and uncompromising Christians. To the ominous question, "Are you Catholics or Lutherans?" he replied grimly, "I and all here are of the Reformed Faith;" and then, bidding Menendez do his work, he began to recite the One hundred and thirty-second Psalm. To add to the horror of his deed Menendez ordered Ribaut's corpse to be quartered, and he sent his beard to Philip.

The admirable manner in which these unfortunate men met their terrible doom redeemed to a great extent the numerous mistakes, blunders, and inconsistencies of life which had been committed at Fort Caroline; and when the news of their foul massacre at length reached Europe it provoked a general cry of horror and indignation. In France public opinion ran very high, and the court, whatever its private sentiments may have been, instructed Forquevaulx, its ambassador in Spain, to demand of Philip full satisfaction for the outrage. But Philip could scarcely punish an agent of whose conduct he wholly approved. As usually, he temporized until he thought the time had come to throw off the mask. He even went so far as to recall Menendez to Spain, in order to make him the recipient of various public honors. The pretext for this extraordinary step was an expedition led by Bertrand de Montluc, with the approbation of Coligny, against the island of Madeira, then, as now, a Portuguese possession.

Evidently the French court either could not or would not retrieve the national honor. But at this point an avenger was found in Dominique de Gourgues,—a private gentleman of Mont de Marson, in Gascony. Gourgues had been bred a soldier from his boyhood, and belonged to the Guise party. He was not, therefore, a Huguenot; but he was born with a keen sense of honor, and the public insult offered to France stung him to the quick. At the same time he had private wrongs to avenge. Some years before he had been taken

prisoner by the Spaniards, who, in spite of his rank, had degraded him to the position of a galley-slave. The cry for vengeance of the Florida victims found, therefore, a double echo in his heart, and he resolved to do his utmost in redressing their wrongs and his own. Selling his patrimony he equipped with the proceeds, and with some help obtained from his brother, three small crafts, carrying in all less than two hundred men. The little squadron, whose real destination was known only to Gourgues and a few others, finally set sail on the 22d of August, 1567. After a very stormy and designedly circuitous passage they at length arrived off Cuba, where the daring leader first made known to his followers the real purpose of the expedition. As he retraced in burning words the cruelty of the Spaniards, and the deep shame which they had brought upon the fair name of France, little by little his own patriotic determination took hold of them, and they all demanded to be led against the faithless enemy. Too feeble to attack the intrenched Spaniards by sea, Gourgues landed at a point fifteen leagues north of the St. John's. He happily succeeded in winning over the Indians, without whose aid he could have accomplished but little; and in a few days the brave little band of Frenchmen, accompanied by their enthusiastic allies, began their march against the common foe. Gourgues had resolved first to attack the two redoubts which Menendez had constructed to guard the entrance of the river, and the success of his whole plan depended upon his ability to take the enemy by surprise, and to so dispose his men as to give the impression of much larger forces. In both these respects he fully succeeded. On the 24th of April, 1568, the two redoubts were taken, and Fort Caroline, whose name had been changed to that of St. Mateo, fell three days later. Of the four hundred men who garrisoned these places but very few escaped destruction. Some three hundred were killed outright, and between thirty and forty who had been taken prisoners were, in their turn, hanged on trees, with this superscription: "I do this not as to Spaniards, but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers."

Gourgues' work was now done, and he returned to France to reap the just reward of his distinguished services. But the sequel of his story proves only too well the bad faith of the French court. Instead of receiving the recognition to which the success of his expedition so eminently entitled him, he was reduced to defend what he had done, and almost the only Frenchman who dared boldly to take his defence in hand was the true and brave Admiral Coligny. This high protection saved him from being surrendered to Philip, who set a price on his head, and obliged him to live in retirement. Meanwhile, however, Coligny himself was assassinated, and Gourgues, left without protection, took service in England, and died a few years later.

THE LATER COLONIES.

The ill-fated colony of Fort Caroline was the last independent attempt of the Huguenots of France to colonize the New World. All the later Huguenot settlements in America were made in the name of foreign powers, and it is their influence which has so largely moulded

American civilization and history. But, before giving an account of these later establishments, mention should be made, for the sake of completeness, of the mixed colony which de Monts first planted, in 1604, on an islet which was named St. Croix, at the entrance of the present St. Croix river, between Maine and New Brunswick. Soon after the discovery of America by Columbus, French fishermen began to visit the Banks of Newfoundland, and distinguished navigators carefully explored that entire region. No permanent settlement was, however, attempted there until 1542, when de Roberval, and, at later intervals, de la Roche, Pontgravé, de Chastes, and others, led unsuccessful colonies to various points. But in the meantime great changes had taken place in France, and the prospects of the new expedition were brighter. Henry the Fourth occupied the throne, and France had then been living for six years under the beneficent provisions of the Edict of Nantes. Accordingly both Protestants and Romanists took part in the projected colony. De Monts, the leader, was a Huguenot, and there were associated with him such able and liberal Catholics as Pontgravé, de Champlain, de Poutrincourt, and de Biencourt. Nevertheless, as a Huguenot enterprise, the project wholly miscarried. Party spirit still ran so high that, during the voyage out, priests and ministers came to personal encounters; and it is significant that in this mode of argument the champions of Rome generally came off victorious. Besides, it had been stipulated that the natives, whose conversion was to be specially undertaken, were to be taught the tenets of Romanism. In consequence of this condition all Protestant interest in the colony naturally soon died out; and, upon the assassination of Henry the Fourth, in 1610, Jesuit influence triumphed, not only in this colony, but throughout New France.

In the meantime, however, the Huguenot immigration to America assumed another and more successful form. Indeed, from the earliest



Champlain-

times, a considerable number of Huguenots, threatened by some special danger, discouraged by the successive defeats which they sustained, or tired out by the reigning intolerance of king and pope, had taken refuge in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and England. The number of these earlier refugees was largely increased after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1572, and the capture of La Rochelle, the most important of the Protestant strongholds, in 1628. After the latter event the Huguenots were reduced to the humiliating position of a tolerated sect, and their few remaining privileges, notwithstanding the rights guaranteed to them by the Edict of Nantes, were daily curtailed. In 1685 that edict itself was formally revoked, and the stream of Huguenot emigration, which had become deep and continuous some years before, now reached its maximum volume. By the aid of these later refugees the previously established Huguenot colonies were reinforced, many entirely new colonies were founded, and the influence of French Protestantism made itself felt wherever the principle of religious toleration had obtained a foothold. These facts explain the early presence here of Huguenots in connection with the Dutch and English. Unable, as strangers in strange lands, to entertain any longer the thought of forming independent settlements in the New World, they abandoned their former plan of military colonies, and established themselves here under the auspices of Holland and England.

THE NEW YORK COLONY.

Of these later Huguenot establishments in America that of New York is the first in date, and, in several respects, the first in importance. According to the Labadist travellers, who visited New York in 1679, a Huguenot, Jean Vigné, whose parents were from Valenciennes, in French Flanders, was born on Manhattan Island as early as 1614; and, although their names have not been preserved, no doubt other Huguenots arrived at Manhattan during the next few years. The permanent settlement of the New Netherlands did not, however, take place until 1623, when the West India Company sent out a colony of thirty families, the majority of which were Walloon or French. Some of these families were sent to the Delaware; others to the Connecticut; and still others up the Hudson, where they formed the outposts of the new colony. They were thus the first settlers of what has since become the Empire State, the unexampled prosperity of which is largely due to their sterling qualities of heart and mind.

Meanwhile the number of these early colonists was slowly, but constantly, increasing. In 1625 there came out several Huguenot families with Verhulst; and a year later, among other notable accessions, there arrived Peter Minuit, the new governor, and Isaac de Rasières, the first diplomatist of New York, both of whom were apparently Huguenots. In the absence of definite figures it is probable, therefore, that in 1628, when New Amsterdam numbered only two hundred and seventy souls, the Walloons and French formed fully one-half of its total population. At the latter date we have a brief, but very interesting, notice of them in the important letter of the Rev.

Jonas Michaëlius, the first Dutch minister of New Amsterdam. After mentioning the organization of a church the writer says: "We had at the first administration of the Lord's Supper full fifty communicants, . . . Walloons and Dutch. . . . The Walloons and French have no service on Sundays other than that in the Dutch language, of which they understand very little. A portion of the Walloons are going back to fatherland, either because their years here are expired, or also because some are not very serviceable to the company. Some of them live far away and could not come on account of the heavy rains and storms, so that it was neither advisable, nor was it possible, to appoint any special service for so small a number with so much uncertainty. Nevertheless, the Lord's Supper was administered to them in the French language and according to the French mode, with a preceding discourse which I had before me in writing, as I could not trust myself extemporaneously."

It is doubtful whether, as Michaëlius here states, any considerable number of the Walloons, who are here to be considered as identical with the French, ever returned to Holland. But, however that may be, the number of Huguenot immigrants, unexpectedly small but valuable, from 1628 to 1640, rapidly increased during the following decades. Even in 1656 the French-speaking population of New Netherlands had become so important that, according to Bancroft, the public documents had to be sometimes issued in French as well as in Dutch and English; and a careful examination of the public records of New York, extending from the earliest settlement to 1685, reveals over two hundred French, or, presumably, Huguenot, family names.

The majority of these families resided within the limits of what was then New York City, and, allowing five members to each family, they constituted about one-fourth of its entire population. The others established themselves mostly in the neighborhood of the city, either strengthening older Huguenot settlements or founding new ones. Thus, besides the more important colonies planted by them in the counties of Richmond and Ulster, they settled in whole or in part several towns on Long Island. Among the latter New Utrecht, where a few of the early Walloons had already made their homes, received other accessions in 1654, and again in 1666. In 1660 Bushwick was settled by "fourteen Frenchmen;" at about the same time others went to Flushing, where they afterwards introduced the fine fruit culture which has ever since distinguished that place; and in 1670 several families obtained a patent for the land in and about Bedford. Similarly, in 1661, one-half of the inhabitants of Harlem, on Manhattan Island, were Huguenots; in 1677, a few families formed a settlement near what is now Hackensack, in New Jersey, and afterwards established a church; and, not to mention other places of less importance, in about 1650 New Castle, on the Delaware, welcomed a certain number of French settlers. It may be, indeed, that here also a French congregation once existed.

There is a good deal of uncertainty in regard to the religious condition of the Huguenots of New York at this time. It is possible that the immediate successors of Michaëlius, following the example of that

worthy man, occasionally held special services for them. It is probable, also, that the Rev. Casper Carpentier, who died at Newcastle in 1684, and the Rev. Michael Zyperus, who came to Harlem in 1660, officiated for some time among their brethren of New York. But it is only with the arrival of the Rev. Samuel Drisius, in 1652, that we at last gain some definite information. It is well known that the consistory of the Dutch church called Drisius, whose ministry extended to 1673, because he could preach in French and English as well as in Dutch. Towards the close of his life age and other infirmities prevented him for several years from undertaking much active work; but it is to be presumed that, during the rest of his long services he ministered to the religious wants of the French as often as the necessities of the case required or permitted it.

In the only two instances, therefore, in which French services have hitherto been definitely mentioned in connection with New York they were conducted by the Dutch ministers. But on the death of Drisius, and probably a year or two before, the Huguenots of Harlem, and no doubt also those of other neighboring French settlements, joined those of New York in the organization of an independent French church. The name of the pastor, unless it was Ezéchiél Carré, is lost; nor

can the attempt have been long successful, for the Labadists, writing in 1679, say nothing of a French church in New York at that time; but the foundation of such a church in the time of

Fran Lovelace.

Governor Francis Lovelace is certain. There was always a great deal of moving from one place to another among the Huguenots, and this may account both for the relatively late formation and the early dissolution of some of their first churches. Nevertheless, in 1682, the project of founding a permanent French church at New York was successfully resumed by the Rev. Pierre Daillé, who has been very appropriately called the Apostle of the Huguenots in America. At the early age of thirty he had become a professor in the Academy of Saumur, one of the principal Protestant schools of theology in France. There his zeal and learning soon led to his banishment. In Holland, where he had taken refuge, he received a call from the Dutch church of New York, which never forgot the religious interests of the Huguenots. He was to preach the gospel to his brethren scattered through the province of New York, and on his arrival he applied himself at once, and with characteristic energy, to his difficult and laborious task. He began by reorganizing the former French church, which soon became a flourishing body under his diligent care. It regularly met for divine worship in the Dutch church within the fort, and from this time forward stated French services have never ceased to be held in New York.

Daillé.

Meanwhile, on the 22d of October, 1685, the Edict of Nantes was finally revoked; and soon afterwards the refugees arrived in such num-

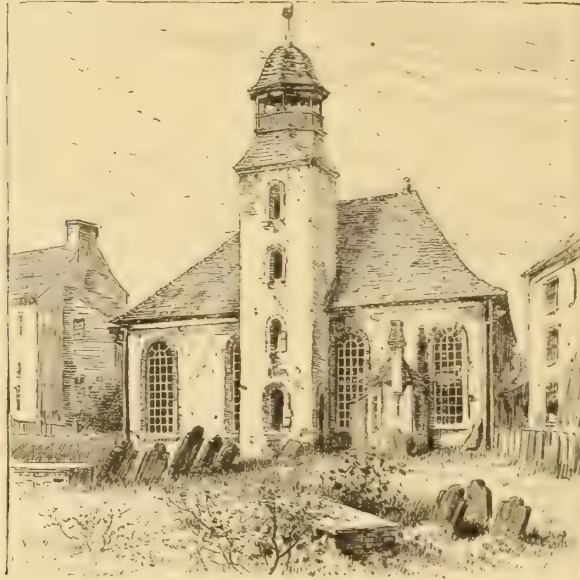
bers that, in 1689, New York city alone sheltered two hundred Huguenot families. They came principally by way of London, the West Indies, and South Carolina; and, besides largely strengthening some of the existing French settlements, they founded the important town of New Rochelle. The French now became an important factor in the population of New York, and their importance was increased for a while by the accessions which they received in subsequent years. As early as 1683 Governor Dongan was instructed to give them all "fitting encouragement, so far forth as may be consistent with his Majesty's service;" and this cordial disposition towards them on the part of the home government was warmly seconded by all classes in the colony. Some of them had become British subjects during their sojourn in England; and others, in order to become qualified to trade, soon applied for letters of denization here. Accordingly they took an active interest in the affairs of the province, and many of them attained to the highest positions of trust and influence. Unfortunately these happy relations were ruthlessly torn asunder for a while during the Leislerian troubles. Under James the Second the position of the Huguenots was far from being satisfactory; and, to add to their insecurity, the reduction of New York was then contemplated by de Frontenac, who had orders to send back to France any refugees whom he might find there. Under such trying circumstances their attitude was remarkably correct. As a body they heartily supported Leisler, who, whatever his faults may have been, had at least the will and the courage to proclaim the accession of William and Mary. But this natural course alienated from the Huguenots the sympathies of a powerful faction; party lines were at the same time more closely drawn, and for a long time New York society lacked that harmony and cordiality which at first distinguished its various elements. This lack of union manifested itself particularly during the administration of Lord Bellomont.

Among the refugees who came to New York in the latter part of 1687 was the Rev. Pierre Peiret. He at once began to gather around him a band of his fellow-refugees, whom he organized into an independent church.

Burch ministre

The following year this new society erected a small church edifice, — the first in New York exclusively devoted to French services. It was named the *Église des Réfugiés Français à la Nouvelle York*, and it was located in what is now called Marketfield street. A gallery was added to it in 1692, when it may have seated from three to four hundred persons. During the latter year the church of Daillé united with that of Peiret. The immediate reason for this action was, no doubt, the determination of the Dutch themselves to leave their church in the fort, which they surrendered to the English, and to build for themselves a new church in Garden street. In accordance with the agreement which had been made between them Daillé had the special oversight of the country churches, whilst Peiret had more particularly charge of that of New York. This arrangement continued in force until 1696, when Daillé accepted a call from the French church

of Boston. In the meantime, however, the prosperity of the New York church increased daily. In 1703 Peiret and his consistory were authorized, by an act of the Assembly, to sell the church in Marketfield street, which had become entirely too small, and to apply the proceeds, and such other contributions as might be voluntarily made for that purpose, to the erection of a new and larger church. On the 8th of July, 1704, the corner-stone of the new church was laid by Lord Corn-



PINE STREET CHURCH IN 1831.

bury, and the building itself was completed towards the end of the same year. This was that unique church edifice in Pine street, near Nassau, which was used for public worship until 1834, and which still subsists in the present *Église du Saint Esprit*, in West Twenty-second street.

Peiret, who had been the prime mover in the erection of the two French churches, died on the 1st of September, 1704, and was buried in Trinity church-yard. He is said to have been a man of learning, and, from all that is known of him, he was certainly a noble example of the Huguenot pastor. He was followed by a long series of able and devoted men, but under whom the church which he had founded gradually declined. In 1750, after the close of Rou's long pastorate, its membership had been reduced to a mere handful. During the occupation of New York by the British the building was used as a storehouse; nor was it reopened for divine service until 1796, and then only to become, in 1804, an Episcopal church. This result was seemingly inevitable. In 1710, the last considerable body

of Huguenots arrived in New York, and henceforth the membership of the French church depended almost exclusively upon its own natural growth. This increase, together with such accessions as the church would have made otherwise, would have secured for it a long and useful existence. But, in the meantime, the French language, which was used in all its services, fell into disuse; and the Huguenots of the second and third generations, understanding and speaking English better than French, gradually drifted into English-speaking churches. It is a matter of regret that an attempt, made in 1772, to secure a pastor who could preach in English as well as in French, should have failed. The gradual disuse of the French language was not, however, the only, or the most important, dissolving cause at work. Among many of the Huguenots of New York, as elsewhere, there existed from the beginning a strong disposition to conform to the Church of England. This statement is particularly true of their ministers. As early as 1663 Zyperus went to Virginia, where he was afterwards chosen rector of what is now Kingston parish, in Mathews county. The removal of Daillé to Boston, in 1696, may have had the same cause. It was certainly at the root of the difficulties which broke out during Rou's ministry, and which brought

Li Roy Pasteur

the church to the brink of its ruin. And, omitting several others, Carle, one of its most efficient ministers, resigned in 1764, because the church refused to conform. Nor was the predilection for the Church

Elias Neau

of England confined to the pastors, as the registers of Trinity Church abundantly prove. Thus, among many others, the saintly Neau, who had memorized the "Book of Common Prayer" in a French

dungeon, was an elder in the French church before he became catechist of New York; de Lancey, a leading representative of the Huguenots, became early a vestryman in Trinity parish; and Desbrosses, also a former elder in the French church, left by will, in 1773, to Trinity Church, one thousand pounds in trust for the first French congregation of New York which should adopt the Anglican liturgy. The example of such representative men must have produced a deep influence, and it is surprising that, under the operation of the two leading causes specified, the Huguenot church of New York did not become an Episcopal church upon its revival in 1796.

Estienne de Lancey

THE STATEN ISLAND COLONY.

Among the remaining Huguenot colonies founded in the province of New York, Staten Island, New Paltz, and New Rochelle, deserve special mention. Staten Island was a favorite resort of the Hugue-

nots from the earliest times. Their number was considerably increased, in 1661, by the arrival of some Vaudois and French refugees. They clustered mainly around two places, one of which, Fresh-Kills, was principally settled by the French; and the other, Stony Brook, by the Waldenses. Their first minister was Drisius, who began his ministrations among them in 1663; and it is said that a church was built in both settlements as early as 1665. But these churches were evidently of short duration; for in 1679, when the Labadists visited Staten Island, there was "neither church nor minister" to be found there. The French of Staten Island numbered at that time about forty families; and, in 1682, Daillé, the New York pastor, reorganized their churches, which he continued to serve until 1694,

de Bonrepos

with the exception of two years, during which he had been supplanted by Laurent Vandenbosch, an erratic Huguenot minister from Boston. He was succeeded by de Bonrepos, from New Rochelle,

whose ministry extended to 1717. Meanwhile, many Huguenots joined St. Andrew's Church; and the rest, unable to sustain a pastor of their own, united, in 1717, with the new Dutch church at Richmond.

THE NEW PALTZ COLONY.

Like Staten Island, Ulster County received a few Walloon colonists. They established themselves at what is now called Kingston, which soon became a thriving town. Here a church was organized as early as 1659; and it is noticeable that, although the services were conducted in the Dutch language, the records of the church were kept in French until 1700. In 1660 the French element of Kingston was largely reinforced by the arrival of other refugees. Among the latter was Louis Du Bois, who became the chief founder of the Huguenot colony of New Paltz. This settlement arose from a public misfortune. In 1663 the Indians, in order to revenge eleven of their tribe whom Governor Stuyvesant had sold into slavery, made a raid upon Kingston. Some of the inhabitants were killed, and a large number of women and children were carried away by the savages and hidden in the depth of the forest; but their retreat was at length discovered, and the greater part of the captives were happily rescued. They were found at what was then called the "New Fort," in the valley of the Wallkill; and the rescuing party were so much pleased with the rich soil of that section of the country that it was resolved to plant a Huguenot colony there. Accordingly, in 1666, Louis Du Bois, with eleven associates, purchased the land from the natives; but the actual settlement did not take place until 1677. The land was equally divided among the twelve patentees, and in memory of the sojourn of some of the settlers at Mannheim, in the lower Palatinate, the colony was called *Le Nouveau Palatinat*. Although they had no minister among them the colonists at once erected a log house, which served the double purpose of a school-house and a church. It was in this humble building that Daillé, in 1682, organized the *Église du Nouveau Palatinat*,

which still survives in the present Dutch Reformed church of New Paltz. Daille's last recorded semi-annual visit to this church was in 1692. Four years later he was succeeded by de Bonrepos, who was then pastor of the Staten Island churches. A new and more capacious church was built in 1720; but the French language gradually died out for want of a school-teacher, and in 1733 the Dutch took its place. The last visit of a French pastor to New Paltz seems to have occurred in 1739, when Moulinars, who was then at New Rochelle, baptized three children there.

In speaking of the civil government of this colony the Rev. Anson Du Bois, in the "Du Bois reunion," says: "The twelve patentees—the Duzine, as they were called—were constituted the legislative and judicial body of the miniature state. The number was supplied after the death of the original members by annual election. Decisions in all cases referred to them seem to have been accepted as final; for though we must assume the right of appeal to the colonial government, no such appeal is known to have been made, or disputed boundary or internal feud to have disturbed the absolute harmony of the settlement. There was no civil government other than that of the Duzine in operation at New Paltz for a period of more than one hundred years."

THE NEW ROCHELLE COLONY.

As early as 1685 a few French refugees had found their way into Westchester county. Four years later John Pell, Lord of Pelham Manor, conveyed the present township of New Rochelle, containing six thousand acres, to Jacob Leisler, in behalf of about a dozen Huguenot families who wished to establish a colony there. The tract was so named after La Rochelle, one of the great Protestant strongholds in France; and the land was afterwards divided into parcels, varying from twenty to three hundred acres apiece, which were from time to time released to other applicants. Most of the colonists, including several English and Dutch families, were

Jacob Leisler

grouped in one place, forming the village of New Rochelle. This town, pleasantly situated at a distance of about twenty miles from New York city, became early noted for the superior educational advantages which it afforded, and for the fine hospitality and urbanity of its inhabitants. Mrs. Knight, writing in 1704, thus describes its condition: "This is a very pretty place, well compact, and good, handsome houses; clean, good, and passable roads, and situated on a navigable river; abundance of land, well fenced and cleared all along as we passed, which caused in me a love to the place, which I could have been content to live in it."

In the original conveyance to Leisler there were comprised an additional one hundred acres of land, which were freely granted to the

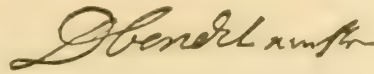
"French church, erected or to be erected" by the colonists. The church here contemplated was built in 1692; and, besides the glebe mentioned, it received at about this time "a piece of land forty paces square," to be used as a cemetery, from Louis Bongrand; and, subsequently, a house and about three acres of land from the town. The first minister of this church was the Rev. David de Bonrepos, who had previously been pastor of a small band of refugees at Boston. He was succeeded in 1694, or more probably in 1696, by the Rev. Daniel Bondet, during whose long and useful ministry the people conformed to the Church of England.

Bondet, who belonged to a very excellent family, was a most worthy man and an accomplished scholar. In 1685 he fled to England, where he was admitted to holy orders; and the following year he accompanied a few of his fellow-refugees who were going to New Oxford, in Massachusetts. Here he was employed for eight years in preaching to the Indians, serving at the same time as pastor of the Huguenot colony. In 1694 he returned to Boston, where he seems to have remained two years, at the expiration of which he was called to New Rochelle. The call was mainly due to the friendly offices of Colonel Heathcote, a staunch and active churchman. Bondet being able to officiate in English as well as in French, his friend first proposed him for the living of Westchester, of which New Rochelle then formed a part. The vestry at first acquiesced in the proposal; but, at the instigation of the Rev. Warren Mather, a dissenting clergyman, it afterwards changed its resolution, and when Bondet came it refused to receive him. It was then that Colonel Heathcote secured his services for New Rochelle, where he was heartily welcomed by all classes. Availing himself of the authorization which he had received at his ordination, he conducted the services of the church for a long time according to the practice of the Reformed churches of France, and under his self-denying and diligent care the membership of the church increased from year to year. But the people were poor, and the aid promised by the province was either not paid at all or paid very irregularly. Accordingly, in 1709, the entire congregation, with the exception of two or three families, conformed to the Church of England.

This event made quite a stir in the French church of New York, and ultimately led to a schism in both churches. Rou, who came to New York a year later, refused to interfere in the matter; but some of the members of his church, afraid of being absorbed in their turn, encouraged the dissidents to hold out. In 1718 they succeeded in giving Rou a colleague, the Rev. Jean J. Moulinars, who, in addition to his duties in New York, was to preach and administer the sacraments quarterly at New Rochelle. Nor did this concession satisfy them. Although they were really in the minority, in 1724 they attempted to dismiss Rou altogether from the church. To protect himself he brought a suit in chancery, and was at once reinstated; but most of his opponents left the church, which was seriously impaired by their withdrawal. Moulinars retired to New Rochelle, where he continued to minister to the little flock of dissidents until his death,

which occurred in 1741. At first the services were held in a private house; but with the liberal aid which they received from New York the number of the worshippers gradually increased, especially during the interval between the death of Bondet and the arrival of his successor; and during the same period a little wooden church was built for them, which, as an annex of the New York church, still existed in 1764.

In the meantime Bondet quietly accomplished his laborious and difficult task. In 1710 a new stone church was erected under his auspices and he had the satisfaction of welcoming back by degrees the greater part of the dissenting families. Every third Sunday in the month he preached in English, and his labors among the In-



dians were crowned with eminent success. He died in 1722, and was succeeded two years later by the Rev. Peter Stoupe, formerly pastor of the Huguenot church of Charleston, South Carolina. Stoupe, whose labors worthily continued those of his predecessor, died in 1760. His successor was the Rev. Michael Houdin, who rendered General Wolfe such signal services as a guide in the expedition against Quebec. He had resided for several years in Canada, where he labored as a Roman Catholic priest. He was the last French incumbent of New Rochelle, and died in 1766.

THE BOSTON COLONY.

The several Huguenot colonies planted in New England had their centre in Boston. A few refugees, such as de la Noye, de Votion, and others, found their way into New England soon after the formation of the English settlements; and as early as 1662 Jean Touton, a physician, applied for permission, in behalf of himself and other Protestants from La Rochelle, to establish themselves in Massachusetts. Touton himself is known to have been at Rehoboth in 1675, and it is probable that at least some of the rest had accompanied him; for in 1685 there already existed at Boston a small body of Huguenots, whose presence there cannot apparently be otherwise explained. But the first considerable body of French refugees, the circumstances of whose arrival are known, came to Boston from the island of St. Christopher, in the summer of 1686. They consisted of fifteen families, and were a part of that important Huguenot element which first emigrated to the West Indies. In the course of the year they were joined, among others, by fifty refugees from Eleuthera, one of the Bahama Islands. The latter had been driven out by the Spaniards, and all severely suffered during the voyage. To provide for their immediate wants collections were ordered to be made in the various churches. At the same time other families were arriving, principally from England, and it is probable that before the close of 1688 some four hundred Huguenots had landed at Boston. This immigration lasted several years, when it was again diverted to New York and the South.

Few of these refugees remained permanently in Boston. In 1687 all but twenty families had left there, and others were leaving daily.

These constant losses, which were only partially made good by new arrivals, show why the Huguenot colony of Boston has left fewer traces behind it than perhaps any other. A French church was, nevertheless, maintained from the earliest time; but the date of its first organization is unknown. Vandenbosch, who was apparently its first pastor, was dismissed, in 1685, for celebrating marriages without the usual publication of banns. In 1687 he was succeeded by the Rev. David de Bonrepos, who may have been the minister who came with the St. Christopher refugees. He remained only two years. During the next seven years the history of the church is involved in a good deal of doubt. For some time the pastors of English churches seem to have occasionally officiated, and it is probable that Bondet, before going to New Rochelle, spent two years among his brethren of Boston. But in 1696 the church assumed greater importance. In that year the New Oxford settlement was broken up, and the colonists generally returned to Boston. In consequence of this increase in the membership of the church Daillé was called from New York. His ministry proved as successful as it could under the circumstances. In 1705 a lot was bought for a church in what is now School street, but the resources of the people did not permit them to undertake the building of a church edifice. It was no doubt this inadequacy of their means which induced Daillé, in 1706, to apply for aid to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In 1715 this eminent servant of God was finally called to his rest. Among other legacies he left £5 to the French school-master; his books and the income of £100 to the congregation, and £10 towards the building of a church. His successor, the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, was the last pastor of the church. During the first year of his pastorate a neat church was erected; but the membership gradually declined until, in 1748, there were only eight male communicants left. The congregation was then dissolved, and the building was sold to a new Congregational society.

Andrew Le Mercier

In the absence of a permanent church, Faneuil Hall, the munificent gift of a Huguenot, remains as a fit and lasting memorial of the Huguenot colony of Boston.

THE NEW OXFORD COLONY.

The refugees who came to Boston from England in 1686 are nearly all supposed to have gone directly to New Oxford. This settlement was situated in what was then known as the Nipmuck country, at a distance of about fifty miles south-west from Boston. It consisted of a tract of land containing eleven thousand two hundred and fifty acres, and formed the eastern part of a grant eight miles square which the General Court of Massachusetts made in 1683 to a company of English gentlemen. The grant was made on the condition that the proprietors, within four years from date, should settle thereon "thirty families and an able orthodox minister." In compliance with this condition Major Robert Thompson, one of the proprietors residing in London, contracted

with Gabriel Bernon, a merchant of La Rochelle who had fled to England after the recall, for the settlement of thirty French families on the Oxford grant. It would appear that, according to the terms of their agreement, Bernon was to pay, if necessary, for the removal of the settlers and their effects; to build a grist-mill at New Oxford, and to provide such other means as might be requisite for the proper cultivation of the land. In consideration of these services the proprietors finally decided to Bernon seventeen hundred and fifty acres of land; and to his agent, Bertrand du Tulleau, seven hundred and fifty acres.



FANEUIL HALL IN 1789.

Each family freely received from fifty to one hundred acres, according to its size.

As already stated the first colonists arrived in the autumn of 1686. They were accompanied by the Rev. Daniel Bondet, who, after Bernon, was the chief man among them. In 1687 their number had increased to fifty-two, and it is probable that by the beginning of the next year the full quota of thirty families had been furnished. The colony now entered upon a brief period of prosperity. In accordance with the practice of other Huguenot colonies it appears to have governed itself; and the few necessary public buildings and institutions were gradually called into existence. For better protection against the Indians a small fort was constructed; a saw-mill and a grist-mill were built; a substantial church edifice was erected; a convenient plot was laid out for a cemetery; and, as a welcome reward for such worthy efforts, the wild forest land, which was speedily reclaimed, abundantly supplied all the real wants of the colonists. So rapid was the progress of the little community that in 1693, only seven years after its first foundation, it was deemed of sufficient consequence to be allowed representation in the General Court at Boston.

At the same time signs of the coming dangers were not wanting.

As early as 1691 Bondet was obliged to protest, in the interest of the common weal, against the indiscriminate sale of rum to the natives, who, under the influence of strong drink, became wholly ungovernable and dangerous. This protest, which the selectmen of Woodstock afterwards renewed in behalf of their own town, was apparently heeded by the authorities of the province, and for a time the affairs of the colony again progressed satisfactorily. But, during the summer of 1694, the Indians threatened several times to attack the settlement, and the settlers, too feeble to repel them, were obliged to seek refuge in the fort for three months. Meanwhile the deer and the cattle, unrestrained by any one, destroyed the growing crops of hay and corn, and the problem of subsistence during the coming winter assumed serious importance. This hostility of the natives finally proved fatal to the promising colony. Since the war of 1675 the Huguenots, in common with the other European settlers, lived in constant dread of their barbarous neighbors. An incident which is said to have happened about this time contributed, no doubt, to the general anxiety. One day some Indians surprised in the woods and carried away two children belonging to one of the colonists, and several days passed before the little ones were again found and returned to their parents. As soon, therefore, as the enemy menaced the town, some of the inhabitants retired to Boston. They were the more independent members of the colony, and their loss to the enterprise was increased soon afterwards by the withdrawal of Bondet. The remaining inhabitants continued the struggle until 1696, when the Indians renewed their attacks. In the outskirts of the village lived a family by the name of Johnson, one of the few English families which seem to have belonged to the settlement. Towards evening, on the 25th of August, a number of hostile savages entered Johnson's house, and, seizing his three little children, dashed their heads against the hearth-stone. The terrified mother fled towards Woodstock, where her husband had gone on business; but they missed each other on the way, and, on his return, Johnson was killed by the murderers of his children. This event decided the immediate abandonment of the colony. Gathering together their most valuable effects, the disconsolate exiles repaired to their little church; after a few last prayers had been said, those of them who had lost any relatives or friends took their final leave of them in the church-yard, and then the entire company set out for Boston. The deep pathos of this scene will be easily imagined.

Bernon, who had personally never resided at New Oxford, alone kept up his interest in the unfortunate settlement, and, in the spring of 1699,

Gabriel Bernon.

eight or ten of the original families returned under his auspices. Their pastor was the Rev. Jacques Laborie, who, like Bondet, preached at the same time to the Indians. But this

attempted resettlement also failed. In 1702 the natives again became troublesome; and, in spite of the efforts of Bernon and the government to protect the colonists, there existed a general feeling of insecurity.

Laborie was called to New York in 1704, and it is probable that the last Huguenots left the colony soon afterwards. In 1713, after due proclamation, their farms were deeded to thirty English settlers. Bernon, who strongly espoused the cause of Episcopacy, left Boston in 1698, and then successively resided at Newport, Narragansett, and Providence, R.I.

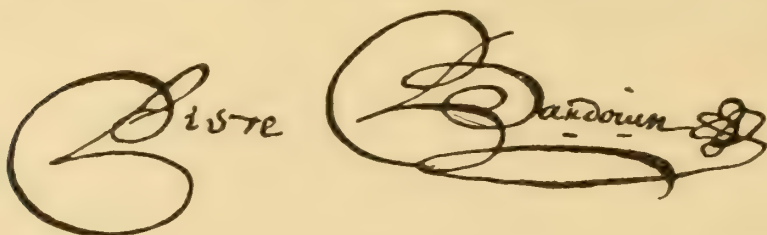
THE NARRAGANSETT COLONY.

The Huguenot colony in Rhode Island likewise proceeded from Boston. It was founded in the same year as the New Oxford colony, and was located in what was then known as the Narragansett country, near the present town of Kingston. The leading men in the colony were Ezechiel Carré, the pastor, who is said to have left France only in 1686, but who may have come to America long before; Dr. Pierre Ayrault, who afterwards settled at Newport; and Pierre Le Breton. According to an agreement made between them and the proprietors of Narragansett, each family was to receive one hundred acres of land, for which it was to pay at the rate of four shillings per acre, or £25 for the whole tract, payable in three years; one hundred and fifty acres were to be freely given for the use of the minister, one hundred acres as a glebe, and fifty acres towards the support of a school-master.

The settlement was begun in November, 1686, and was generally known as "Frenchtown." Besides suitable buildings for a church and a school, twenty-five private houses were at once erected. In 1687 the village numbered about one hundred persons, and in all there seems to have settled there forty-five families. The difficulties, which finally caused the dispersion of the entire colony, arose exclusively from the conflicting claims in regard to the proprietorship of the Narragansett territory. The claim of the Atherton Company, from which the colonists held their lands, was solely based upon a mortgage executed by two Narragansett sachems. This claim being afterwards set aside, the disputed territory fell definitely under the jurisdiction of Rhode Island. Unfortunately, by an act of the legislature of that province, the tract of land occupied by the French settlers had already been erected into a township, and partially released to a certain number of English settlers. Accordingly the former found themselves, not only without sufficient titles to their little estates, but without the means of obtaining any better ones. The difficulties began in the summer following the foundation of the colony. The English settlers cut the grass on some bog-meadows which the French claimed as a part of their land. The matter was referred to Governor Andros, who temporarily decided that the hay should be equally divided between the two parties. But the whole question of jurisdiction came up in 1689, and when it was finally decided against the Atherton Company the French abandoned the settlement. Only two or three families are said to have remained a few years longer; of the others, two returned to Boston, and the rest went to New Rochelle.

In addition to these three Huguenot colonies in New England mention should be made of Cumberland, Rhode Island, where the Rev. Mathurin Ballou is said to have organized a church in which

French services were held for many years; and of what was then Falmouth, in Maine, where a number of French refugees settled as early as 1687. Among the latter was Pierre Baudouin, a physician


 A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Pierre Baudouin". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The first name "Pierre" is written in a large, flowing script, and the last name "Baudouin" is written in a similar but slightly more compact style, ending with a decorative flourish.

from La Rochelle, one of whose descendants, James Bowdoin, bearing the name of his grandfather, the son of Pierre, afterwards founded Bowdoin College. In 1690 the settlement was destroyed by the Indians, though several of the French families returned to Portland, where a small French colony existed for a number of years.

THE VIRGINIA COLONY.

Unlike other English colonies in America, Virginia seems to have attracted but few Huguenot settlers before the close of the seventeenth century. The right of citizenship was freely given to foreigners as early as 1671, and the colonial records show that a small number of Frenchmen were naturalized in the immediately succeeding years. But the Act of Toleration, which had practically established freedom of worship since 1689, was not promulgated in Virginia until about 1699; and in the mean time the great mass of the Huguenots, whose creed and polity were Presbyterian, naturally turned their attention to other provinces. The tardy promulgation of the Toleration Act may have been partly due to the arrival, in 1700, of several bodies of Huguenots, who came over under the special patronage of William the Third. Among them were no doubt some of the soldiers to whose valor and fidelity William largely owed his crown, and in recognition of their services he generously gave three thousand pounds for the free transportation of a colony of five hundred refugees to Virginia. After the king the chief promoter of the enterprise was Dr. Daniel Coxe, who was the proprietor of extensive territories in different parts of America. The settlement was to be made upon a large tract of land which Dr. Coxe owned in Virginia, and in 1698 he made a contract to that effect with Sir William Walter, Knight, Olivier de la Muce, and Charles de Saily.

The projected colony was widely advertised, not only in England, but also in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland; and in April, 1700, a first ship, carrying some two hundred men, women, and children, sailed for Jamestown. Besides de la Muce and de Saily, Claude Philippe de Richebourg, a very worthy Huguenot minister, seems to have accompanied the colonists. The latter, being nearly all very poor, were amply provided with everything that was necessary in a new colony. A large sum of money, contributed by friends in Eng-

land, was laid out for them in clothes, tools, implements, and other similar articles; and another sum of two hundred and thirty pounds was given them for building a church. Unfortunately their landing proved almost disastrous for persons in their circumstances. A sloop, upon which about three hundred pounds' worth of their goods had been placed, was sunk in the harbor, and the goods were either lost or wholly damaged. Notwithstanding this accident the impoverished colonists at once proceeded to a place on the James river, about twenty miles beyond the rapids, where extensive and valuable lands had been assigned to them. But a second misfortune befell them on the way. At the falls, where Richmond now stands, nearly all of them were taken ill, and they were obliged to tarry there for some time. Meanwhile their provisions were consumed, and they finally arrived at their destination in want of almost everything. Fortunately the government was well disposed towards them, and they found devoted and influential friends in Colonels Byrd and Fitzhugh, who did everything in their power to ameliorate their condition. Collections were ordered by the council to be made for them, and their most pressing needs were thus supplied.

About two months after the arrival of this first company a second body of refugees, comprising one hundred and seventy persons, came from England. The principal man amongst them was the Rev. Mr. de Joux, who had received holy orders from the Bishop of London. According to a memorial, afterwards drawn up by his adherents, he was sent out "to exercise his pastorall function as Minister of all y^e s^d colony," and in the contemporary documents he generally appears as the civil head of the new settlement as well. Towards the close of the same year a third ship arrived from London, bringing one hundred and thirty-seven French emigrants. This swelled the total number of Huguenots settled in Virginia to about the requisite number of five hundred. The great majority of them lived on the southern bank of the James river, and it would seem that they were now formally organized into a colony. The settlement, extending for a distance of about four miles along the bank of the river, contained ten thousand acres. Each family received gratuitously one hundred and thirty-three acres; and it is said that, in accordance with what seems to have been a frequent practice among the Huguenots in such a case, each family's portion consisted of a narrow strip of land running from the bank of the river to the hill in the rear. The place was named "Manikin-Town," after a powerful tribe of Indians who had formerly their principal seat there; and in December, 1700, it was declared, by an Act of the Assembly, an independent parish, and exempted from the payment of all general and county taxes for the space of seven years.

In February, 1701, the last important body of Huguenots arrived in Virginia. They were one hundred and ninety-one in number, and were accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Latané, who afterwards became rector of the South Farnham parish, in Essex county. By the advice of the council they dispersed into various parts of the province. A few families, however, found their way to Manikin-Town, where, after

the removal of some preliminary difficulties, the colonists began earnestly to clear their lands. Among other experiments they revived the culture of the vine; and, in the absence of horses in the settlement, they endeavored to domesticate young buffaloes. But these trials met with very indifferent success, and in the meantime grave difficulties arose in the colony. In the latter part of 1701 an epidemic broke out among the settlers, in consequence of which many of them removed into Maryland. A few years later other difficulties sprang up, the precise nature of which is no longer clearly understood. They were most probably due to certain jealousies which existed from the outset between the successive bodies of settlers in regard to the administration of the affairs of the colony, and which, considering the various elements of which the settlement was composed, it was perhaps impossible to allay altogether. The presence of apparently two different forms of worship in the colony was ill-adapted to heal the internal dissensions, and the final result could be easily foreseen. De Richebourg and his friends retired to a place on the Trent river, in North Carolina, where de la Muce and de Saily seem to have owned a large tract of land. The exact date of their separation is unknown; but it must have occurred before 1708, in which year Lawson visited the Trent settlement. Henceforth there were unity and peace among the Manikin colonists, many of whose names have become famous in the history of Virginia. In 1714 the colony numbered three hundred souls, and the original church has been perpetuated in the present Episcopal church of Manikin.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA COLONIES.

Notwithstanding the illiberal character of its early laws South Carolina, thanks to the richness of its soil and its genial climate, attracted a small number of French colonists from the time of its settlement, in 1670, and finally became, as it has been very properly called, the "home" of the Huguenots in America. The first considerable colony of refugees, comprising about forty-five families or individuals, arrived in 1680. They were sent over by Charles the Second, who, as a rare act of generosity towards Protestants, defrayed himself the cost of their transportation. They were particularly to introduce the culture of the vine, the olive and the silk-worm, and they were followed soon afterwards by a still larger number of their fellow-exiles in England. During the next few years the French immigration was quite small; but it became very important soon after the recall, and it continued much longer than in any other American province. The fugitives now arrived, not only by way of England, but also by way of Holland; and many of those who had first landed at Boston, New York, and Jamestown, finally settled at Charleston, or in the interior. It is said that nearly one thousand embarked for Carolina in the ports of Holland alone, and that hundreds of others came there from England during the last two years of James the Second and during the reign of William and Mary. These numbers may be somewhat exaggerated. It is certain, however, that there emigrated to Carolina, in 1687, a body of more than three hundred refugees, chiefly mechanics,

workmen, and laborers, whose passage and other necessary expenses had been paid out of the funds of the royal bounty of James; that a year or two later a second company, numbering about one hundred and fifty persons, arrived there from Amsterdam and Rotterdam; and that de Richebourg and his colony, after being driven by the Indians from their settlement on the banks of the Trent, at last found permanent homes on the Santee.

The principal colony established in South Carolina by the Huguenots was at Charleston. It dates from the foundation of the city, in whose growth and development it has always been a leading factor. Here was organized, not later than in 1687, a church under the name of the "French Reformed Church of Charleston." Its first pastor was the Rev. Eli Prioleau, who died in 1699. This church enjoys the rare distinction of having alone preserved, among the several Huguenot churches founded in this country, its original form of worship to this day. It continued to use the French language until 1828, when its liturgy was translated into English, and since then all its services have been conducted in that language.

The colony next in importance was that established on the Santee river. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it consisted of about seventy families, and a few years later this number was largely increased by the arrival of some of the Virginia settlers, under the guidance of de Richebourg. The centre of the settlement was a church coeval with the foundation of the colony. Its first pastor was the Rev. Pierre Robert, who continued to serve it until about 1710. As early as 1706 the people conformed to the Church of England, and the still existing St. James Parish, Santee, was organized. Towards 1715 Robert was succeeded by de Richebourg, who, in 1720, was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Ponderous.

Another important colony was formed on the eastern branch of Cooper river. It was known as "Orange Quarter," and seems to have been established as early as 1686. At first there was apparently no separate church organization, and the settlers went down the river in canoes every Sunday to worship with their brethren living at Charleston. Later, however, a distinct church was founded, and in 1706 a commodious edifice was erected. In the same year this organization, like that of the Santee, adopted the Anglican Liturgy and was incorporated under the name of "Parish of St. Denis." At this time the colony numbered about thirty-two families, and, in the absence of a regular minister, the Rev. Dr. Le Jau, who had just been elected rector of St. James Parish, Goose Creek, frequently officiated there. Later the church was served by the Rev. Mr. La Pierre, whose ministry extended to beyond 1715.

Ten of the families seated at Orange Quarter, ascending the western branch of the Cooper, established a colony at a point of the river now known as Strawberry Ferry. They were accompanied by the Rev. Florent Philippe Trouillard, who had been pastor of the French church at Charleston. On his death, which occurred in 1712, the church, which, in the meantime, had also conformed, was merged in St. John's Parish, Berkeley. The first rector of this

parish was the Rev. Mr. Maule, who seems to have been himself a Huguenot.

These were the original colonies created in South Carolina by the Huguenots. They formed an important part of the entire population of the province, upon which they have left an enduring impression. In this respect the testimony of John Lawson, who visited the Santee settlement in 1701, is very interesting. "The French," he says, "being a temperate, industrious people, some of them bringing little of effects, yet by their endeavors and mutual assistance among themselves — which is to be highly commended — have outstripped our English, who brought with them large fortunes, though, as it seems, less endeavor to manage their talent to the best advantage. 'Tis admirable to see what time and industry will, with God's blessing, effect." And, speaking of the religious character of the colonists, he adds: "They are of the same opinion with the Church of Geneva, having no difference among them concerning punctilios of their Christian faith; which union hath propagated a happy and delightful concord in all other matters throughout the whole neighborhood, living among themselves as one tribe or kindred, every one making it his business to be assistant to the wants of his countrymen, preserving his estate and reputation with the same exactness and concern as he does his own; all seeming to share in the misfortunes, and share in the advancement, of their brethren."

It is evident that the full rights and prerogatives of English citizens could not long be withheld from such desirable colonists. Freedom of conscience had, of course, been guaranteed to them from their first settlement, and they held their lands at a merely nominal quit-rent, — one penny per acre; but they were refused letters of denization for many years, and, in the meantime, the English settlers, jealous of their prosperity, invoked against them the laws concerning aliens. In this way their right to hold and dispose of property was denied, and the legitimacy of their most sacred relationships were questioned. Nor did their naturalization, finally accorded in 1696, afford them entire relief. They were still left without representation in the legislature, and in 1704 another act was passed which expressly disfranchised all dissenters. Two years later this act was repealed, and the French, as all other dissenters, were allowed to share in political power, but the Church of England remained established by law.

Henceforth, in possession of all needed rights and privileges, the Huguenots became an integral part of South Carolina, and quietly improved their new advantages. Their influence was considerably enhanced by the arrival of two other kindred bodies of colonists. The first, consisting of some three hundred and sixty Swiss and Italian Protestants, arrived in 1733. Among them there were, no doubt, many Huguenots who had first taken refuge in Switzerland. They came under the leadership of Jean Pierre Pury, and founded Purysburgh, on the Savannah river. Their first minister was the Rev. Mr. Bignon, who had received holy orders for that purpose from the Bishop of London. The second body, comprising one hundred and thirty-eight persons, arrived from France as late as 1764. They came over

under the care of the Rev. Mr. Gilbert, a Huguenot clergyman, and settled New Bordeaux, in Abbeville county.

An incident is related of the Huguenots of South Carolina which shows that they maintained for many years the deepest affection for the country which had so cruelly persecuted them. It is said that Bienville, the governor of Louisiana, ascending one day the Mississippi, received from the engineer of an English vessel, a Frenchman, a long document, with the request to forward it to the court at Versailles. The document was a petition, signed by four hundred Huguenot families of South Carolina, soliciting permission from Louis the Fourteenth to settle in Louisiana on the sole condition of liberty of conscience. In due time the answer came back through de Pontchartrain, that His Majesty had not driven them from his dominions in France for the purpose of allowing them to establish a republic in America. This reply determined the refugees to give up all hope of ever again living under French rule.

Besides these colonies a few others deserve a passing mention. It has already been stated that some of the Manikin settlers removed into Maryland. They had been preceded by other refugees, who had come by way of England; but their number was too small for them to form distinct settlements, or to organize any separate churches. The same is true of the Huguenots who settled in Pennsylvania. They established themselves mainly in Philadelphia and its environs, in the counties of Lancaster and Berks, where many of their descendants are still to be found, and at the Delaware Water Gap; but in none of these places did they form distinct communities.

CONCLUSION.

From this rapid sketch the connection of the Huguenots with the Episcopal Church will readily appear. Neglecting the settlements made at Puryburgh and at New Bordeaux, of the thirteen churches established by the later colonists only one, that of Charleston, has maintained its distinctive character to this day; another, that of Boston, died a lingering death; two, those of New Oxford and Narragansett, were broken up soon after their organization; the two small churches on Staten Island and that of New Paltz, became Dutch Reformed churches; and the remaining six, namely, those of New York, New Rochelle, Virginia, Santee, Orange Quarter, and Strawberry Ferry, became Episcopal churches.

These six churches, to which should be added that of Narragansett, nearly all of whose members removed to New Rochelle, may be regarded, therefore, as representing the proportion of the Huguenots who became identified in the course of time with the Church. With the single exception of that of Charleston, they embrace all the principal French churches established in this country, and their combined membership comprehended more than one-half of the entire Huguenot element.

This statement does not, however, give the full measure of Huguenot activity in the Church. Notwithstanding the close connection which existed between the Reformed Church of France and the

Dutch and Presbyterian Churches, very few Huguenot ministers are found in union with those two denominations during their early history in this country. In the case of the Episcopal Church quite the reverse is true. In Virginia alone some fifteen Huguenots were rectors of English parishes during the colonial period. Among them need only to be mentioned Boisseau, the two Fontaines, Latané, and Maury. In South Carolina labored, among others, the Rev. Dr. Le Jau, whose ceaseless energy and devotion did much to build up the Church in that province. In Pennsylvania was stationed the Rev. Dr. Duché, who made the opening prayer at the meeting of the first Congress; and, not

Isaac Quintard

to mention any others, the Rev. Mr. Neau was for many years catechist of New York city, where his humble labors among the slaves will never be forgotten. Indeed, to these men the American Church owes a lasting debt

of gratitude, and it is not surprising that, at a later period, three of their blood — Provoost, de Lancey, and Quintard — were elevated to the episcopate.

This large accession of Huguenots to the Church was, no doubt, partially due to special circumstances. The great mass of the refugees, before coming to America, sojourned for a time in England, where their wants were, for the most part, abundantly supplied. Such true brotherly sympathy could not but touch their hearts; and when, after having settled here, they had to choose, as it frequently happened, between giving up their French services altogether and conforming to the Anglican Church, they gladly chose the latter alternative. But the real explanation of the fact is to be found, after all, in the favorable disposition which the founders of the French Church generally entertained towards the Church of England. Calvin himself, as quoted by the Rev. Robert Bolton, says, in his book *De Necessitate Reformandæ Ecclesiæ*: "Give us such an hierarchy in which bishops preside who are subject to Christ, and Him alone as their Head, and then I will own no curse too bad for him that shall not pay the utmost respect and obedience to such an hierarchy as that." Beza, one of the most enlightened Huguenots, writes thus to Queen Elizabeth: "But you, O Queen, and your people, by your means, enjoy what perhaps no other kingdom does — the complete profession of the pure and sincere doctrine of the Gospel." And the learned Amyraut, writing to Charles the Second, gives it as his opinion that the Book of Common Prayer is "well adapted in many respects to awaken Christian zeal and to stimulate the faith;" and that it may be used, "not only without wounding the conscience, but also with great advantage to piety."

A. R. W. Amyraut

MONOGRAPH III.

THE SEABURYS: MISSIONARY, BISHOP, PRIEST, PROFESSOR.

THE REV. SAMUEL HART, M.A.,

Professor in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

THE name of Seabury is prominent in the annals of the American Church. It would deserve to be mentioned with respect were it only for the fact that representatives of five successive generations have had a place in her ministry; it merits and it receives higher honor for the memory of the noble work which has been done for her by the laborious missionary, the brave bishop, the faithful parish priest, and the learned professor, who have left their name and their example to one whose record is before the Church to-day.

The father of Samuel Seabury, the missionary, was John Seabury, who came with his wife Elizabeth, a grand-daughter of John Alden of the "Mayflower," from Duxbury, Mass., to Stonington, Conn., shortly before the year 1700.¹ In 1704 he removed to Groton at the mouth of the Thames opposite New London, when he was chosen a deacon in the Congregational Church. Samuel, his fourth son, was born July 8, 1706. Trained in the tenets of the "standing order" of the colony, the young man was destined for its ministry, and was sent at the age of fourteen to pursue his studies at Yale College. He was well advanced in his academic course when the day after the commencement of 1722 marked a turning-point in the ecclesiastical history of New England. The college, the churches in the colony, and the very civil authority itself were thrown into an excitement such as we can hardly imagine when Mr. Cutler and Mr. Brown, the rector and the tutor of the college and the only officers of instruction at that time in the institution, and with them Mr. Johnson, a former tutor and a man of much learning, and four other of the neighboring ministers, declared publicly that "some of them doubted the validity, and the rest were more fully persuaded of the invalidity, of the Presbyterian ordination in opposition to the Episcopal." It was impossible that such opinions should be expressed and that men like Cutler and Brown and Johnson should prove the strength of their convictions by resigning their positions and preparing to cross the ocean that they might ask for authority to minister as priests in the

Daniel Browne

¹ John Seabury was born in 1673, and died at Hempsted, L.I., Dec. 17, 1759. His father was Samuel Seabury, M.D., a noted surgeon at Duxbury; and his grandfather's name was John.

It is said that their ancestors lived in Portlake, Devonshire, England, and that the original form of their surname was Sedborough.

Church of Christ, without attracting the attention of the young men in the college to the questions which were under discussion. At any rate, the confusion which followed of necessity upon the events of that memorable day is enough to account for the fact that many of the students withdrew from the institution, and among them, as it would seem, was Mr. Seabury, who went thence to Harvard College, where he completed his academic studies and received his degree in 1724.

After a little more than a year we find him licensed as minister to a Congregational church recently organized in the northern part of the town of Groton, and preaching for them on ten Sundays at services in private houses. It would appear that he ceased preaching and did not ask for ordination among the Congregationalists, because he was not satisfied with the forms of worship and the system of church government in which he had been educated. It is more than probable that the determination to seek orders in England, which he soon announced, was among the first of the indirect results of the studies of the seven ministers who had used so diligently the volumes of Anglican theology in the library at New Haven. But to this we must add another influence. Mr. Seabury married, as early as 1727, Abigail, daughter of Thomas Mumford, an active churchman who had come to New London from Narragansett and who was himself connected by marriage with the Rev. Dr. James McSparran of that place. This divine had visited New London from time to time and performed occasional services, and steps had already been taken towards building a church there. The intimate relations with these men of zeal, learning, and affection for the Church of England led Mr. Seabury to examine her claims; and his studies (in which it is possible that he was aided by the counsel of the learned Dean Berkeley, who arrived in Rhode Island in 1729) led to conviction. Soon after the birth of his second son, Samuel,¹ he sailed for England, where he presented himself to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on the 21st day of August, 1730; he received ordination at the hands of the Bishop of London, and was appointed a missionary of the society and assigned to duty at New London. He arrived there December 9, 1730. In the following year his wife died; and two years later he married Elizabeth, daughter of Adam Powell and grand-daughter of Gabriel Bernon, a Huguenot, prominent among the founders of the Church in Newport.

Mr. Seabury's labors in New London, though they were carried on by virtue of his appointment as a missionary, were in reality parochial work. The parish was fully organized, and the church building was ready for occupation. The first parishioners were, as he said, "either Europeans not long settled here, or persons brought up in other colonies;" yet the congregation increased, and a goodly number of the inhabitants of the place became churchmen. But Mr. Seabury was also a real missionary. In 1735 he wrote to the venerable society that he had from the first officiated three times a year at Nor-

¹ Born Nov. 30, 1729; baptized Dec. 14, 1729, by the Rev. John Owen, of Groton.

wich, until it was assigned to another clergyman; that he had also preached from to time in his old home at North Groton, and that he had lately been to Windham, where some of the congregation stayed "sundry hours after sermon was over, desirous to be informed concerning the Church of England." Early in the following year he began to make frequent visits to Hebron, having regular appointments for administering the holy communion to a good number of conformists in that place; and the Church increased there, until in 1742 there were forty communicants. In this year he extended his ministrations still further, and visited the church people at Simsbury and also those at Middletown. It is evident that of the brave and patient work done for the Church at that time by her seven clergymen among her seven hundred families in Connecticut, no little share should be set to the credit of the missionary at New London.¹

But, while he was laboring successfully in this large sphere of duty, serious trouble arose in the religious world of the colony. A time of irreligion and immorality had succeeded to the unsympathizing strictness and the harsh teachings of the early settlers of New England; the formality which was at first no doubt connected with true ideas of God and duty had become in many cases, among both pastors and people, a dead formalism, and perverted theology had issued in "desperation and wretchedness of living." But in 1740 what is called the great awakening began in a revival of religion. There was much excitement; and it was increased when, in the autumn of the year, Rev. George Whitefield, after making his second visit to the southern colonies, came to New England on the invitation of some of the ministers of Boston. After preaching in that city, he made a journey through the central and south-western parts of Connecticut, and then turned his steps again to the south. Most of the ministers in the eastern part of the colony seem to have favored the "new light," and to have believed that the enthusiasm of the awakening was the work of the Holy Spirit. But even in the judgment of the historian who says that it "effected a wonderful reformation of manners through the country," this work "was marred and greatly injured by many imprudences and irregularities." In particular, Mr. James Davenport of Southold on Long Island (a grandson of the founder of New Haven), "became zealous beyond measure;" he crossed to Connecticut, visited New London and other places, and caused so much disturbance that the General Assembly ordered him to be transported out of the colony, and the General Association, meeting at New London, uttered a solemn warning against fanaticism and disorderly preaching. But many followed the enthusiasts; and separatist or "new light" churches were organized on the most purely congregational basis, their members denouncing the standing order in no measured terms as hypocritical and anti-Christian. The disorder and confusion were especially great in and about New London. In 1743 Mr. Davenport appeared there a second time in order to purify the separatists. His reason was evidently deranged; he

¹ On Trinity Sunday, 1739, Mr. Seabury was in Boston and assisted in the first administration of the holy communion in Trinity Church.

preached with great vehemence on the necessity of securing purity in the Church, and urged his hearers to burn up everything which had been to them in the place of idols. They took him at his word, and, kindling a fire on the wharf, — it was on Sunday, March 6th, — they brought books which they were pleased to call heretical (among them Bishop Beveridge's "Thoughts on Religion," and some works of high repute among the "old lights"), and cast them into the flames. The following day they prepared to burn a considerable quantity of clothing and other valuables, Mr. Davenport contributing a pair of velvet breeches, but the authorities prevented them from carrying out their plans. The preacher was again banished from the colony; and one is glad to record that he lived to confess his error and repent of his folly. It was impossible that such excitement, which even led the General Assembly to repeal the act for the indulgence of sober consciences, should not disturb the church missionary. He wrote to the venerable society on the 5th of June, speaking of the perverse fanaticism about him: "I have had my house full of people, some under these distresses and others surprised at the conduct of their neighbors; though I thank God I have never seen any persons in this way, but by cool reasoning and by plain expositions of the terms of reconciliation, they have been brought off from their amazing apprehensions to a just notion of the doctrines of repentance and remission of sins." It is pleasant to read how, in the midst of such irrational and irreligious excitement, the plain truths of the Gospel of Christ brought peace to troubled souls; and we cannot but think of the wise counsels which trained a boy, who must have looked with no little interest on all these events, to strengthen and to use the sound judgment which was so much needed in after years when he had become the first Bishop of Connecticut.

Early in 1743 the churchmen at Hempsted, L.I., asked that the missionary at New London might be transferred to them; and, perhaps wearied with his labors and discouraged at the perverseness which surrounded him, Mr. Seabury consented to remove to that place, taking charge also of the congregation at Oyster Bay, and after a while of the churchmen at Huntington. In his new home he lived on a small farm and joined to his pastoral labors, as was not unusual with the clergy of that day, the care of a school to which boys were sent from New York City as well as from the immediate neighborhood.

In 1744 Mr. Seabury placed his son Samuel in Yale College. Almost immediately after his entrance the authorities of the college carried out an act of ecclesiastical discipline which must have left a strong impression on his mind, two of the undergraduates, brothers of the name of Cleveland, being expelled from the institution because they had attended in vacation the separatist meeting at which their parents worshipped.¹ The young man was graduated in 1748; and Dr. Samuel Johnson, now missionary at Stratford, who had seen much of him during his college course, wrote of him as a solid, sensible,

¹ David Brainard had been expelled three years before for "speaking disparagingly of the religious character of the officers of the college." President Clap himself afterwards joined the "new lights."

virtuous youth, designed by his father for the venerable society's service. The father wrote at once to the society, expressing a wish that his son might be placed on their books, and signifying his intention to send him to Edinburgh to study medicine for a year or two, as it would be some little time before he would be of sufficient age for ordination. Meanwhile he asked that the society would employ the young man as a catechist at Huntington, some eighteen miles from his mission, where a number of persons had conformed; and these church people united in the request. Consent was given, and the future bishop served in this capacity for about four years. In 1752, when he was nearly twenty-three years old, he sailed for Scotland.

Although the father's ministry did not end till more than ten years after the ordination of the son, it may be well to bring together here the facts which close the record of his work. He describes his parish as "truly militant," "subject to attack by the enemies of revelation on one side and wild enthusiasts on the other." The fanatical teachings of the followers of Whitefield, and the indifference to many of the truths of the Gospel which was inculcated by the Quakers, whose influence on Long Island at this time was very great, made his labors difficult; yet he had good congregations at Hempsted, Oyster Bay, and Huntington. And he did not neglect missionary labors. In 1756 a number of the inhabitants of Dutchess County desired him to visit them; and, from a letter which he published three years later in reply to a newspaper attack upon him for what he had done and said in connection with the work which was thus begun, it appears that he gathered a congregation, started a subscription for a church, ministered to Germans as well as to Englishmen, and interested the venerable society in the field. At the society's request, he gave to the people as much time as he could, officiating at Fishkill and apparently elsewhere.

Mr. Seabury's faithful life came to an end in 1764. He had made a visit to his relatives and his former parishioners in New London, preaching his last sermon in that place. When he came home, on the 7th of June, he was far from well, and after eight days he died. In his ministry of twenty-one years on Long Island he had baptized 1,071 persons; and, as the inscription on his tombstone witnesses, he "discharged every duty of his sacred functions with the greatest diligence and the most indefatigable labor." His wife survived him, and died in 1799 at the age of 87.

It was in 1752, as has been said, that the young candidate for orders had sailed for Edinburgh with the determination of doing all that he could to fit himself for usefulness as a missionary in his native land. The time which he spent at the university was short; yet he gained a knowledge of medicine which enabled him to be all through his life a physician and a friend for the poor. But who can doubt that his purpose of going to Scotland for a few months' special study was divinely overruled for the good of the Church in America? It made him acquainted with that humbled and suffering, yet pure and perfectly organized, branch of the Church which was almost altogether

ignored and forgotten in the southern part of Britain, but which was to do a deed that would make her history famous forever. When, on his first Sunday in the Scotch capital, he asked to be directed to an Episcopal Church, and his host led him along by-ways to the

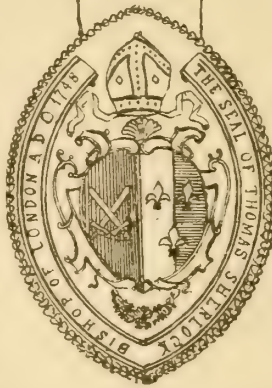
secret place of the worship of the proscribed churchmen, he learned a lesson which stood him in good stead when he found that the rich and prosperous Church and realm of England would not give to the States of America, after they had achieved their independence, the episcopate which she had withheld from them all the time that she had them under her power as colonies.

Deposited in the Registry of London

John by divine permission Bishop of Lincoln
 To all to whom these presents shall come or whom
 they may in any wise concern. Know ye —
 that at an ordination holden by us with the aid
 and assistance of Almighty God at the request
 and in the stead of the right Reverend Father
 in God Thomas by divine permission Lord x p
 Bishop of London in his Lordship's palace at
 Fulham in the County of Middlesex on Friday
 the twenty first day of December in the year of our
 Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty three
 we did admit and promote our beloved in Christ
 Samuel Seabury to the holy order of a Deacon according to the
 rights and ceremonies of the Church of England
 in that behalf published and provided not having
 been well recommended to his Lordship for his
 good life and virtuous attainments and x p
 proficiency in learning with a sufficient title
 and having been also first examined and approved
 by the Examiner of the said Lord Bishop In
 Testimony whereof we have caused the s^d x p
 Episcopal Seal of London x p x p to be hereunto
 affixed Dated the day and year above written and
 in the tenth year of our translation p
 W. Sherlock Secy

John Lincoln

Soon after birthday he venerable so to them by a New York "as blemished ligion, and Bishop Sherheld to include perform the chapel of his presence, that the diaconate



Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln. Two days later, on Sunday, December 23d, in the same place, Dr. Richard Osbaldistone, Bishop of Carlisle, advanced him to the priesthood. On both occasions there knelt by his side to receive holy orders a man whose life was to touch his in strange ways, — William Smith, a native of Scotland, afterwards

he had passed his twenty-fourth presented himself before the ciety, having been commended testimonial from the clergy of a youth of good genius, unmorals, sound principles in re-good proficiency in literature." lock, whose See of London was the colonies, was too infirm to ordination; but it was in the palace at Fulham, and in his Mr. Seabury was ordained to on St. Thomas's Day, 1753, by

provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia and president of the lower house of the General Convention.

At the request of the inhabitants of the town of New Brunswick in New Jersey, Mr. Seabury was appointed to that vacant cure, and he arrived there May 25, 1754.

We are told that during the short time of his ministry there he had a good attendance at church services, and that he also officiated frequently at a Lutheran house of worship some twenty-four miles distant. On the 12th of October, 1756, he married Mary, daughter of Edward Hicks of New York; and three months later he was inducted into the "living" of Jamaica

on Long Island, not far from ish. Here he ministered for ing services also at Flushing in the neighborhood, under agements and in the face of ties, learning and practising tience and that firm adherence he had so much occasion to life. Quakerism had prothe Christian ordinances, and had led to infidelity. Mr. ited the island again, and a was exerted against the quiet Church and her teachings in regard to moral duties. In spite of all this, the missionary reported that his people were not led away, while many were made more serious and devout. But his expenses at Jamaica exceeded his income, and the people failed to fulfil their promise to provide him a house; and when the vestry of St. Peter's

Regis. in the Registry of London.

Richard by divine permission Bishop of Carlisle To all to whom these presents shall come or whom they may in any wise concern. Know Ye that at an Ordination held on by us with the aid and assistance of almighty God at the request of and in the stead of the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas by divine permission Lord Bishop of London in his Lordship's Palace at Fulham in the County of Middlesex on Sunday the twenty third day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty three, we did admit and promote our beloved in Christ Samuel Seabury to the holy Order of a Priest according to the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church of England in that behalf published and provided, and having been well recommended to his Lordship for his good life and virtuous attainments and proficiency in learning with a sufficient Title and having been also first examined and approved by the Examiner of the said Lord Bishop. In Testimony whereof we have caused the Episcopal Seal of London to be hereunto affixed Dated the day and year above written and in the seventh year of our Consolation.

W. Shelton Secriste

Rich. [] Carlisle.



his father's par-
ten years, hold-
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Church, Westchester, offered him the charge of their parish, he asked and obtained the venerable society's permission to accept it, and was inducted into his new duties December 3, 1776. In this year and the following, it may be well to note, that Mr. Seabury was secretary of the conventions of the clergy of New York and New Jersey, the meetings being of importance as connected with the discussion concerning the possibility of securing an American episcopate.

At Westchester there was a fair congregation, and the income was fixed by act of Assembly; but the rector's services were extended to Eastchester and to the conforming Huguenot congregation at New Rochelle, and he had also a parish school under his supervision. A time had come, however, when it was almost impossible to persuade the colonists, especially those who lived in the neighborhood of important towns, to pay much attention to any other matters than the current politics of the day. In 1764 the British Parliament had voted that it had a right to tax the colonies; in the following year the odious Stamp Act had been passed; and in October, 1765, the Congress of the Colonies had set forth their declaration of rights and liberties. In regard to all these matters there was much division of feeling among the colonists. While all good and thoughtful men were determined to maintain the principles of the British constitution and to do what they could to secure its rights to the people of the colonies, some were persuaded that forcible resistance would be the only means by which they could maintain these rights; some felt assured that the home government could be trusted to do them substantial justice; and others held that it was wrong to oppose in any way the established authorities. The first party was ready to take up arms; the second was disposed to wait; the third was minded to practise passive obedience to the king, or, if necessary, to fight for him. The province of New York was more loyal to the crown than were the colonies to the east; yet there began to be great excitement even there. Mr. Seabury and two of his clerical friends — Dr. Chandler of New Jersey and Dr. Inglis of Trinity Church, New York — were satisfied that it was their duty to defend by their writings and their influence not only the Church of England but also the interests of the British government. They doubtless felt that, as subjects, their allegiance was due to that government; they could not forget that at the most solemn moments of their lives they had sworn allegiance to it; they were afraid that, if the colonies should succeed in their opposition to it, the Church, which occupied so strong a place in their affections, would suffer greatly; they knew that much which was done under the guise of liberty had its root in the wish to carry out a cruel tyranny in matters both ecclesiastical and civil; and doubtless they felt that the arms which were ostensibly taken up against the usurpations of the sovereign were meant to be directed against the Church which represented to them the truth of God and brought to them his grace in channels of his own appointment. Mr. Seabury's convictions were strong; and he began by written and by spoken words to show the vigor of his mind, his fearlessness, and his power over men. The first Continental Congress separated on the 26th of October, 1744. Immediately, under the assumed name

of "A W[estchester] Farmer," he published an eloquent and powerful pamphlet, entitled "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress," which was largely circulated, together with another of the same tenor from a different pen, giving great offence to the patriots, and exciting violent expressions of indignation. An able reply, signed "A Friend to America," was prepared by Alexander Hamilton, who was just completing his course at King's College; and its publication called forth two other pamphlets from the "Farmer," addressed to the merchants of New York, which in their turn were answered by the same able hand as the other. It was Mr. Seabury's design "to point out, in a way accommodated to the comprehension of the farmers and land-owners, the destructive influence which the measures of this congress, if acted upon, would have on them and the laboring part of the community." But he did not confine himself to writings intended to persuade husbandmen and merchants of the dangers of disloyalty, and to keep them from joining the Sons of Liberty. The Provincial Assembly of New York met — it was for the last time — in January, 1775, and sat until April. Contrary to the wishes of the revolutionary party, the Assembly declined to sanction the acts of the congress of the preceding year or to appoint delegates to the new congress, but voted to petition the king and parliament for a redress of grievances. During the session the Rector of Westchester held personal interviews with a large number of the members, urging them to uphold the royal government. It cannot be doubted that the decisions of the Assembly, which must have seemed at the time to be of the utmost importance, were guided by his zealous but prudent influence, and that he was "the inspiration and secret power, unknown to the public, which held the royalists up to the work set before them." After the battle of Lexington the excitement grew more intense, and the hands of the revolutionists were strengthened. It was known that Mr. Seabury was on intimate terms with prominent loyalists, and it was strongly suspected that he was the author of the pamphlets which bore the name of a "Farmer;" and a band of men went from Rye to arrest him. For a while he concealed himself, with Dr. Cooper of King's College and Dr. Chandler, in one of the recesses of a huge chimney in the Wilkins mansion. The other two clergymen took an early opportunity of escaping to England; but Mr. Seabury returned to his ministerial duties, with which he joined some exercise of his skill as a physician and the charge of the studies of a few boys. But on the 22d day of November a band of about forty armed men from Connecticut seized him at his school and carried him, after a few days' delay, to New Haven, alleging against him disloyal acts and practices, including the writing of pamphlets against the liberties of America. On the 20th of December he addressed a lengthy petition to the General Assembly then in session in New Haven; and a letter from the Provincial Assembly of New York having also arrived which demanded his immediate discharge, he was released just before Christmas and rejoined his family on the 2d of January. Yet he was incessantly harassed by bodies of troops who went out of their way to visit his house, revile the king, and abuse that miscreant, "A

W. Farmer." After the Declaration of Independence, the Provincial Assembly would not allow the use of the whole of the English liturgy, and Mr. Seabury discontinued his services. A little later, the British troops occupied Long Island and then crossed into Westchester county. While they were there, Mr. Seabury was able to give them valuable information and to attempt to encourage in his people loyalty to the crown. But as soon as they left, he withdrew with his family to New York, and there he remained till the close of the war. His wife died October 12, 1780.

Mr. Seabury's ability and his loyalty were fully appreciated by the venerable society; the University of Oxford made him a Doctor in Divinity; and Sir Henry Clinton appointed him chaplain to the king's American regiment. Thus, in a time of much distress, he was able to live in comparative quiet and comfort. Yet his conferences with others of the clergy who had taken refuge in the city must have been full of gloomy fears for the future of that form of civil government which they thought to be best for the colonies, and of that ecclesiastical organization which they believed to be essential to the existence of a true Church of Christ. Their political hopes were doomed to disappointment; but strange as it would have seemed to them could they have foreseen it, the fact that they were henceforth to have a State without a king put an end to their being obliged to remain a Church without a bishop. The war came to an end, and the independence of the States was acknowledged in a preliminary treaty signed November 30, 1782, news of which crossed the ocean early in the next year.

No doubt before this time the wise and strong mind of Dr. Seabury had become satisfied that the independence of the colonies, though not what he had desired from the first, was for their best interests. Like the great prophet whose name he bore, he was a man who could stand at a turning-point of a nation's history, earnestly wishing and laboring for the retention of the old system, but, when he saw that that was impossible, giving the best of his energies to advance the welfare of the new. The prophet did not approve of the establishment of the monarchy; but Saul and David had no better or more useful friend than Samuel. The great man, the outline of whose life we are tracing, did not desire the republic; but when the republic was established, he spent the rest of his life in loyal obedience to it, and did for it what no one else did or could do. He would not for a moment acknowledge that the civil or ecclesiastical authorities of England had any remaining jurisdiction in this land; he gave his energies to the establishment of a free and independent Church in a free and independent State. He must have often talked these matters over with his friends; and his convictions must have been well known among the clergy of Connecticut.

No sooner did the news of peace reach these shores than those faithful men were ready to act. As British subjects and clergy of the diocese of London, they had petitioned again and again for a bishop;¹ and

¹ Formally, as early as 1742.

their continued disappointment had not shaken their faith in the church principles which they had learned from sound Anglican theologians and had impressed upon their people. But they were alarmed, as they had good reason to be, at the tone of a pamphlet published anonymously at Philadelphia in 1782, but known to be from the pen of the Rev. Dr. William White. This pamphlet assumed very readily that it would be impossible, or, if possible, impolitic, to secure the episcopate from England, and absurd to look for it elsewhere; and it proposed a form of organization for the "Episcopal Churches in the United States" which should express "a general approbation of episcopacy and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession as soon as conveniently might be," but should at once provide for the choice by clergy and laity of "permanent presidents" who should have general supervision and the power of ordination. The ground taken by the writer was twofold: first, that episcopacy rested on an ancient and apostolic practice, and not on a positive precept; and second, that an "exigence of necessity" had arisen such as had been declared by several great writers on church polity to be sufficient to justify such action as was proposed. The fears inspired by this publication seem to have urged the clergy of Connecticut to do at once what, we feel sure, they would not have long delayed to do. On the festival of the Annunciation, 1783, nearly a month before the formal stay of hostilities, ten of the fourteen clergymen of Connecticut met quietly at Woodbury, in the house of the Rev. Mr. Marshall, and determined to choose a fit person to seek for episcopal consecration, in order that they might, as soon as possible, complete their organization, and remedy the evils which they had endured through the prevalence of a cowardly and selfish spirit in England. Their choice fell upon the venerable Jeremiah Leaming, and, in case he should not accept, upon Dr. Seabury, who was personally known to them, and of whose character, ability, and convictions they were well assured. Having some doubt as to the result of the application which their candidate should make to the Church of England, they voted that if he should not succeed in it he should apply for consecration to the bishops of the disestablished Church of Scotland. Mr. Jarvis, their secretary, was instructed to go to New York to confer with the candidates, prepare the necessary papers, and ask for ancillary testimonials from the clergy of that city. Mr. Leaming, who had been thought of in this connection, felt that his infirmities unfitted him for the work of a bishop; but Dr. Seabury bravely took up the heavy load which the Convention had placed upon his shoulders, and, furnished with all the documents which were deemed necessary, he sailed in Admiral Digby's flag-ship and arrived in London July 7, 1783, several months before the royal troops evacuated New York.

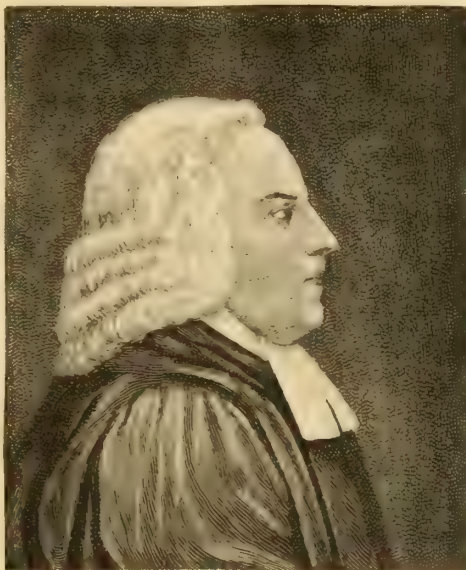
The Connecticut clergy at the same meeting instructed their secretary to write a letter of remonstrance to Dr. White with reference to his pamphlet. They urged that it was then "a more favorable opportunity for the introduction of bishops than the country had ever before seen"; and they declared that the scheme proposed by him was "totally abhorrent from the principles of the Church in the northern

States," and that they would never consent to it. Dr. White's answer "asked for indulgence on the ground of a supposed necessity and admitted that such necessity no longer existed." In fact, the events of a year had inspired new hopes and given new ideas to churchmen throughout the country.

The story of Dr. Seabury's patient waiting in England is well known, and need not be given at length here. The policy of the English rulers, both in Church and in State, was to send a bishop or bishops to their remaining American colonies, and to persuade the churchmen of the independent States to emigrate to them. The Connecticut clergy had hoped that the archbishop and some of his suffragans would feel that they might act on their general commission as bishops in the Church of God, in a matter which was quite apart from the supervision of the civil law; or that the crown might dispense with the necessity of taking the oaths; or that the authority of Parliament might be given for the act of consecration. But the influence of Erastian traditions, aided by the dislike of the ministry for the new republic, which in its turn was strengthened by representations from prominent Congregationalists at home, was too powerful. The bishops were given legislative permission to ordain deacons and priests, but not to consecrate bishops for foreign countries. It was in vain that official documents were sent over, showing that episcopacy would be tolerated by the laws of Connecticut; the objection which had been raised on this score was replaced by another to the effect that it would not be proper to do anything unless the government of the State should request the consecration; and for this Dr. Seabury could not, and would not, ask. He was sent from one dignitary to another, politely enough, but always with a *non possumus*, till he was satisfied that the Church and nation of England would not consent to bestow the episcopate upon the Church in the United States. He wrote to a friend at home, "I have been amused, I think deceived." Meanwhile he must often have thought of the instructions which had been given at the time of his election, that if the English bishops would not grant him consecration he should seek it at the hands of the bishops of the Scotch Church. Friends in England had, moreover, advised this; the Rev. Dr. George Berkeley, a son of the dignitary who had lived for a while in America, had written almost immediately after the treaty of peace had been signed, to suggest to the Scotch bishops that they might be instrumental in bestowing a great boon upon the Church in the United States. Dr. Seabury well knew the circumstances of the Scotch Episcopal Church. On political grounds it had been disestablished at the time of the accession of William III. Not forty years had elapsed since the uprising of 1745; and though the harsh penal laws, enacted by Parliament in 1746 and 1748, had fallen into disuse, they might have been enforced at any time. But suffering had made the churchmen of Scotland cling more closely to the truths which they had learned, as it taught them to value the polity which they had received by unfailing and unquestioned succession from the primitive church and the form of worship which made their eucharistic service more like that used by the apostles than was

that of any other part of Western Christendom. And besides, their suffering had made them sympathetic, and taught them to do their duty to their Divine Head, let the consequences be what they would. On the 31st of August Dr. Seabury made application to the Scotch bishops, and the answer came almost immediately that they were willing to give him what he wanted, — "a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical episcopacy;" and at their request he went with a glad heart, yet (it must have been) with most solemn thoughts, to Aberdeen.

The only further hindrance to the accomplishment of his wishes and those of the clergy whom he represented came, not from the congregationalists at home, nor from the civil or ecclesiastical rulers of England (we are told that the latter secretly rejoiced), but from an American Church clergyman, Dr. William Smith, who, it will be remembered, had been ordained at the same time and place as Dr. Seabury, but whose life had not touched his again till now. He hoped to be made Bishop of Maryland, and feared that Dr. Seabury's success would be in his way, and his cousin, then resident in London, wrote to Scotland to oppose the application which had been made. But his objections did not weigh against what the Scotch bishops knew Dr. Seabury to be, and what they saw in him; and arrangements were made for his speedy consecration. On Sunday, November 14, 1784, in the chapel in Bishop Skinner's house, which was the worshipping-place of a large congregation, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., was consecrated Bishop of Connecticut by the Right Rev. Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen, and *Primus*, the Right Rev. Arthur Petrie, Bishop of Ross and Moray, and the Right Rev. John Skinner, Bishop-Coadjutor of Aberdeen — three of the four bishops of Scotland. The sermon, a vigorous production, was preached by Bishop Skinner. It was published, though without the name of the author, both in Scotland and in England: and it, in connection with the act which occasioned it, actually brought the existence of the Scotch Church to the knowledge of some Englishmen, reminded others of it, led to the repeal (in 1792) of the penal laws and to something like brotherly kindness on the part of the Church of England towards the Church of Scotland, and opened the eyes of the rulers in England to see the wisdom of



THE RT. REV. ROBERT KILGOUR.¹

¹ From an oil painting in the possession of Catherine Kilgour Hardeastle, great-granddaughter of Bishop Kilgour.

providing bishops for the Church in the United States. That was indeed a day bright in the history of the Church of God. The influence which has gone forth from it, moulding the theology, guiding the worship, and strengthening the faith of a great branch of the Church, will never cease. It teaches the value of patient suffering, of hopeful waiting, of faithfulness to truth, of love to the brotherhood; it is a standing reproach to impatience and cowardice and selfishness.

On the following day Bishop Seabury and his consecrators signed a "Concordate or Bond of Union," declaring their common faith and promising full communion between the Church in Scotland and that in Connecticut, and Bishop Seabury promising also to give serious consideration to the question of recommending the Scotch communion-office to the people committed to his care. With this concordate, his letters of consecration, and a letter from the Scotch bishops to the clergy of Connecticut, Bishop Seabury returned to London; and after some delay he set sail for America. He landed at Newport, R.I., June 20, 1785, and preached in Trinity Church on the following Sunday. The next day, June 27th, he reached New London, the home of his childhood, where it had been agreed that he should reside and assume the rectorship of the parish. The church had been burned at the time of Arnold's attack upon the place in 1781; and for more than two years the bishop held services in the court-house, and celebrated the holy communion after morning prayer each Sunday, when he was at home, in the parlor of his rectory. The clergy of the State were summoned to meet on Tuesday the 2d day of August, in Christ Church, Middletown; on the following day they formally "acknowledged and received him as their bishop," and at the same service four candidates were ordained to the diaconate; on Thursday the bishop delivered his primary charge, giving most timely counsel to the clergy of the now fully organized diocese; and on Friday a committee was appointed to act with the bishop in preparing such amendments in the liturgy as should be necessary, which amendments, few in number, were published in a broadside a week later. The clergy of the other States had been invited to attend this Convention, so needful did the Connecticut clergy think it to take prompt action for the union of the Church throughout the country; and Dr. Parker of Massachusetts and Dr. Moore of New York were present. Dr. White

had written from Philadelphia inviting the bishop and clergy of Connecticut to attend the General Convention at that place in September. This

Buryⁿ Moore

Convention had been called by a meeting at New York in the previous October, which had set out certain "fundamental principles," but had made in them no recognition of bishops, except that they should be members of the Convention *ex officio*. Bishop Seabury and his clergy could not consent to anything that thus derogated from the dignity of the episcopal office; and the bishop wrote to Dr. William Smith a carefully worded and weighty letter to be laid before the Convention, criticising the principles which had been adopted and urging

a nearer conformity to the teachings and the practice of the primitive Church. But with all his contention for truth, he labored also for unity and concord, and pointed out how the Church in the States might be made "one Church united in government, doctrine, and discipline." The letter failed, for the time, to accomplish its object, for the Convention, while it petitioned the English bishops for the episcopate, agreed to a constitution which gave the bishops no other *status* than had been proposed by the "principles," and made them amenable for discipline to their several Conventions; and, moreover, it prepared the "Proposed Book," the whole tone of which was opposed to the churchmanship of Connecticut. An attack upon Bishop Seabury, as questioning the validity of his orders, was only evaded by the wisdom and prudence of Dr. White. Meantime the clergy of Connecticut were not willing to enter upon a revision of the liturgy, preferring the old forms with as little alteration as possible; but almost immediately after the appearance of the "Proposed Book" and, as it would appear, in consequence of it, the bishop set forth in convocation at Derby in September, 1786, a communion-office almost identical with the Scotch office, differing from the English not only in the arrangements of its parts but also in having distinctly and formally an Oblation and an Invocation in the primitive order after the Words of Institution. At the same time he delivered his second charge, intended to console the clergy for the loss of their stipends from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had been stopped without any warning after the acknowledgment of the independence of the States, to strengthen them in teaching the doctrine and ministering the sacraments of the Church, and to warn them against the errors of the times, with evident reference to the doings of the Convention in Philadelphia.

In February of the next year, the same month in which Drs. White and Provoost were consecrated at Lambeth, the clergy of Connecticut decided to choose a coadjutor for their bishop, with a view to securing a complete episcopal college in the Scotch line; and, after Mr. Leaming and Mr. Mansfield had declined the office, Mr. Jarvis was elected. But he deferred making a decision in so momentous a matter; and meantime word came from Scotland that the Bishops of Pennsylvania and New York had been advised at Lambeth to hold communion with the Bishop of Connecticut and that the Scotch bishops would prefer union in America to any seeming triumph for themselves. Before this letter had been penned, Bishop Seabury had written letters of congratulation to the new bishops on their arrival, and had shown in every possible way his desire to unite and to work in harmony with them, though he must have known that one of them was almost a personal enemy. From him it does not appear that any answer came; and Bishop White's reply was not very encouraging. Still the good Bishop of Connecticut and his clergy labored for union; and the clergy of Massachusetts, — it was practically the "Eastern Diocese" even then, — under the wise guidance of Dr. Parker were willing to assist them. Bishop Seabury spent the Easter of 1788 with Dr. Parker, preached a charity sermon, and held an ordination, and

doubtless consulted with him on the anxieties of the situation. Dr. Leaming was writing to Bishop White, and he to Dr. Parker, on the same subject; and every one, except the implacable Bishop of New York, seemed to be working and praying for what all felt to be absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the Church in the United States, with hopes that a union might be accomplished at the Convention in July, 1789. The clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire had found out a very practical way of bringing this question before the Convention; for they voted to address the three bishops, requesting them to unite in consecrating for them the Rev. Edward Bass. Moreover, Bishop Seabury stated his objections to the constitution and the "Proposed Book" in a letter addressed to Bishop White, but really intended for the Convention. In the good providence of God, Bishop Provoost was not able to attend at Philadelphia; and on the second day of the session (July 30), when the petition of the eastern clergy and Bishop Seabury's letter were read, the way was opened for the accomplishment of the union which had been so long postponed. On the 5th of August the Convention voted unanimously that there was a complete college of three bishops in the United States, that these bishops should be desired to grant the request of the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and that the churches in the New England States should be invited to meet the others in an adjourned Convention. Three days later a new constitution was adopted, not requiring lay deputies from every State, providing for a separate House of Bishops, and not allowing bishops to be tried by presbyters and laymen alone. The Convention adjourned to meet at Michaelmas. Immediately Bishop White wrote to Bishop Seabury, and another most friendly letter came to him from Dr. Smith who, it will be remembered, had five years before labored so hard to prevent his consecration. He had done what perhaps nobody else could have done, in putting resolutions into a form in which they would be accepted; and he was presently to do what probably nobody else could do, in securing the adoption of a primitive liturgy. Bishop Seabury called his clergy together, and they elected the Rev. Messrs. Bela Hubbard and Abraham Jarvis to go with him to the Convention. Accordingly, they, with Dr. Parker, attended at Philadelphia in September; and, on the 2d of October, the constitution having been modified to the acceptance of all by a wise and commendable compromise, they declared their assent to the same, and the unity of the Church in this country was assured. The two bishops at once organized as a separate House, and Dr. Smith was chosen president of the House of Deputies.

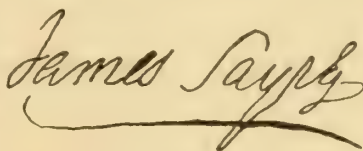
All these events throw so much light on the character of Bishop Seabury, and on the work which he did for the truth and the unity of the Church, that it has been necessary to speak of them somewhat in detail. It must be left to fuller histories to give an account of the work of that Convention and to testify to the debt which we owe to the two bishops, each of whom assented to every point in the revision of the Prayer-book. Bishop Seabury's grasp of great principles and willingness to distinguish between them and the minor matters on which it was not necessary to insist, and Bishop White's good judg-

ment and kindly common sense, united to the earnestness and patience and breadth of mind which they both had, left a mark on the revision of 1789 for which we cannot be too thankful. Bishop Seabury willingly yielded some things which he would have liked to retain; and he conceded to others a discretion which he knew that he and his clergy would never use; but that in the revision of the Prayer-book which specially calls for gratitude to him is the fact that he secured the adoption of prayer of consecration in the communion-office which has an explicit and properly placed Oblation and Invocation and which makes our eucharistic service one for which we never need to apologize to any student of Scripture and antiquity. He was not willing to use the old (or English) form, and Bishop White was not averse to the new, while in the lower House the deputies from Maryland at least were ready for something of the kind; and Dr. Smith's timely words and solemn reading of the form as it was sent down from the bishops, caused it to be accepted "without opposition, and in silence, if not in reverence." The work of this Convention, as we read its record at the close of an eventful century, shows the influence of the Spirit of God; and the more we study it the more it teaches us to give thanks to Him for the bravery and the wisdom and the charity with which He inspired the first Bishop of Connecticut.

The clergy of Connecticut assembled in convocation on the last day of September, 1790, and voted to confirm the doings of their proctors in the General Convention; and they further agreed that, in the use of the new Prayer-book they would be "as uniform as possible, and for that purpose would approach as near the old liturgy as a compliance with the rubrics of the new would allow." In point of fact, however, the use of Bishop Seabury's communion-office was not altogether discontinued for some thirty years.

On the 18th of November, 1790, the clergy and delegates of the laity of the churches in Newport, Providence, and Bristol, Rhode Island, met and organized as a diocese and elected Bishop Seabury to be their bishop. He accepted the charge in a formal letter, and in the following spring he made a visitation to Rhode Island, extending his journey to Boston and to Portsmouth, in which latter place he held an ordination, preaching a sermon which led to a violent attack upon him and which was printed with a vigorous defence in the way of a preface. He also attended the Conventions of Rhode Island in 1793 and 1795.

The remainder of Bishop Seabury's life was devoted to unceasing labors for the people committed to his charge. He held constant visitations, preaching and confirming, and frequently holding ordinations. In 1791 he printed for the instruction of his flock a catechism by Bishop Innes of Brechin,¹ and in 1793 two volumes of his own



¹ The Rev. James Sayre, the only one of the Connecticut clergy who would not accept the new Prayer-book, accused Bishop Seabury of teaching Romanism by means of this catechism.

sermons were published, to which a third was added after his death. Thus carefully providing for sound church teaching in his dioceses, he gave attention also to liberal education. In 1788 steps were taken towards the foundation of an Episcopal Academy, — a project which the bishop had much at heart. It was frequently talked about, and full plans for establishing it were made in 1795; but it was not permanently founded at Cheshire till after his death. It was sometimes called the Seabury College; but a collegiate charter could not be obtained from the legislature. It required constant efforts for nearly thirty years to obtain permission to found a Church college in Connecticut.

In 1792 Bishop Seabury attended the General Convention in New York, at which there were also present three bishops of English consecration. Under the rules he should have presided; but Bishop Provoost wanted the dignity himself, — or at least, was not willing that the Bishop of Connecticut should have it, — and Bishop Seabury was ready to yield to him. But he would not yield another point which involved a principle; and, understanding that there were plans for preventing him from taking part in the consecration of Dr. Claggett to the bishopric of Maryland, he sent for Bishop White to talk with him on the subject. The good Bishop of Pennsylvania protested that he would never consent to any such action, and the anticipated difficulty did not arise. Bishop Seabury was one of those who laid hands on Bishop Claggett; and through him every bishop of American consecration is connected with the Scotch succession. In Connecticut the line is easily traced: Bishop Claggett laid hands on Bishop Bass; through Bishop Bass the Scotch succession was imparted to Bishop Jarvis, and from him through Bishops Hobart and Griswold to Bishop Brownell, who consecrated his assistant and successor.

On the 5th of June, 1793, Bishop Seabury ordained to the diaconate his youngest son, Charles, who had just completed his twenty-third year, having been born at Westchester, May 20, 1770. During the greater part of the remainder of his life this son was his assistant in his parochial work and not infrequently accompanied him in his visitations. The bishop's health seemed to be failing;¹ but the end came, as it is said he prayed it might come, suddenly. In the evening of the 25th of February, 1796, he was attacked with apoplexy, while at the house of one of his wardens, and so passed from his earthly labors. His body lies under the chancel of the new St. James's Church, New London, "as in the final place of rest against the judgment of the great day."

A "simple, grand, conciliatory, uncompromising man!" So writes one whose judgment is certainly not unduly prejudiced in his favor. Every line of his biography is his eulogy. Earnest and patient; strong in his convictions, yet full of charity; a learned theologian, whose words for accuracy, soundness, or courage challenge comparison with those of any who filled the office of a bishop in his day; one of those great men, as has been said already, who can me-

¹ The reason for his absence from the General Convocation of 1795 was the prevalence of an epidemic disease which prevented intercourse between New York and Philadelphia.

diate between the old and the new, because they have caught all that is good in the spirit of each, not diminishing one whit from the old truth nor neglecting to apply it to newly arisen needs, his name will always be prominent in the Church's history. And what a work he did! Indirectly he brought about the release of the Scotch Church from persecution, and opened the way for the English bishops to give the episcopate to America; most directly he accomplished the union of the Church in the United States; he persuaded it to accept a primitive and catholic liturgy; he taught it a sound theology, which will always do much to make it both pure and strong. From the heart of every true churchman will be echoed the prayer which a loving pen has written under his mitre, in its place in the library of Trinity College: "*Nori orbis apostoli sit nomen perenne!*"



BISHOP SEABURY'S MITRE IN THE LIBRARY
OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

Bishop Seabury, doubtless remembering the intolerance of which he had been witness at Yale College and knowing that it had by no means died out, and having, moreover, strong convictions that the sons of the Church should be educated in church ways, had not sent his son Charles to college. The young man's preliminary studies had been intrusted to the care of the Rev. Dr. Mansfield of Derby and the Rev. Dr. William Smith of Narragansett; and the bishop himself

had trained him in theology. We have seen how after his ordination he served as chaplain to his father. On the 15th of January, 1796, he was elected to the charge of Grace Church, Jamaica, L.I., in which his father

William Smith

had spent some of the early years of his history; but, after a little more than a month, he was recalled to New London by the death of the bishop, and he wrote from thence that he would not return to Jamaica. On the 28th of March he was chosen minister of St. James's Church, New London, for the following year; on the 17th of July he was ordained to the priesthood in New York by Bishop Provoost; and for more than eighteen years he carried on the work of the rectorship of that venerable and important parish. It was a quiet work in a quiet time. Few events of importance hap-

pened in the history of the Church at large or in the annals of his immediate cure. The record of such a ministry is not one which can be written with pen and ink; in its struggles and privations (for Mr. Seabury was by no means secure from these), and in its encouragements (for some such there must have been), it is consecrated to the Master's service and accepted and blessed by him. And when, in 1814, he removed to Setauket, L.I., to begin the rectorship of Caroline Church, it was to carry on there for thirty years the same patient and quiet and (we fear we must add) ill-requited priestly labors. Besides the care of his parish, he was for many years missionary at Islip and also had temporary charge of the church at Huntington. "Kind-hearted, sensible, and faithful," he occupied himself with the work which God had set him to do; and when he was called to his rest on the 29th of December, 1844, even more suddenly than was his venerated father, it was the end of a life which will certainly be valued at its true worth in the day when the crown of life is given to the patient and zealous servants of the Lord.

Mr. Seabury was twice married, his first wife being Anne, daughter of Roswell Saltonstall of New London, and his second wife the widow of the Rev. Henry Moscrop, whose daughter married Bishop Onderdonk of New York. His eldest son, Samuel, the fourth of the honored line of clergy, was born in New London, June 9, 1801. The meagreness of his father's income, and the fact that the number of the family was such as to make the "*res angusta domi*" seem narrower yet, did not prevent the youth from forming the idea of liberal study or from carrying it into effect. While he did his best "to get his own living" by commercial employment, he worked at Greek and Latin with all the strength and all the time which he had at his disposal; and finally, in order to add to his income and at the same time help himself in his studies, he opened a school in Brooklyn. With diligent labor he finished his preparation for the ministry, and was ordained by Bishop Hobart to the diaconate, April 12, 1826, and to the priesthood, July 7, 1828. He officiated a short time in several parishes in the neighborhood of his home, including that at Huntington, where he succeeded his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather. Then, declining an invitation to the parish in Middletown, Conn., he became classical teacher in Dr. Muhlenberg's institution at Flushing, the influence of which, so excellent and so widely extended, is still felt in the Church. In 1833, without giving up his work as a teacher or withdrawing from clerical labors in parishes which needed his services, he became editor of the "Churchman" newspaper, and began to "lay the foundations of his great influence." A time of controversy, of anxious inquiries about the Church, and of strong attacks upon it, was beginning then; a time which called for wide learning, strong convictions, a quick judgment, a fearless soul, a ready pen, and an unwearied watchfulness; and all these Mr. Seabury brought to his work and employed in it. This is not the place to go over again even the outlines of the controversies and the questions, the assaults and the lines of defence, with which he had to deal; and perhaps we may not yet form an unprejudiced opinion as to all that was said and done in those im-

portant years. But no one can fail to acknowledge the courage and the ability which characterized the "Churchman's" treatment of the many subjects that the events or the thoughts of the time brought before it, and which remind us of the like traits in the character of the grandfather of its editor. We may recall the controversy in regard to the teaching at the General Theological Seminary into which Dr. Seabury,¹ himself acting at that time as instructor in the evidences, entered in defence of the truths which he held to be involved in the doctrine of universal redemption, and the other more painful discussion, which produced such a harvest of pamphlets, in regard to the ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey, when he defended at once the comprehensiveness of the Church and the prerogatives of the episcopate.

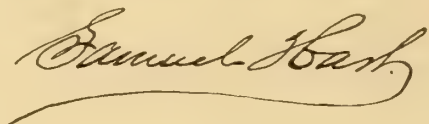
In 1838 Dr. Seabury was elected Rector of the Church of the Annunciation in New York City, the parish having been in fact organized for him; and in 1847 a new and large church building was erected, in which he officiated for more than twenty years, so that his whole pastorate in this parish covered more than three decades. He ended his editorial work in 1849; and in 1862 he was elected to the Professorship of Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of Scripture in the General Theological Seminary, in succession to the Rev. Dr. Turner. This position he occupied till his death, resigning his parish in 1868, that he might devote himself exclusively to his professorial duties. While in the parish he showed constant faithfulness to his pastoral work and aptness and wisdom in his preaching, in the lecture-room he added to the excellences of the pastor and the preacher those other excellences of the instructor which cannot find the full scope for their exercise except in personal contact with young and enthusiastic and receptive minds. His published discourses, such for example as those on the continuity of the Church of England, show the extent and the value of his learning, and how he made it of service to others; but the work of his department in the seminary enabled him to touch upon many points of importance in the whole range of theology, and made it almost necessary for him to express opinions upon all the great controverted points in that great science, and to defend his views in reply to the questions and the objections of his pupils. Yet he did not insist that every one, even of those whom he was instructing, should agree with him in every point; he had enough confidence in truth to feel assured that it will ultimately prevail, and enough knowledge of human nature to trust that it will most fully and really accept the truth if it is left to assimilate it according to the slow but sure methods of its natural working. Thus with great learning, great industry, great power of persuasion, and great kindness, he did his work and exerted his influence for Christ and his Church. The extent and the value of his scholarship are shown by his writings. The volume entitled "American Slavery distinguished from the Slavery of English Theorists and Justified by the Law of Nature" was an effort to maintain the supremacy of the civil constitution of the United States as opposed to the claims of a "higher law" alleged as an excuse for setting aside its obligations

¹ Columbia College honored him with the degree of Master of Arts in 1823, and that of Doctor in Divinity in 1837.

on the individual conscience and to meet on their own ground the fanatics who denied the divine authority of Scripture on the pretence of its disagreement with the law of nature ; and it strongly exhibits the courage of his conviction and his allegiance to principles. In the work on the Calendar he showed technical knowledge and power of clear expression. Numerous sermons and essays testify to the versatility of his pen. And the work to which allusion has been made on the continuity of the Church of England, and the posthumous volume of discourses, edited by his son, show his sound churchmanship and bear witness to the debt which the Church in this country owes to him.

Kind and fearless, firm in his convictions and clear in expressing them, ready to learn and apt to teach, a student of the Word of God and of the doctrines and the history of the Church, ever studying and so coming to a ripper knowledge of eternal truth, Dr. Seabury holds an exalted place in the grateful memory of the Church. His death occurred on the 10th of October, 1872.

Missionary, bishop, priest, professor, — four generations of faithful workers in a hundred and fifty years of our Church's history, — how heartily can we give God thanks for their labors and their good examples ; how ready ought we to be to devote ourselves to our share of the same work as that to which they consecrated their lives !

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Samuel Harkness". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned at the end of the text block. It features a long, sweeping underline that extends to the left and then curves back under the main body of the signature.

MONOGRAPH IV.

THE FIRST BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA.

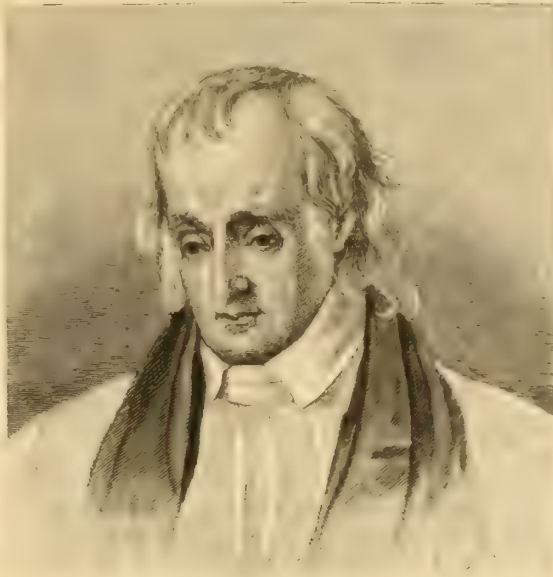
BY THE RT. REV. WILLIAM BACON STEVENS, D.D., LL.D.,

Bishop of Pennsylvania.

MY aim in this monograph is to enable the reader to see Bishop White, not as a detached character, isolated from his age and his times, but as the living embodiment and representative of the views and principles, ecclesiastical and political, which he aided to shape, the one, into a great national Church: the other, into a great republic.

In 1770 William White was 22 years old. He had graduated five years before from the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), and yielding to the call of the Holy Spirit, he determined at that early age to devote himself to the Christian ministry. Accordingly he began his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Richard Peters, Rector of the United Parishes of Christ Church and St. Peters, and the Rev. Jacob Duché, one of the assistant ministers.

It will interest candidates for holy orders to know, that the theological exercises which most benefited him were those held by himself and four other young men looking forward to the ministry, under the direction of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the provost of the college. During the Sunday evenings of a few months for three successive years these young men wrote out and delivered notes and exegesis upon Bible history. These exercises having been first submitted to the provost for correction and approval, were then delivered in public in the hall of the



RT. REV. WILLIAM WHITE, D.D., BISHOP OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

old college, two speaking in turn each evening, and the provost at the conclusion enlarged on the themes discussed by these youths.

"Although," says the bishop, "this was far from being a complete course of ecclesiastical studies, it called to a variety of reading and to a concentration of what was read." "There was also use," he adds, "in the introduction to public speaking."

Each of these students subsequently took orders in the Church, but none reached the eminence attained by the youngest of them all.

Five years of this kind of study were passed in Philadelphia, prolonged in his case because he had graduated so early from college. There were then no schools of the prophets wherein the candidates for the ministry could prepare themselves for their sacred office. The desultory teaching of private and irresponsible ministers was all that could be obtained after the pupil had taken his college degree. Nor at that day did there exist that apparatus for prosecuting ecclesiastical, exegetical, theological, or homiletical studies which is found now in the humblest of our seminaries. Lexicons were few, cumbersome, and imperfect. Ecclesiastical history was diffused through tall folios. Theology was locked up in heavy tomes under heavy verbiage. Exegesis had then but begun its now wondrous career, and though many great authors and standard works in the circle of clerical education as then pursued had appeared, yet only a few of these books came across the Atlantic, or were found on the shelves of the clergyman's meagre library.

Having pursued his studies diligently and conducted himself with sobriety and discretion, young White was ready for his ordination. But here another difficulty rose before him. There was no bishop in America, and to obtain orders he must cross the Atlantic and seek them at the hands of English prelates. This was a grievous hardship for the ministerial candidates, and was a serious drawback to the prosperity of the Church in the colonies of Great Britain.

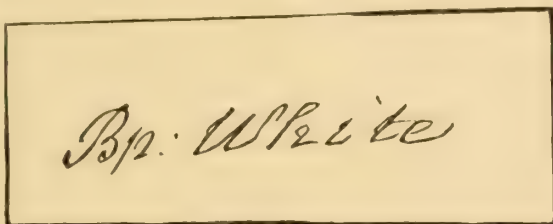
A voyage across the Atlantic then was quite a different thing from a voyage now. One-fifth of all the candidates who set sail for England perished abroad.

When to this danger of the sea were added the loss of time and the expense of the voyages to and fro, costing usually £100, a sum equivalent to the yearly salary of most of the clergy at that time, we can easily understand what a formidable barrier existed against the increase of the ministry, and how much moral courage and firmness of purpose was requisite before a young man would resolve to take up such heavy crosses in order to become a minister of Christ.

The American colonies were then under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, who superintended them by means of certain clergymen, who were termed commissaries and to whom was committed a certain amount of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This arrangement, however, only partially remedied the evil arising from their not having any bishop. Churches were unconsecrated, the baptized were not confirmed, candidates could not be ordained, and the wholesome *régime* of the Episcopacy was altogether wanting. Yet both clergy and laity over two hundred years ago saw the necessity of bishops and

sought earnestly to secure their appointment. When the plan was first proposed, in 1638, to send a bishop to the American plantations, it was thwarted by the outbreak of troubles in Scotland. When, in 1673, the Rev. Dr. Alex. Murray was nominated by Lord Chancellor Clarendon and approved by King Charles II., the plan was defeated because the endowment was to be out of the public customs.

When again, in 1713, Queen Anne responded favorably to the request of the venerable society that bishops should be appointed for the colonies, and the society actually fixed upon and purchased a residence for the bishop at Burlington, N.J., the death of the good queen again frustrated the design. George I. was also favorable to the plan; but the rebellion in Scotland absorbed the public mind, and Sir Robert Walpole discountenanced the project. Later still, Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, renewedly pressed the matter upon the attention of the government, and memorials were sent to him from the clergy of Maryland, of New England, of Philadelphia, and Burlington, urging the sending of a bishop to America. The plan was sustained



BISHOP WHITE'S VISITING CARD.

and advocated by Bishops Secker and Tenison, by Bishops Lowth, Butler, Benson, Sherlock, and Terrick; but the rising difficulties between the colonies and the mother-country, and the extreme opposition and jealousy of the opponents of the Church of England in this country, prevented the execution of the design, and so the Church for a hundred and fifty years had existed here without a local episcopate. Such was its condition when the youthful White, unable to get orders in his native land, was about to proceed to England for them.

He sailed from Chester for London on October 15, 1770, in the ship "Britannia." Of the incidents of his voyage we know nothing, but can well imagine the discomforts and dangers which at that period and with such comparatively small and ill-furnished ships he must have endured. Nor will it be difficult for us to surmise the joy which he felt when the cry of "Land-ho!" was sung out from the mast-head, and how he watched with ever-increasing delight the unfolding panorama of the shore, until the ship cast anchor in its destined port, and he trod, for the first time, the soil of the mother-land.

He was received in England by his aunts, Miss White and Mrs. Weeks, and, though he took lodgings in London, he spent a considerable portion of his time with them at Twickenham, ten miles from Westminster, where he said "he took pleasure, not only in the society of an agreeable circle of friends to which I was admitted in that earthly Paradise, but in rambles in the neighborhood."

He had come to England for a solemn purpose, and he at once

set about the work of securing his ordination. Several obstacles, however, were in his way. First, he was not of canonical age. The thirty-fourth canon of the Church of England requires that a person desiring to be a deacon shall be three and twenty years old.

William White lacked several months of being three and twenty, and was thereby obliged to obtain a faculty or dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury granting ordination *infra ætatem* for persons of special abilities, before the canonical age.

Another difficulty lay in the fact, that he was not a graduate of either of the two great universities, Oxford or Cambridge, as specified in the thirty-fourth canon. While, however, the usual formal testimonials were drawn up upon a supposition that the candidate was a B.A. of some college of Oxford or Cambridge, yet the same canon made provision for such as had not these degrees, and under this exceptional clause William White became eligible for holy orders. Having obtained the various testimonials, and presented them to the bishop through his secretary or chaplain, a month before Ember week, he was then requested to present himself for examination by the bishop and three clergymen. This he so successfully passed, that the examining chaplain told a friend of his aunt, "that his examination would have been an honor to either of the universities," and then he subscribed, according to the requisition of the thirty-sixth canon, a declaration of allegiance to and of supremacy of the king; of conformity to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and an acknowledgment of the binding authority *ex animo* of the Thirty-nine Articles "taking them in the true, literal, usual and grammatical sense."

These, and all other preliminaries having been complied with, he was ordained deacon, December 23, 1770, in the chapel royal of St. James's Palace, Westminster, by Dr. Philip Yonge, Bishop of Norwich, acting in behalf of Dr. Richard Terrick, the Bishop of London. The office for the ordering of deacons is the same as ours, with the exception, in the Anglican service, that, immediately after the Epistle, the candidate took the oath of the king's supremacy in these words: "I, William White, do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preëminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

How little did the actors in that ordination scene foresee the great events which hinged upon that service! The Lord Bishop of Norwich little imagined that the youthful candidate then kneeling before him to receive by the imposition of his hands, the office of a deacon, would, sixteen years after, kneel in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth to be consecrated as the first bishop of the English line for the Church in the United States; and little did the youthful candidate dream, that through him would be transmitted the succession of the Anglican episcopate to a sister national church in

America. And now he arose from that chancel a deacon in the Church of God. The aim of years of study had been reached, and he stood trembling on the threshold of a ministry which stretched itself onward five and sixty years.

Not being of canonical age to obtain priest's orders, he remained in England until he could do so. He had no special clerical duty to perform, and hence was left free to pursue those studies which fitted him for a higher ministry, and to make that acquaintance with England and Englishmen, which his means and time enabled him to do. He took several journeys to different parts of England and passed some weeks at Oxford. His visit to this university he greatly enjoyed, making friends of the fellows and tutors of its several colleges, and enjoying the public exercises, not only in the preaching which he heard in St. Mary's, but in the convocations and examinations at which he was also present.

The religious condition of the Church of England at this time was lamentably relaxed. Worldliness had so invaded the Church that routs and balls were held even in the palace at Lambeth, — a fact which drew down upon Archbishop Cornwallis the rebuke of George III. There was a fearful latitudinarianism in the opinions of the clergy, which led to continued controversy. The discourses from the pulpit were mostly of a philosophical or moral character.

The great doctrines of grace so strongly set forth in the liturgy, the articles, and in the homilies, and which were expounded so forcibly by the divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were weakened and altered into almost another gospel; and hence had arisen dissent on the one hand, and that remarkable Wesleyan movement on the other, which was at that very time sapping the strength of the Church and raising up against her some of her strongest opponents.

Bishop Lavington, who died in 1762, and who wrote against the Methodists, and whom no one will charge with undue enthusiasm, in one of his charges to the clergy of the diocese of Exeter, says: "My brethren, I beg you will rise up with me against moral preaching. We have long been attempting the reformation of the nation by discourses of this kind, with what success? With none at all! On the contrary, we have dexterously preached the people into downright infidelity. We must change our voice! We must preach Christ and him crucified. Nothing but the Gospel is, nothing besides will be found to be, the power of God unto salvation." And Archbishop Secker, in one of his charges, makes this acknowledgment, "We have, in fact, lost many of our people to sectaries by not preaching in a manner sufficiently evangelical."

Allied as the Church of England is with the State, she is necessarily acted upon by political influences, which cannot fail to secularize her to a sad degree. Every throb and excitement in the State was felt in the heart and brain of the Church. The head of the Church was the king. The liturgy of the Church was made a part of the statutory enactment of the realm. The bishoprics of the Church were in the gift of the prime minister and the cathedral chapters

were bound to elect, under penalty of *præmunire*, the person named in the *Congé d'élire* of the sovereign. The livings of the Church were held by all classes of men; by the king; by the great officers of state; by the bishops; by the universities and colleges; by the great liveried companies of London, and by hundreds of lay patrons, who had the right to present whom they pleased to the several benefices without consulting the members of the parish.

The laws of the Church, partly foreign and partly home-made, partly synodal, and partly parliamentary, were intricate, onerous, conflicting, and ramified into a great variety of courts, from the decanal courts of the dioceses to the provincial courts of the archbishop, and from these again by appeal to the judicial courts of the Privy Council. These, with other things which I cannot pause to enumerate, were among the causes which made the Church at that time so morally feeble amidst such great intellectual and civil strength.

Such in rough outline was the state of the Church of England when William White was there for deacon's and priest's orders. We regret the absence of letters or a journal to indicate how these influences affected his mind and heart. To one coming from such a remote and quiet colony to the bustle and excitement of London, and to one educated under a system so diverse from that in the great schools and colleges of England, there was much to dazzle and lead astray. It is therefore the more to be thankful for, that one so young as William White was enabled to bear up against all these adverse and misleading influences, and to maintain not only an unblemished moral character amidst so many alluring temptations, but also to retain his Christian faith unswayed by the theological and ecclesiastical errors then rife and freely broached.

In April the 25th, 1772, he was ordained to the priesthood by Dr. Terrick, the Bishop of London. The same bishop also licensed him to officiate in Pennsylvania. He was now ready to return. It may be readily imagined with what pleasure he would set his face homeward, and how eager he would be, not only to see his parents and relatives, from whom he had been so long separated, but also to enter upon his clerical duties for which he was now fully commissioned. He sailed from England in June, on the ship "Pennsylvania Packet," Captain Osborne, but owing to calms, light winds, and the bad sailing qualities of the ship in which he embarked, he did not reach Philadelphia until the 19th of September, when he once more entered the home circle which he had left over two years before, and now stood before them an ordained minister of Christ.

Before he left England he had been invited by the vestry to become assistant minister of the United Churches, but action was deferred until the 30th of November, 1772, when, with his friend and college mate, the Rev. Thomas Coombe, he was formally elected to that office, and he at once entered upon its duties, at a salary of £150 per annum.

He had been an assistant minister of the United Churches less than four years when "The Declaration of Independence" was made, and the political distractions and turmoils of eleven years' restiveness under King George, culminated in the birth of a free

nation. To the Episcopal clergy in this country that act was fraught with disaster. At their ordination they had taken the oath of allegiance to the king; in their liturgy, which they had solemnly vowed to use, were prayers for the king and royal family and the parliament of Great Britain, and, with few exceptions, they derived their support from the stipends paid to them by the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts."

They were thus placed between the upper and nether millstone: for, if they yielded to the American spirit, and cast off the supremacy of the crown, and renounced praying for the king, they violated their ordination vows and lost their stipends; and if they continued to use the liturgy as it was, they compromised themselves before the public. As a consequence, most of the clergy embraced the royal side, and they were persecuted, fined, beaten, expatriated, and, in one instance at least, slain. William White, living in Philadelphia, then the political centre of the country, and knowing the sentiments of the most wise and thoughtful men of the colonies, was ready to cast in his lot with the fortunes of the new republic, and at once acquiesced in the change, which the vestry of the United Churches on the very day when independence was declared, required its rector and assistant ministers to make, viz.: "to omit those petitions in the Liturgy wherein the King of Great Britain is prayed for."

That this was not the result of a momentary impulse, under the political excitement of the time, is evident from what he says in his MSS. autobiography, where he records his careful study of English history, and the English constitution, from the times of the Saxons to the revolution of 1688; his thoughtful reflections on the causes of American discontent, and his deliberate choice of adherence to the policy and acts of the Continental Congress. His firmness and courage were tested by an incident connected with his taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, in 1776. When he went to the court-house for the purpose, a gentleman of his acquaintance standing there, observing his design, intimated to him by a gesture, the danger to which he would expose himself. After having taken the oath, he remarked before leaving the court-house to the gentleman alluded to, "I perceive by your gesture that you thought I was exposing my neck to great danger by the step which I have taken. But I have not taken it without full deliberation. I know my danger, and that it is the greater on account of my being a clergyman of the Church of England. But I trust in Providence. The cause is a just one, and I am persuaded will be protected."

The next year he was chosen chaplain to Congress. "He continued chaplain until that body removed to New York. When after the adoption of the existing constitution, the Congress of the United States returned to Philadelphia, he was again chosen one of their chaplains, and continued to be so chosen at each successive Congress by the senate until the removal of the seat of government to Washington, in 1801." He was thus officially brought into close relationship with the leaders of American thought and action, as well

as personally, through his brother-in-law, Robert Morris, the great financier of the war of the Revolution.

The Rector of the United Parishes, Mr. Duché, and the first assistant, Mr. Coombe, retired to England in 1777, and in 1779 Mr. White was unanimously elected Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's. This placed him virtually at the head of the Church in Pennsylvania, and put him in a commanding position as to all ecclesiastical affairs. So soon, therefore, as the American successes secured to us a distinct nationality, he, in company with a few others, took counsel together, looking to a union of all the Episcopal clergy in all the States; and it shows the high estimation in which he was held, that at the first gathering in New Brunswick in May, 1784, he presided at the meeting, and opened it with a sermon. It is not necessary to detail the steps which led to the formation of our American Church; but no one mind was more directive and controlling in all its assemblies than William White's.

He was the first to suggest the introduction of the laity into the councils of the Church; the first to suggest synodal or diocesan action; and the first to suggest a General Convention made up of representatives from the lower assemblies; and the first draft of the constitution was from his pen.

In this constitution there were engrafted certain principles of ecclesiastical law which were unknown in the Church of England; and which, though partially appearing in some of the older constitutions of the Saxon Church, and of the primitive eastern dioceses, had, for more than a thousand years, been kept out of sight, in the ascendancy which the priesthood had claimed and exercised over lay people. Those principles were: 1st, The organization of the Church as an ecclesiastical body, with full and perfect power of self-government, and entirely independent of secular control; 2d, the introduction of the laity as joint councillors and legislators, with equal voice and vote with the clergy in such church conventions; 3d, The giving to the several dioceses the right to elect their own bishops, subject to confirmation by the whole Church; and in which election and confirmation, the laity have equal voice with the clergy; 4h, The full and equal liberty of each national church to model and organize itself and its forms of worship and discipline in such manner as it may judge most convenient for its future prosperity.

Accustomed as we have been, all our lives, to those principles, we cannot understand what a really great advance was made in the then existing order of things, when Dr. White boldly brought them out, and had them incorporated in the fundamental constitution of our Church. The English "Convocation," the nominal voice of the Church of England, had long been silent; and the functions of that clerical assembly were so restricted by parliamentary act, as to stifle its power. With a political sagacity that grasped at once the sound maxims which the framers of our civil government embodied in the Constitution of the United States, and with a foresight which saw, that for a free people, with free institutions, the Church, as an organism, must conform so far as possible to the liberal views of the body

politic, he, with his few companions, in his study in Walnut street above Third, drew up that instrument which is the Church's "Magna Charta." And what is the result? That document, brief as it is, has been everywhere hailed as one of the wisest ever penned by man for the purposes for which it was made. Not only has it worn well in the working machinery of our Church, for a hundred years; not only has it been reproduced in its general principles in the constitutions of fifty organized dioceses; not only has it kept us together amidst all the strain and severances of civil war; but it has been copied in its essential features in the constitution of the "Church of Ireland,"



BISHOP WHITE'S STUDY.

when that ancient church ceased to be established by law, and became on the 1st day of January, 1871, self-governing and free.

These same ideas have largely influenced synodal action in the Scotch Church. These same ideas are at work in the Church of England. These same principles have been incorporated, as far as circumstances would permit, into the colonial church organizations; and, because they are principles which accord with God's word, because they agree with the usage of the primitive churches, because they are in harmony with free institutions, therefore they will everywhere prevail. Thus the work of William White, planned so wisely a century ago, is honored and copied by the churchmen and statesmen of the present age, and will perpetuate itself through all coming time.

The agency of Dr. White, in securing the Anglican succession of the episcopate, and his subsequent efforts to preserve, in its canonical purity, this succession, deserve our grateful recognition. Let us pause a moment to speak of his own consecration. On the 14th of

September, 1786, he was unanimously elected Bishop of Pennsylvania, and the sum of £350, currency, was voted to defray the necessary expenses of the voyage of the bishop-elect to and from England.

On the 2d of November, the same year, he sailed with Dr. Provoost, who had been elected Bishop of New York, from New York, and eighteen days after, landed at Falmouth, making the shortest passage across the Atlantic then recorded.

On the 4th of February he and Dr. Provoost were consecrated bishops, in the chapel of the palace of Lambeth. They were presented to Dr. John Moore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Dr. William Markham, the Archbishop of York, who, together with Dr. Charles Moss, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Dr. John Hincheliff, the Bishop of Peterborough, united in the imposition of hands.

They left London the next day for Falmouth, sailed from that port on the 17th of February, and, on the afternoon of Easter Sunday, landed in New York. The day of their return to America was the emblem to our Church of its resurrection from the deadness of the past to the life and hope of the future.

Of the three bishops consecrated in England, viz.: William White, Samuel Provoost, and James Madison, who transmitted the apostolical episcopate to the American branch of the Holy Catholic Church, Bishop White was the most prominent and active. His position as presiding bishop gave great weight to his opinions, and his thoughtful, calm, and judicious views, quietly expressed, and firmly held, may be said to have shaped the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States for nearly half a century. He is the only one of the early bishops who has left behind him published works, unfolding the proceedings of those early efforts to organize the Church, and the only one who has expounded the theological sentiments of our creed, and catechism, and ordinal.

These volumes are to the proceedings of the conventions which framed our Church, what the "Federalist" and "The Madison Papers" are to the proceedings of the conventions which framed the Constitution of the United States. They derive their value, not only as contemporary testimony of the views and principles held at that time, but also give us the interpretation of principles and actions by one, himself a prominent actor, and well qualified to state what he knew of the sentiments then held, and then embodied in constitutional, or canonical, or liturgic laws and ritual.

It is most fortunate for our Church that Bishop White, with that prudence and foresight which always distinguished him, wrote out his "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church," his "Lectures on the Catechism," his commentary on "The Ordination Offices," his ten "Pastoral Letters of the House of Bishops;" and other valuable and important publications. He was frank in the expression of his views, and manfully defended what he regarded as the sound doctrines and pure worship of the Church over which he presided. As we look back to the difficult times in which he exercised his functions, as one of the founders and legislators and rulers in the Church, we cannot but thank God that so blameless a man in his Christian life, — so

scholarly a man in his mental culture,—so calm a man in times of popular excitement,—so forecasting a man amidst threatened perils, and so firm a man amidst the unsteady opinions of the day,—was given to the Church at that time, to be to it, in its separation from the mother-church, and its erection into an independent one, what Washington was to the civil movement of the Revolution. Both were men of marked characteristics; each eminently fitted for his respective work, each saw it carried into completion, and each ruled as the president of the organization.

And, when George Washington, the first President of the United States, sat in his pew in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and William White, for so many years presiding in the House of Bishops of the United States, ministered in its chancel, within the same walls there were then seen, as worshippers in the same service, the two men to whom, more than to any other two, the Republic owed its civil life, and the Church its corporate existence.

Wm. White

Well would it be for the Church to go back, every now and then, to learn the first principles of the Church as set forth in the constitution of 1789, and as expounded in the writings of Bishop White. Not that all that he wrote was of equal value, but the deliberate productions of his pen, especially in the works which I have named, are, and ever will be, valuable exponents of the animus of the Protestant Episcopal Church when it began its career in this Western World.

From his carefully prepared volumes, his correspondence, and his MSS., left ready for the press, but which have never yet been given to the public, we learn that Bishop White would have had no sympathy whatever with those radical views, whereby episcopacy is decried, the prayer-book reproached as teaching error, the canons of the Church disregarded, the language of the offices of the Church omitted or altered, and schism and secession openly urged, if certain claims are not authoritatively conceded. For this spirit he had no favor. Holding moderate views of the apostolical succession, and planting himself firmly on the ecclesiastical polity of the "judicious Hooker," he was yet very careful to uphold the *régime* of episcopal government, and to conform the services of the Church to the rubrics of our book of Common Prayer. He was especially displeased at irregularities in the conduct of divine worship, and at any wilful or implied depreciation, or perversion of the prayer-book; and his own usages for sixty years were a happy mean between rigidity and laxity, between a pharisaic stiffness that "tithed anise, and mint, and cumin," and a needless laxity that marred our service.

I cannot better set forth his ideas than by quoting his own language. After speaking of the extravagance of these errors concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper which makes an irreconcilable division between us and the Church of Rome, he goes on to say: "The decisions of that Church, naturally and by fair consequence, lead to the adoration of what they call the Body and Blood of the Redeemer.

but what we consider as in themselves mere bread and wine, although made by consecration representative of that Body and that Blood. In

Bps. consecrated by me - Wm. White
Bp. Doane consecrated at 1st consecration of John Thomas (Coppell) DD Sep^r 1792.

1795. Sep^r 14 ----- Rev Robert Smith. DD
 ---7--- May --- Edward Bass. DD.
 --- Oct^r 10 --- Abraham Jarvis. DD.
 1801. Sep. 11. ----- Benj^m Moore DD
 ---4. Sep. 14 ----- Sam. Parker DD.
 ---11. May 23 ----- John H. Hobart DD
 ----- Alex^r V. Geiswold.
 ---12. Oct^r 15 ----- Theodore Dekon DD.
 ---14. May 10 ----- Richard Channing Moore DD.
 --- Sep^r 1 ----- James Kemp DD
 ---15. Nov^r 19 ----- John Croes DD -
 ---18. Oct^r 8 ----- Nathaniel Bowen DD
 ---19. Feb 11. ----- Philander Chase -
 --- Oct^r 27 ----- Thomas C. Brownell DD.
 ---23. May 22. ----- John Stark Ravencroft DD
 ---27. Oct^r 25 ----- Henry U. Onderdonk DD
 ---29. Aug^t 19. ----- Rev Wm. Meade DD
 ---30. Oct^r 21 ----- Rev Wm. Murray Stone DD
 --- Nov^r 26 ----- Rev Benjamin Fredwell Onderdonk DD.
 ---31. Sep^r 22 ----- Rev Levi Tilliman Ives DD
 ---32. Oct^r 31 ----- Rev John H. Hopkins DD
 ----- Rev Bourⁿ B. Smith. DD
 ----- Rev Charles P. McElvaine DD
 ----- R^d George W. Doane. DD
 ---34. Jan^y 14 ----- Rev James H. Otey. DD
 ---35. Sep^r 25 ----- Rev Sachar Hempel DD

LIST OF BISHOPS CONSECRATED BY BISHOP WHITE.

the Scriptures there is no plea for the opposite doctrine, except in the letter of the command, which ought to be interpreted agreeably to the rules applying to all figurative language. For three hundred years

there were no sentiments entertained in the Christian Church which threatened to lead, even by remote consequences, to such an extreme. But in the centuries following, when the plain and unadorned instructions of the clergy of the early times yielded to the more showy eloquence introduced by their successors in imitation of the heathen orators, it became not uncommon to apply to the Elements the most glowing language, rhetorically introduced, but piously intended, and which laid the foundations for the pretensions set up at much later times. For it was not until the thirteenth century that the idea was conceived of the adoration of the Host, which was so natural on the supposition of its comprehending of the divinity, that the lateness of the ceremony is unanswerable evidence of the lateness of the doctrine."

These words, and many more of the same tenor, are found in Bishop White's published works, showing conclusively how strongly opposite his teaching was to sacerdotalism and sacramentarianism.

In his own conduct of public worship he was exact, but simple and unostentatious. He regarded the service as a worship, not as a spectacle; to be rendered with reverence, not with pompous parade; to inspire devotion in the soul, not to minister to the mere sensuous and æsthetic elements of our nature.

He magnified his office, not by arrogant claims, or by extolling unduly its sacred functions; but by a loving discharge of its duties, under the eye of God, in the humility of a servant, and with the fidelity of an apostle. His gentle nature, sound judgment, and enlightened mind, also kept him from holding intolerant or unchurching dogmas in reference to other Christian bodies. Throughout his long life he carried out the spirit and letter of his ordination and consecration vows,—"to maintain and set forward quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people." His views upon this point were well defined in one paragraph of the instructions which he gave to the first missionaries of our Church to China in 1835. Addressing the Rev. Messrs. Hanson and Lockwood, the bishop says: "In the tie which binds you to the Episcopal Church there is nothing which places you in the attitude of hostility to men of any other Christian denomination, and much which should unite you in affection to those occupied in the same cause with yourself. You should rejoice in their successes, and avoid as much as possible all controversy and all occasions which may provoke it, on points on which they may differ from our communion, without conforming in any point to what we consider as erroneous."



BISHOP WHITE, AS SEEN
WALKING IN THE STREETS
OF PHILADELPHIA.

Acting himself in this spirit, he became one of the founders of "The Bible Society of Philadelphia," and was its president until his death.

He was also one of the founders of the "Society for the Institution and Support of First-day or Sunday-schools," an organization made up of Christians of different religious bodies. He was also an active member of "The Pennsylvania Colonization Society," of "The Philadelphia Dispensary," and of other philanthropic institutions, feeling it to be a privilege to unite with his fellow-citizens, of whatever name, in organizing or supporting those benevolent agencies by which want can be relieved and virtue be fostered, and vice be repressed. Thus while he never compromised his principles as a churchman, or sacrificed a single conviction of duty, he secured the respect of all classes of the community, and all denominations united at his death to do honor to this prince and father in Israel.

Most appropriate was it that his ashes should be sepulchred within Christ Church, Philadelphia, for at its font, May the 25th, 1748, he was baptized by the Rev. Dr. Jenney. At its chancel rail he received his first Communion as a youth. At its altar he plighted his vows in marriage. Most appropriate was it that his sacred relics should lie beneath its chancel, for in it he ministered before God sixty-and-three years;—in it, he exercised the office of a bishop for almost half a century;—and in it, sitting in his episcopal chair, he consecrated many presbyters to the high office of bishops in the Church of God.

Let us thank God for the life and labor of such a man. "He being dead yet speaketh."

"To thee, O saintly WHITE,
Patriarch of a wide-spreading family,
Remotest lands and unborn times shall turn,
Whether they would restore, or build,—to thee,
As one who rightly taught how zeal should burn,
As one who drew from out faith's holiest urn
The purest stream of patient energy."

—Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. Part iii., Son. xv.

Amos A. Stevens.

MONOGRAPH V.

OLD TRINITY, NEW YORK, AND ITS CHAPELS.

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IN giving this, my brief sketch of the history of the parish of Trinity Church in the city of New York, I begin with the date of the arrival of Benjamin Fletcher as governor of the province, Aug. 30, 1692. His directions were to give early and earnest attention to the state of morals and religion in the province; in pursuance of which instructions he proceeded to take measures for the establishment of the religion of the Church of England among the people. The difficulties to be encountered were great, because the dominant power in the community was still that of the Dutch church, with which dissenters of all classes sympathized as against the members of the English establishment.

The governor could do nothing without the concurrence of the General Assembly; nearly all its members were dissenters, who regarded the Church of England with feelings of suspicion and dislike.

The governor's first step was to call on the assembly to make provision for the encouragement and support of an able ministry in the province. Delays occurred, indicating reluctance on the part of the assembly to comply; nor was it until the 22d of September, 1693, that a bill was agreed to and sent to the governor for approval. The act was loose in terms and obscurely worded; but there can be no reasonable doubt that the assembly intended to provide thereby for the maintenance of a ministry of dissenters. The governor returned it with his objections, and requested that it might be so amended as to give him the power to present to ecclesiastical benefices, — a request which the assembly promptly refused. Upon this the governor, justly indignant, prorogued the assembly. The power which he asked them to recognize in the terms of the act was already his, by virtue of his commission, and had been exercised by his predecessors. For a while affairs were at a dead-lock between the governor and the assembly.

In time, however, and by other means, the governor succeeded in attaining his end, and found a way to make the bill available in the form in which it was originally passed. It provided, in the first place, for the election of two church-wardens and ten vestrymen by the whole body of the freeholders of the city without regard to religious belief. By this city vestry (as it may be called to distinguish it from

a church vestry) a tax was to be levied annually on the inhabitants for the maintenance of "a good and sufficient protestant minister," who was to be elected by the said vestrymen and wardens, and to receive a salary of £100 per annum. The wardens were to call the minister, keep account of all moneys received and disbursed, and pay the salary in quarterly instalments. The provisions of this act applied in like manner to the counties of Richmond, West Chester, and Queen's.

The first vestry appointed under this act consisted of two wardens of the Dutch Calvinistic religion, and ten vestrymen of a thoroughly dissenting temper. They began by adopting a resolution that "the person to be called to have the Cure of Souls and Officiate in the office of Minister of this City" should be, not a Church of England clergyman, but a dissenter. The governor, of course, refused to agree; he also made an effort to have the Rev. John Miller, chaplain of the forces, appointed under the act, but failed. The question was then raised whether Mr. Miller was not already, *ipso facto*, minister of the city; but the council, to whom it was referred, decided in the negative. Meanwhile the city vestry had not proceeded to levy the tax, and, on being required to say when they would do so, replied that they would do nothing until they knew who was to be appointed.

Finally, urged by the governor, and compelled to act, the vestry in question, at a meeting held Jan. 26, 1694-5, did call a minister. The person selected was Mr. William Vesey, at that time a dissenting clergyman. Not content with giving this rebuff to the governor, they proceeded to address a communication to the General Assembly, which, in response, justified their action, insisted that they had a right to call a dissenting minister, and declared that he was entitled to the maintenance provided under the Act of 1693. The governor, upon receiving news of these proceedings, laid the matter before his council, and, with their advice, prorogued the assembly; so that its action and that of the city vestry fell through.

Upon a review of the protracted conflict between the governor and the assembly, on this subject, it appears that the design of the governor was to introduce the Church of England, as an establishment, into the province,—so far, at the least, as the Dutch church had previously been established, under Governor Lovelace; that in this he was following the instructions received from the home government; that the act of 1693, obtained from the assembly for that purpose, though ambiguous in its terms, would, upon an interpretation of its language, in accordance with the use of the day, have met the governor's wishes; that the assembly, however, departing from the line of the legislator and assuming judicial functions, interpreted the act in a sense agreeable to themselves; and that the victory rested with them. It is important that the history should be understood, lest any one should suppose that to be true which has been ignorantly asserted, that the first vestry of Trinity Church called a dissenting clergyman to be rector of the parish. Trinity Church was not then in existence; nor was the board by which Mr. Vesey was elected minister of the city of New York a church vestry in any sense of the term.

Governor Fletcher's failure to carry out the designs of his government was converted into success, at a subsequent period, by the operation of several causes. First, an influential body of members of the Church of England, disgusted at the obstinacy of the assembly and the city vestry, determined to take matters into their own hand; and, accordingly, undertook the erection of a church of their own faith, for the sole use and worship of "the Protestants of the Church of England." The rites of that religion had been thus far performed in a small chapel within the fort. That edifice being ruinous, and no longer fit for use, the governor gave orders that it should be pulled down, and the assembly, at his request, made a grant of £450 towards its reconstruction in some other place. This sum was probably increased by the addition of contributions by the persons already referred to, and they also had license from the governor to purchase a piece of ground for the erection of the church. The work proceeded favorably, and the building was completed in 1697. A petition was next addressed to the governor, May 6, 1697, and signed by Caleb Heathcote, William Merritt, John Tudor, James Emott, Henry Wilson, Thomas Wenham, James Evetts, John Crooke, Robert Lurten, Samuel Burt, William Morris, and Nathaniel Maston, styling themselves "Managers of the Affairs of the Church of England in the City of New York," and praying for an act of incorporation and a charter.

Secondly, it is to be mentioned that the governor had granted the Dutch church a very liberal charter, by which the members of that body were so effectually mollified as to be willing to let him have his way as regarded his own religion; and, therefore, no opposition was made—indeed, it could not decently have been made—to granting an equally liberal charter to the Church of England. This accordingly was done, and the parish of Trinity Church was duly incorporated.

Next, the managers of the Church of England made this proposal and request: that, as it was the intention of the act of 1693 that the clergyman provided for under that act should be a clergyman of the Church of England; as the design of the act had been frustrated by the lack of a proper place wherein to worship; and as a suitable building had been erected and covered in, and was nearly ready for use, the benefits of the said act might enure to them as a corporation. The request was granted, as their interpretation of the act agreed with that of the governor and council; and the dissenting element in the assembly, propitiated by the charter given to the Dutch church, made no opposition.

The royal charter, duly drawn and executed under the seal of the province, constituted and established the parish of Trinity Church. Among its provisions are these: That the church already erected, with the grounds adjacent, enclosed and used as a cemetery, shall be the parish church and church-yard of the parish of Trinity Church within the city of New York; that the same is declared to be forever set apart and dedicated to the service of God, and to be applied to the use of the inhabitants of the city of New York in communion with the Church of England; that the Bishop of London be the first rector

of the same, and his successors in office rectors thereafter; that the rector should have one assistant in priest's orders, together with a clerk; that the Bishop of London and all persons in communion with the said church be a body corporate and politic; that to the rector are granted all the usual rights and privileges according to English ecclesiastical law; that the church thus provided for shall be the sole and only parish church of the city; that the benefits of the act of 1693 shall accrue to the parish church thus established; that the city wardens and vestry-men shall pay to him the sums to be raised by them for the support of "a good and sufficient Protestant Minister" in the said city; and that, if they should fail to do so, he may bring an action against them in any Court of Record within the province. The charter was given at the fort in New York, May 6, 1697, being the ninth year of the reign of King William III., and was sealed and signed by the governor and the secretary of the council.

The next thing to be done was to provide a rector for the parish thus constituted. Without attempting to give the details in full, it is sufficient to say, that since the election of Mr. Vesey, by the city vestry, in 1695,—which action Governor Fletcher refused to ratify,—a marked change had come over that anomalous body, the annual election being more and more favorable to the Church of England; so that the vestry elected by the freeholders, January 14, 1695-6, under the provisions of the act of 1693, had in it three of the "Managers of the Church of England," while the vestry elected a year afterwards, 1696-7, was still more favorable to the church, the two city wardens and seven of the ten vestry-men subsequently becoming the wardens, and a part of the vestry of the parish church. A meeting was held November 2, 1696, at which it was agreed to call Mr. Vesey, for the second time, to be minister of the city of New York, but with the understanding that he should procure episcopal ordination in England before entering upon his charge, he having already become a communicant of the Church of England. Mr. Vesey, who, though for some time a dissenting minister, was, no doubt, of an old church family, and, like many others, had fallen into the nets and snares of New England Congregationalism, returned to his ancestral faith, and proceeded to London, where he received deacon's and priest's orders at Fulham, by the hands of the Bishop of London, during the month of August, 1697, and thereupon returned to New York. A meeting of the city wardens and vestry-men was held on Christmas Eve, at which letters from the Bishop of London were read, and Mr. Vesey appeared before them, and informed them that he was ready to execute the function to which he had been twice called by their board. Whereupon his name was sent to the governor, who, accepting and approving of the nomination, appointed him assistant to the Bishop of London, first rector under the charter, and thus the parish of Trinity Church became fully organized.

As to the question of Mr. Vesey's change of ecclesiastical relations and adherence to the Church of England little can be said, because little is known. There is a story that Increase Mather, President of the college at Harvard, sent him with a roving commission to build

up and strengthen those dissenters who had left the purer atmosphere of New England independency, and were in jeopardy among the dangerous prelatists of New York and parts adjacent, and that the astute Fletcher, with consummate skill and strategy, captured the young divine, and succeeded in turning him into a "good and sufficient" priest of holy mother church. But there is an air of partisanship about these stories which makes one cautious of accepting them. I cannot express my own opinion better than by quoting the words of Mr. George H. Moore, who says:—

It is but just to infer that his course was dictated by honorable sentiments. There were not wanting in his lifetime those who could impugn his motives of action, and the violence of party charged him with inconsistency, a base regard for temporal interest, and want of fidelity to the principles to which he was supposed to be pledged by his birth and training among the independents of New England; but a generous spirit cannot fail to sympathize in his emancipation from narrow prejudices, and to applaud as judicious a conformity so amply vindicated by the success of his prolonged subsequent ministry.¹

There is, as I have already hinted, evidence that he came of an old church family, that his parents were communicants, and that the church service, according to the "Book of Common Prayer," was daily read in the family circle at Braintree when he was a child. If this be so, it follows that the charge against him would be, not that he left independency to join the Church, but that he, born and bred among church people, had for a time gone astray among the independents.

The induction of Mr. Vesey into his position under the act of the General Assembly took place on Christmas day, 1697. The ceremony was performed in the church belonging to the Dutch congregation, in Garden street, the English church not being yet completed. Governor Fletcher acted as inducting officer, and among the subscribing witnesses were two of the Dutch ministers, Dominie Henricus Selyns, of New York, and Dominie Johannes Petrus Nucella, of Kingston, Ulster county. It was a civil ceremony, having reference chiefly to the legal status of the incumbent and to the temporalities of the cure. As the documents including the governor's appointment, and the return made to him by the inductor, are in Latin; as the knowledge of the English language possessed by the Dutch ministers was probably limited, and as the classis of Amsterdam sent out to this country none but excellent scholars, it has been conjectured that the ceremonies used on that occasion were in great part, if not altogether, in the Latin tongue.

For about three months afterwards, and until the completion of the English church, Dominie Selyns and Mr. Vesey preached alternately in the building in which the ceremony of induction took place, the former officiating in the Dutch language, and the latter in English.

Trinity Church—as the new edifice was called—was completed and ready for occupation in the following spring. On Sunday, March 13, 1697–8, it was opened for divine service. After saying morning prayer the rector produced and read the certificate of the Bishop

¹ Historical Magazine, 1867, Vol. II., p. 12.

of London, and made, *coram populo*, the customary statement and declaration of assent and consent to all things contained in and prescribed by the "Book of Common Prayer." The edifice was of small size, four-square, plain, and with little ornament. On the south side was a gallery for the use of the governor and council, while in the south-east part was a pew erected by Fletcher, at his own charges, for the accommodation of his family.

The first rector held his office nearly half a century, — from the date of his induction till July 11, 1746, the day of his death. His life was passed in labor and anxiety, and disturbed by many painful and annoying circumstances. He seems to have been a man of vivacious disposition, sensitive, excitable, and of quick temper withal, perhaps not very well fitted to endure the special trials which came on him. The Church which he represented was, in a measure, established, but in the midst of a discontented population; its support and the maintenance of its ministry were provided for, in part, by assessments, which many were reluctant to pay; the times, moreover, were stormy, and party feeling and factious strife ran high. What with governors who were hostile to the Church; members of her own communion who had little love for her; lewd fellows of the baser sort who stopped at no bounds in their beastly actions; officials who declined to fulfil the duties imposed on them by the law of the province; disaffected parishioners, who sent home complaints against their pastor, and roving missionaries trying to win souls to Christ by eccentric methods, — the rector's heart and hands must have been over-full. The controversies of the period had little reference to religion, but were mainly personal and local; while, as for the harsh accusations and bitter attacks on him, they are outweighed by the testimony borne to his worth by contemporaries, and by the record of the eminent services rendered by him to our holy religion. During his term of office the charter of the parish was amended, improved, and cleared of all defects; valuable endowments were secured, the benefits of which are still enjoyed after the lapse of nearly two hundred years; the church edifice was enlarged and beautified, and great numbers of people in the city and vicinity were brought from dissent into the communion of the Church.

The charter obtained under Governor Fletcher being regarded as defective, application was made for modifications and additions. The royal assent having been obtained the charter of 1697 was completed and perfected in all its parts by an act of the Colonial Assembly in 1704. By that act the title of the corporation to the edifice known as Trinity Church, the cemetery, a burial-place adjacent, and a certain tract of land belonging thereunto, which burial-ground and land had been purchased by the Church, and were then held and used by it, was declared to be perfect and so to remain forever.

In the following year, 1705, the crown made a notable grant to the corporation, by which what had been known as the "Dominie's Bouwery," then as the "Duke's Farm," next as the "King's Farm," and finally as the "Queen's," was given, granted, ratified, and confirmed to "the Corporation known as the parish of Trinity Church to

have and to hold forever." And this is all of charter or legislation which bears on any question connected with the rights and franchises of Trinity Church prior to the Revolution.

The history of the parish and that of the city of New York run on side by side. The growth of the Church was steady, and the inroads on the domain of dissent were formidable. In those times religious differences entered largely into the political questions of the day; once, indeed, society appeared to be arrayed in two opposing camps, the church party being headed by the de Lanceys, the Presbyterians rallying to the standard of the Livingstons. For a long time I was at a loss to account for the existence of a bitter feeling against Trinity Church, which I found among good people of my own acquaintance, and which I could trace to no sufficient cause; it seemed to be rather an inveterate prejudice than a sentiment capable of rational explanation. But, after study of the history of times long past, I have become convinced that the feeling now referred to, and which they still entertain, is, in fact, an old hereditary tradition, having its roots in ancient controversies, and having been handed down from father to son.

The enlargement of the parish church, to which reference has already been made, was ordered by the vestry, August 9, 1720, but not fully carried out until 1737; the work consisting of a series of successive enlargements, alterations, and additions, for which orders are found running through the records of the years intervening between those dates. The edifice, when thus finally completed, appears to have been regarded as one of the most ornate and beautiful in America: it was supplied with valuable plate and rich furniture, and handsomely ornamented, according to the taste of the day. The church-yard adjoining it is noted for the number of persons of rank and title connected with the colonial government whose bodies were laid within its sacred precincts.

Mr. Vesey was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Barclay, D.D., already favorably known to the community as a zealous and successful missionary to the Mohawk Indians. He had the call to the rectorship under consideration for three months, being reluctant to leave his old work, and uncertain as to the direction in which duty and conscience called him. He held the office of rector nearly eighteen years, from October, 1746, until August 20, 1764, — the day of his death. That he never lost his interest in his old mission work may be inferred from the fact that in 1762 we find him supervising a new edition of the Prayer-Book in the Indian tongue. That he was held in high esteem for his personal character, attainments, and standing in the Church is equally evident from the fact that Archbishop Secker wrote to the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, recommending him for his degree of Doctor in Divinity. The Rev. Samuel Auchmuty was Dr. Barclay's efficient assistant, and, in time, succeeded him in the office of rector.

The rapid growth of the parish made it necessary to erect a chapel of ease, subsidiary to the parish church, for additional accommodation of the people. St. George's was the first chapel of that class; it was built in the "Montgomerie Ward," a part of the city subsequently

known as "the Swamp," by which name it is still spoken of among our old-fashioned people. The architect was Robert Crommelin, a member of the vestry of Trinity Church. The edifice was 92 feet in length, exclusive of the chancel, and 72 feet wide, and had a steeple 175 feet high. It was opened for divine service, July 1, 1752, on which occasion there was a procession from the city hall to the chapel, consisting of the rector, assistant rector, church-wardens and vestry, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council of the city, the clergy of the town and neighborhood, many gentlemen of distinction, and the charity school with their school-master at their head. St. George's chapel was set off and endowed as a separate parish church in 1812.

The parish continuing to grow rapidly, not only by the arrival of members of our communion from the old country, but also by the adhesion of proselytes from the Dutch churches, who came over in considerable numbers, it became necessary to provide a second chapel of ease. This was done under the administration of Dr. Auchmuty, when St. Paul's chapel was built. The erection of this church began during the spring of 1764, and on the 30th day of October, 1766, it was first opened for public service. Its architect was McBean, a Scotchman, and probably a pupil of Gibbs, who built the well-known and much admired "St. Martin's in the Fields," in London.

This venerable chapel is still standing intact, on its ancient site, having survived all vicissitudes and changes, and having on two or three occasions narrowly escaped destruction by fire. It is now the only relic of the old colonial times remaining in use in the city of New York, and, as such, is held in reverent regard, not only by the corporation, its natural custodians, but also by the people in general. The history of St. Paul's abounds in striking and interesting scenes. The opening ceremonies, amounting to a solemn dedication, though not to a consecration, — as there was no bishop here to perform that rite, — were conducted with great dignity, Sir Henry Moore representing the home government; and it was a noteworthy feature of the services that "a suitable band of Music, vocal and instrumental, was introduced." The rector acted as commissary of the Bishop of London, and preached a sermon from the text, Exodus iii. 5. In the year 1866, during the centennial commemoration, which lasted three days, the same sermon was read by the Rev. Edward Y. Higbee, D.D., from a copy printed by Hugh Gaine, "at his bookstore and printing-office at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square." That precious pamphlet, long time in the possession of the Rev. Samuel Roosevelt Johnson, D.D., was presented to the writer, as a memorial of the occasion on which it was preached in the same pulpit after a lapse of a hundred years.

Many changes have been made in the interior of St. Paul's chapel; so many, in fact, that it would not now be recognized as the same place if one of the worshippers of the olden time could return to it. For these greatly regretted alterations our predecessors are responsible, not we; the worst of them, including the removal of the old canopied pews, the filling up of the side door, the change of the robing rooms from the east to the west end, the destruction of the library room, the filling up of the alleys with pews, and other similar altera-

tions, were made long before our day. The chapel, twenty-five years ago, was but the shadow of its ancient self; the work since done has greatly improved it, and brought it more into harmony with ecclesiastical order and beauty; while the argument against changing ancient things had lost its force, because the most interesting and characteristic of those ancient things had vanished long before.

Externally the old chapel remains almost precisely as when completed by the erection of the steeple, about the end of the last century. Within it many memorable scenes have been witnessed. There was divine service held on the occasion of the inauguration of General Washington as first President of the United States. The civil ceremonies took place in the gallery of the City Hall, on Wall street, after which, the President, attended by the whole company, proceeded on foot to St. Paul's chapel, where they were received by Bishop Provoost, who, with suitable religious acts of worship, invoked the divine blessing on the first ruler of the new nation. On Wednesday, July 8, 1818, the body of General Richard Montgomery, who was killed at Quebec forty-two years before, was buried with military honors within the precincts of the chapel, the service being read by Bishop Hobart, and on the 9th of September, 1824, La Fayette attended a "grand concert of sacred music," given in St. Paul's chapel by the New York Choral Society, as a tribute of respect to him upon his return to America.

The storm of the American Revolution beat heavily on the old parish. On the occupation of the city of New York by the revolutionary army, in 1775, the clergy were in imminent danger, and their flocks were harassed. In the great fire, in the month of September in the following year, the parish church, the two charity school-houses, the rector's dwelling-house, the valuable library, and the parish registers were destroyed; the loss to the corporation being estimated at £22,200, besides the loss of the annual rents of two hundred and forty-six lots of ground, the buildings which stood on them having been consumed. The rector, Dr. Auchmuty, died on the 4th of March following, at the age of fifty-five years, his death having been hastened by the distresses and calamities of the period.

On the reoccupation of the city by the royal forces, September 16, 1776, St. Paul's chapel was opened again for public worship, after having been closed by order of the vestry during previous weeks of commotion and dangerous excitement. The sermon on that occasion was preached by the Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, then chaplain to the British Admiral Lord Howe, and afterwards Bishop of Meath.

Upon the death of Dr. Auchmuty the Rev. Charles Inglis was elected his successor, and inducted by Governor Tryon, the ceremony required by the law being performed amid the ruins of the parish church. The new rector was an uncompromising loyalist; the brief term of his service was darkened by trials of all kinds, including repeated domestic bereavements. Being included in the Act of Attainder, in 1779, he was compelled to leave the country on the final establishment of the new government. His resignation of the office of rector is dated November 1, 1783, and immediately thereafter he sailed for Halifax, the place selected as his new home.

The history of the parish subsequent to the Revolution is so well known as to call for no more than a brief notice. The Rev. Benjamin Moore was chosen rector on the resignation of Mr. Inglis. He did not enter into the office until seventeen years afterwards, in consequence of the proceedings relating to the corporation during the change in the government. An act of the Legislature of the State of New York was passed, April 17, 1784, by which such alterations were made in the charter as were necessary to bring it into conformity with the constitution of the State and the political changes which had taken place. The church-wardens and vestry-men appointed by that act, disregarding the call of Mr. Moore, proceeded to elect the Rev. Samuel Provoost to be rector of Trinity Church. The choice was in accordance with the wishes of the "Whig Episcopalians," amongst whom Mr. Provoost stood in high favor. Ten years before the Revolution he was appointed an assistant minister of the parish; but on the outbreak of the war he withdrew and remained in retirement, it being well understood that he was in full sympathy with the revolutionary cause. Mr. Provoost received many honorable marks of the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries; he was rector of the parish, regent of the University of the State of New York, and chaplain to the Continental Congress; he was also chosen to be the first bishop of the diocese of New York, and consecrated February 4, 1787, at Lambeth, together with Dr. William White, bishop-elect of Pennsylvania. Bishop Provoost was subsequently elected chaplain to the Senate of the United States. He was rector of Trinity Church for nearly seventeen years. Under his administration the parish church was rebuilt on the same site, but on a larger and more imposing scale. In consequence of failing health he resigned his office of rector, September 8, 1800, and was thereupon succeeded by the Rev. Benjamin Moore, who seventeen years previously had been elected to that place.

On the death of Bishop Moore, February 27, 1816, the Right Rev. John Henry Hobart was elected his successor. The office having become vacant by his death, September 12, 1830, the Rev. William Berrian, D.D., was chosen to supply the vacancy. He held his office till the 7th day of November, 1862, on which day he departed this life, and on the 10th of the same month the present incumbent was elected to fill his place.

The growth of the parish, from the time of its foundation down to the present day, has been steady and uninterrupted, though not undisturbed by adversaries. Mention has already been made of the erection of St. George's and St. Paul's chapels. A third chapel, St. John's, was commenced A.D. 1803, and completed A.D. 1807, and a fourth, Trinity chapel, was commenced A.D. 1851, completed A.D. 1856, and consecrated April 17, 1855, before it was quite finished. In addition to these chapels, which form a part of the old parochial system, two more have been erected under the provisions of an Act of the Legislature passed April 23, 1867.

St. John's chapel was regarded in its day as one of the chief ornaments of the city. It faced on St. John's Park, a charming pleasure-ground, in which grew noble trees, representing, it is said, every

variety found in our forests. The park was surrounded by the residences of the wealthiest and most fashionable society of New York, and a large proportion of the persons of that class belonged to our communion. Next to the chapel on the north stood the rectory, a very large house, first occupied by Bishop Hobart, then by Dr. Berrian, and after his death by the writer of this paper. Externally the aspect of the region has changed so completely that no former inhabitant would know it again. The park was sold in 1867, with the reluctant consent of the corporation of Trinity Church; the noble trees were felled by the sacrilegious axe, and, where the park once bloomed, a hideous freight depot now spreads mud, dust, and horrid din through earth and air. Yet, still the old chapel remains, and now it forms the centre of a line of institutions devoted to good works. The rectory on the north is now a parish infirmary, with some thirty beds for our poor sick; while the house on the south, recently acquired by the corporation, is occupied by a daily parochial school, Sunday-schools, and Bible-classes, and by the clergy in divers branches of their work.

Trinity chapel, on Twenty-fifth street, near Broadway, was built on the site of an old farm and vegetable garden, well-remembered by the writer, who, when a boy, used to be taken there by his grandfather, in the course of the drive on bright spring mornings. When the chapel was built there were very few houses on the street, while the street itself was not yet paved. Now it is so far down-town that there is need of an additional chapel not less than a mile or a mile and a half above it. Trinity chapel was built by the veteran architect, Richard Upjohn; its cost was not far from a quarter of a million of dollars, although the resolution of the vestry providing for its erection limited the outlay for the purpose to \$75,000. It remains, with very little alteration, as when consecrated; although additional buildings have been erected, in connection with it, for the accommodation of the clergy, the choir, the schools, and the charitable organizations of the congregation, which are numerous and efficient.

In addition to the parish church and these three chapels, which furnish the voting constituency of the parish, two have been erected, under the provisions of a special act of the legislature, as mission chapels for people of the poorer class, and in quarters of the city where it was supposed that such accommodation was particularly needed. St. Chrysostom's is the first of the chapels now referred to. The poor people, whose children belonged to the Sunday-schools of Trinity chapel, but who could not be seated in that chapel, the pews being all rented, were invited to worship in a room in the school-house; but very soon, the number increasing, a hall was hired at the north-west corner of Sixth avenue and Thirty-fourth street, where, under the Rev. Thomas H. Sill, a congregation of good size was soon formed. The work rapidly outgrew its narrow bounds, and it was resolved to erect suitable buildings for the several departments of a complete church mission. The corner-stone of St. Chrysostom's chapel was laid by the Right Rev. Bishop Potter, assisted by the Right Rev. Bishop Neely, on the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, October 28, 1868; the first service was held in the chapel, November 7, 1869; it was subsequently completed,

and consecrated October 30, 1879. In addition to the church proper there is a large mission building containing everything required in the varied and extensive work for which the clergy and congregation have acquired a well-deserved praise throughout the parish.

St. Augustine's is also a free mission chapel, of the same class as St. Chrysostom's. It grew out of a work commenced in a small way, without authority, but on their own account, by the zealous clergy of St. John's chapel, in an obscure hall in the Bowery. The enterprise would have failed but for the interposition of the vestry, who took up the work when at the point of extinction, and transferred it to a better place in the same thoroughfare. The temporary quarters of the chapel of St. Augustine were at No. 262 Bowery, where four lofts of a five-story warehouse served as chapel, schools, and residence of a missionary. Meanwhile a permanent site was secured, by the purchase of an old Quaker burial-ground on East Houston street, near the Bowery, and there, on the 2d day of September, 1876, was laid the corner-stone of that immense structure, including a church and mission-house, which now stands a mighty rampart of religion, morals, and beneficence against the waves of vice, indifference, and crime. The church was consecrated on the Feast of St. Andrew, Nov. 30, 1877, and the growth of the work has been such as to justify the expectations of its projectors.

In addition to these churches there is included in the parish the chapel of St. Cornelius, on Governor's Island. That chapel was built, more than twenty years ago, by the free-will offerings of churchmen of this city, through the exertions of the Rev. John McVickar, S.T.D., U.S. chaplain at Fort Columbus. About the year 1866 Governor's Island was dropped from the list of army posts for which chaplains are provided. The post-chaplaincy having been discontinued, and the chapel, erected by churchmen, being thus in jeopardy, the corporation of Trinity Church made the following proposition to the War Department: That if the chapel should be placed at their disposal and under their control they would maintain a clergyman there, at their own cost, who should perform all the duties of post-chaplain. The proposition was accepted, August, 1868; and, in consequence, the chapel of St. Cornelius is included among the chapels of this parish.

MONOGRAPH VI.

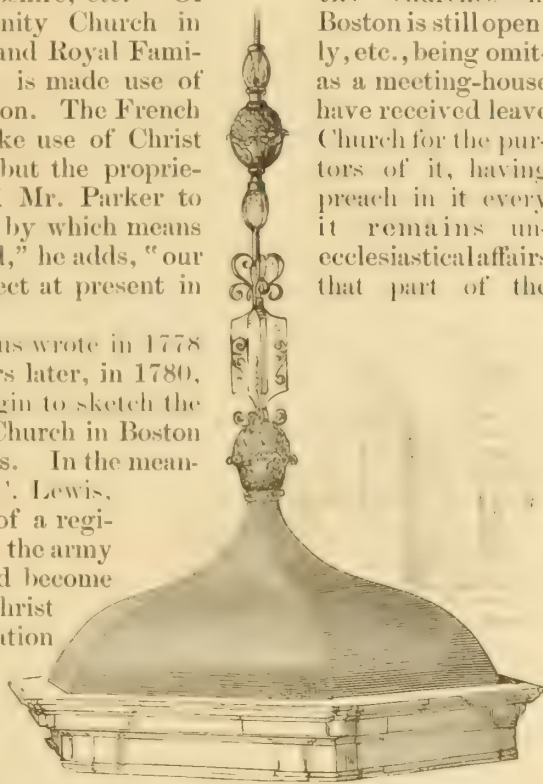
A CENTURY OF CHURCH GROWTH IN BOSTON.

By THE REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D.,

Rector of Trinity Church.

THE Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks was a minister of the Church of England, and a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, settled at Marblehead, in Massachusetts. In the year 1778 he wrote to the society an account of "The State of the Episcopal Churches in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, etc." Of Boston he wrote: "Trinity Church in the prayers for the King and Royal Family. The King's Chapel is made use of by a dissenting congregation. The French from the Congress to make use of Christ poses of their worship; but the propriety of this, persuaded Mr. Parker to Sunday in the afternoon, by which means touched. . . . In a word," he adds, "our wear a very gloomy aspect at present in world."

What Mr. Weeks thus wrote in 1778 was mainly true two years later, in 1780, at the point where I begin to sketch the history of the Episcopal Church in Boston for the last hundred years. In the meantime the Rev. Stephen C. Lewis, who had been chaplain of a regiment of light dragoons in the army of General Burgoyne, had become the regular minister of Christ Church; but the congregation of the Old South were still worshipping in the King's Chapel, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker was in charge of Trinity. These were the three Episcopal parishes in Boston in the year 1780: the King's Chapel, with its house of worship on Tremont street, Christ Church in Salem street,



SOUNDING-BOARD. KING'S CHAPEL.¹

¹ From Rev. Henry W. Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," by kind permission of the author.

and Trinity Church in Summer street. The King's Chapel had been in existence since 1689, Christ Church since 1723, and Trinity Church since 1734.

It is not difficult to see what it was that made "our ecclesiastical affairs" wear such a "gloomy aspect in this part of the world" in the days which immediately followed the Revolution. To the old Puritan dislike of episcopacy had been added the distrust of the English Church as the church of the oppressors of the colonies. Up to the beginning of the Revolution the Episcopal Church in Boston had been counted an intruder. It had never been the church of the people, but had largely lived upon the patronage and favor of the English governors. The outbreak of the revolution had found the Rev. Dr. Henry Caner rector of King's Chapel, and the Rev. Dr. William Walter rector of Trinity. Both of these clergymen went to Halifax with the British troops when Boston was evacuated in 1776. In one of the record books of King's Chapel Dr. Caner made the following entry : —

An unnatural rebellion of the colonies against His Majesty's government obliged the loyal part of his subjects to evacuate their dwellings and substance, and take refuge in Halifax, London, and elsewhere; by which means the public worship at King's Chapel became suspended, and is likely to remain so until it shall please God, in the course of his providence, to change the hearts of the rebels, or give success to His Majesty's arms for suppressing the rebellion. Two boxes of church plate and a silver christening basin were left in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Breynton at Halifax, to be delivered to me or my order, agreeable to his note receipt in my hands.

At Christ Church the Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, Jr., resigned the rectorship on Easter Tuesday, 1775, meaning to go to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire; but political tumults making that impossible, he remained in Boston and performed the duty of chaplain to some of the regiments until after the evacuation.

Mather Byles

At Trinity alone was there any real attempt to meet the new condition of things by changes in the Church's worship. The parts of the liturgy having reference to the king and the royal family were omitted, and this was the only sign which the Episcopal Church in Boston made of any willingness to accommodate herself to the patriotic feeling of the times; and, even with her mutilated liturgy, the associations of her worship with the hated power of England still remained. No doubt the few people who gathered in Trinity Church during the Revolution were those whose sympathy with the cause of the struggling colonies was weakest and most doubtful. As one looks at her position, when the war is closed, he sees clearly that before the Episcopal Church can become a powerful element in American life she has before her, first, a struggle for existence; and then another struggle, hardly less difficult, to separate herself from English influences and standards, and to throw herself heartily into the interests and hopes of the new nation.

Of how those two struggles began in the country at large, when the revolutionary war was over and our independence was established,

there is not room here to speak except very briefly. It was the sprouting of a tree which had been cut down to the very roots. The earliest sign of life was a meeting at New Brunswick, in New Jersey, in 1784, when thirteen clergymen and laymen, from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, came together to see what could be made of the fragments of the Church of England which were scattered through the now independent colonies. The same year there was a



KING'S CHAPEL.

ERECTED IN THE YEAR 1749.

meeting held in Boston, where seven clergymen of Massachusetts and Rhode Island consulted on the condition and prospects of their Church. The next year there was a larger meeting held in Philadelphia,—what may be called the first Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States,—when delegates from seven of the thirteen States were assembled. This was on Sept. 27, 1785. Evidently the fragments of the Church had life in them, and a tendency to reach toward each other and seek a corporate existence. From the beginning, too, there evidently was in many parts of the Church a certain sense of opportunity, a feeling that now was the time to seek some enlargement of the church's standards which would not probably occur again. Under this feeling, when the time for the revision of the liturgy arrived, the Athanasian Creed was dropped

out of the prayer-book. The other changes made were mostly such as the new political condition of the country called for. These changes were definitely fixed in the Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1789.

But before that time another most important question had been settled. There could be no Episcopal Church in this country without bishops, and as yet there was not a bishop of the Episcopal Church in the country. In the colonial condition various efforts had been made to secure the consecration of bishops for America, but political fears and prejudices had always prevented their success; but no sooner was independence thoroughly established than a more determined effort was begun. In 1783 the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury was sent abroad, by some of the clergymen of Connecticut, to endeavor to secure consecration to the episcopate to which they had elected him. After fruitless attempts to induce the authorities of the Church of England to give him what he sought, he finally had recourse to the non-juring Church in Scotland, and was consecrated at Aberdeen, on Nov. 14, 1784. He

John C. Ogden

returned at once to America and began to do a bishop's work. The first ordination of an Episcopal minister in Boston, which must have been

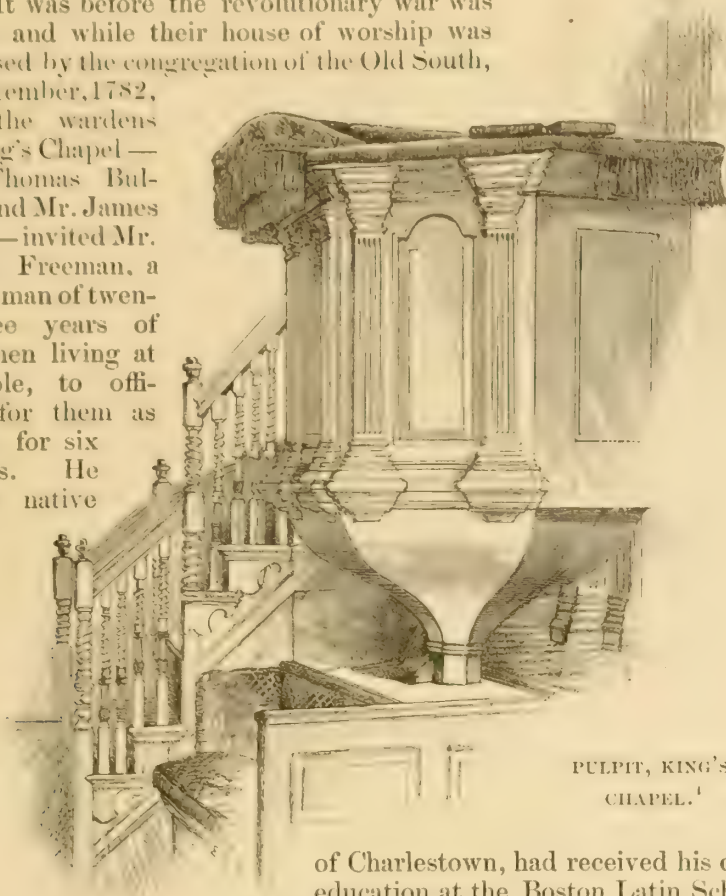
an occasion of some interest in the Puritan city, was on March 27, 1789, when the Rev. John C. Ogden was ordained in Trinity Church by Bishop Seabury.

Meanwhile, farther south, a similar attempt was being made to secure episcopal consecration from the Church of England, and with better success. On Feb. 4, 1787, the Rev. Dr. William White, of Philadelphia, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost, of New York, were consecrated bishops in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. Thus the Episcopal Church in the United States found itself fully organized for its work. On May 7, 1797, the Rev. Dr. Edward Bass, of Newburyport, was consecrated in Christ Church, Philadelphia, to be bishop of the diocese of Massachusetts; and the churches of Boston became, of course, subjects of his episcopal care.

It must have been a striking, as it was certainly a novel, scene, when Bishop Bass, on his return to Boston after his consecration, was welcomed by the Massachusetts Convention, which was then in session. He was conducted in his robes from the vestry of Trinity Church to the chancel, where he was addressed in behalf of the members of the Convention by the Rev. Dr. Walter, now returned from his exile in Nova Scotia, and made Rector of Christ Church. The bishop responded "in terms of great modesty, propriety, and affection." Some time after, the Episcopal churches in Rhode Island, and subsequently those in New Hampshire, placed themselves under his jurisdiction.

It had not been without reluctance, and a jealous unwillingness to surrender their independence, that the churches in Massachusetts had joined their brethren in the other States to accomplish the reorganization of their Church: but in the end two of the Boston churches became identified with the new body. To Dr. Parker, indeed, of Trinity

Church, a considerable degree of influence is to be ascribed in harmonizing difficulties, and making possible a union between the two efforts after organized life which had begun in Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Before, however, the general Constitution of the Episcopal Church was agreed upon, in Philadelphia, in 1789, the oldest of the three parishes in Boston had changed its faith and its associations, and begun its own separate and peculiar life. It was before the revolutionary war was ended, and while their house of worship was still used by the congregation of the Old South, in September, 1782, that the wardens of King's Chapel — Dr. Thomas Bulfinch and Mr. James Ivers — invited Mr. James Freeman, a young man of twenty-three years of age, then living at Walpole, to officiate for them as reader for six months. He was a native



PULPIT, KING'S
CHAPEL.¹

of Charlestown, had received his early education at the Boston Latin School, and had graduated at Harvard College in 1777. At the Easter meeting, April 21, 1783, he was chosen pastor of the chapel. The invitation, in reply to which he accepted the pastorate, said to him: "The proprietors consent to such alterations in the service as are made by the Rev. Dr. Parker; and leave the use of the Athanasian Creed at your discretion."

The new pastor and his people soon grew warmly attached to one another; and when, in the course of the next two years, Mr. Freeman told his parishioners that his opinions had undergone such a change

¹ From Rev. Henry W. Foote's "Annals of King's Chapel," by kind permission of the author.

that he found some parts of the liturgy inconsistent with the faith which he had come to hold, and offered them an amended form of prayer for use at the chapel, the proprietors voted, Feb. 20, 1785, that it was necessary to make some alterations in some parts of the liturgy, and appointed a committee to report such alterations. On March 28 the committee were ready with their report; and on June 19 the proprietors decided, by a vote of twenty, to seven, "that the common prayer, as it now stands amended, be adopted by this church, as the form of prayer to be used in future by this church and congregation." The alterations in the liturgy were, for the most part, such as involved the omission of the doctrine of the Trinity. They were principally those of the celebrated English divine, Dr. Samuel Clarke. The amended prayer-book was used in the chapel until 1811, when it was again revised, and still other changes made.

Thus the oldest of the Episcopal churches had become the first of the Unitarian churches of America; and now the question was how she still stood toward the sister churches with whom she had heretofore been in communion. Her people still counted themselves Episcopalians. They wanted to be part of the new Episcopal Church of the United States. Many of them were more or less uneasy at the lack of ordination for their minister. In 1786 Mr. Freeman applied to Bishop Seabury to be ordained; but Bishop Seabury, after asking the advice of his clergy, did not think fit to confer orders upon him on such a profession of faith as he thought proper to give, which was no more than that he believed the Scriptures. Mr. Freeman then went to see Dr. Provoost at New York. The doctor, who was not yet a bishop, gave Mr. Freeman some reason to hope that he would comply with his wishes; but in the next year, when the wardens of the chapel sent a letter to Dr. Provoost, who in the mean time had received consecration, "to inquire whether ordination for the Rev.

James Freeman

Mr. Freeman can be obtained on terms agreeable to him and to the proprietors of this church," the bishop answered that, after consulting with his council of advice, he and they

thought that a matter of such importance ought to be reserved for the consideration of the General Convention.

This ended the effort for Episcopal ordination, and on Nov. 18, 1787, after the usual Sunday-evening service, the senior warden of the King's Chapel, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, acting for the congregation, ordained Mr. Freeman to be "rector, minister, priest, pastor, teaching elder, and public teacher" of their society. Of course so bold and so unusual an act excited violent remonstrance. A protest was sent forth by certain of the original proprietors of the chapel, to which the wardens issued a reply. Another protest came from Dr. Bass, of Newburyport; Dr. Parker, of Trinity Church; Mr. Montague, of Christ Church; and Mr. Ogden, of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire; but from

the day of Mr. Freeman's ordination the King's Chapel ceased to be counted among the Episcopal churches of Boston.¹ There still remained some questions to be settled with regard to the bequest of Mr. William Price, the founder of the Price lectureship, of which the King's Chapel had been the original administrator. These questions lingered until 1824, when they were finally disposed of by the arrange-



TREMONT STREET, LOOKING NORTH, ABOUT 1800.²

ment between the King's Chapel and Trinity Church, under which these lectures are still provided by the latter.

It was a severe blow to the Church, which was with such difficulty struggling back to life, that one of the strongest of her very few parishes should thus reject her creed and abandon her fellowship. The whole transaction bears evidence of the confusion of the ecclesiastical life of those distracted days. The spirit of Unitarianism was already present in many of the Congregational churches of New England. It was because in the King's Chapel that spirit met the clear terms of a stated and required liturgy that that church was the first to

¹ See Dr. Peabody's chapter in the "Memorial History of Boston."

² This view of Tremont Street, looking towards King's Chapel, follows a water-color presented to the Public Library in 1875. A letter from Mr. B. P. Shillaber, dated Mar. 17, 1875, on the files of the Trustees of the Library, says it was painted by a daughter of General Knox, and belonged to the late Miss Catherine Put-

nam; and was painted certainly before 1806, and perhaps about 1800. The arch in the Common fence is where the present West-street gate is.

A view from the other end of the vista, showing King's Chapel as looked at from the north, and taken about 1830, is given in Greenwood's "History of King's Chapel," 1833.

set itself avowedly upon the basis of the new belief. The attachment to the liturgy was satisfied by the retention of so much of its well-known form; and the high character of Mr. Freeman, and the profound respect which his sincerity and piety and learning won in all the town, did a great deal to strengthen the establishment of the belief to which his congregation gave their assent.¹

Christ Church and Trinity Church alone were left — two vigorous parishes — to keep alive for many years the fire of the Episcopal Church in Boston. In 1792 Dr. Walter returned to Boston, and became Rector of Christ Church, where he remained until his death, in 1800. In the same year (1792) the Rev. John Sylvester John Gardiner became the assistant of Dr. Parker, at Trinity Church. Dr. Gardiner's ministry is one of those which give strong character to the life of the Episcopal Church here during the century. Born in Wales, and in large part educated in England, he was the true Anglican of the eighteenth century. For thirty-seven years he was the best-known and most influential of the Episcopal ministers of Boston. His broad and finished scholarship, his strong and positive manhood, his genial hospitality, his fatherly affection, and his eloquence and wit, made him through all those years a marked and powerful person, not merely in the Church, but in the town.²

After the year 1790 the diocesan Conventions of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts became regular and constant. They were generally held in Boston, — their religious services mostly in Trinity Church, and their business sessions usually in Concert Hall. The business which they had to do was very small, but every year seems to show a slightly increasing strength. In 1795 the Rev. Dr. Parker and Mr. William Tudor were sent as delegates to the General Convention which was to meet in Philadelphia in the following September; so that the Church in Massachusetts had now become entirely a part of the General Church throughout the land. In 1797 a committee was sent to Samuel Adams, the governor, to ask him not to appoint the annual fast day in such a way that it should fall in Easter week, in order that it may not "wound the feelings of so many of the citizens of this Commonwealth as compose the body of the Protestant Episcopalians." In various ways one traces the slow growth of the Church; yet still it was a very little body. In 1800, at the meeting of the Convention of the diocese, "in the library in Franklin place," it was only five clergymen, of whom one was the bishop, and six laymen that made up the assembly.

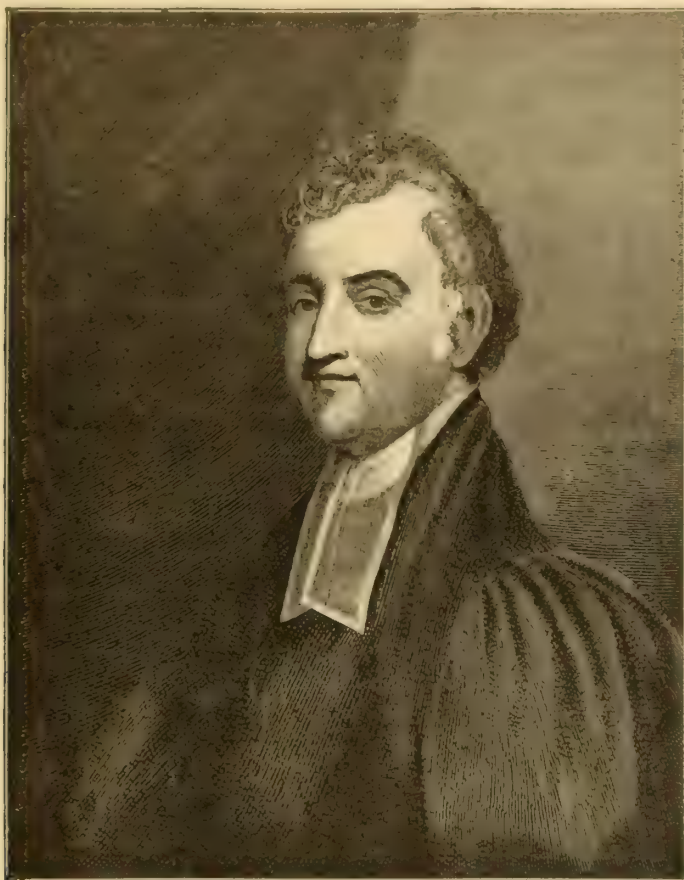
In 1803 Bishop Bass died, after an administration which was full of good sense and piety, but which had not enough energy or positive character to give the Church a strong position, or to secure much promise for its future. The only other man who had stood at his post

¹ Twice since the chapel changed its liturgy and ordained its own minister the service of the Episcopal Church has been held by Episcopal clergymen within its venerable walls. The first occasion was in 1858, when for two Sundays the Church of the Advent, whose building was being repaired, was kindly given the use of the chapel for its services. The second was in 1873, when,

after the great fire in which Trinity Church was destroyed, the annual series of Price Lectures was, by the cordial invitation of the minister and wardens, preached in the chapel by the bishop of the diocese of Massachusetts and various Episcopal clergymen of Boston.

² See a memoir of Dr. Gardiner in Quincy's "History of the Boston Athenæum."

during the Revolution, — the man to whom, as his successor, Dr. Gardiner, said of him in his funeral sermon, "must doubtless be attributed the preservation of the Episcopal Church in this town," — Dr. Samuel Parker, of Trinity Church, was chosen to be the successor of Bishop Bass; but he died on Dec. 6, 1804, before he had performed any of the duties of his office, and the diocese was once more without a bishop. Indeed, in these early days it was not by any special over-



J. S. J. GARDINER, D.D.

sight or inspiration of the bishops that the Episcopal Church was growing strong. It was by the long and faithful pastorships of the ministers of her parishes. Such a pastorship had been that of Dr. Parker. For thirty-one years Trinity Church enjoyed his care. "I well remember him," writes Dr. Lowell, of the West Church, "as a tall, well-proportioned man, with a broad, cheerful, and rubicund face, and flowing hair; of fine powers of conversation, and easy and affable in his manners. He was given to hospitality, and went about doing good." He,

too, was a man of the eighteenth century, not of the nineteenth; but he was thoroughly the man for his own time, and the Episcopal Church in Boston will always be his debtor. In the year after Bishop Parker died, another of the long and useful pastorates of Boston began in the succession of the Rev. Asa Eaton to the rectorship of Christ Church, where he remained until 1829.

It was not until 1811 that it was found practicable to unite the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts with the same Church in Rhode Island and New Hampshire, under the care of the Right Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, who was consecrated bishop of what was called the Eastern diocese. With Bishop Griswold a new period of the life of the Episcopal Church in Boston may be considered to begin, — a period of growth and enterprise. Up to this time the Church had been struggling for life, and gradually separating itself from the English traditions which had haunted its thought and hampered its usefulness. It had been a weak, and in some sense a foreign, Church. Now it had grown to considerable strength. Its ministers were true Americans. It prayed for the Governors and Congress of the Union with entire loyalty. It took, indeed, no active part in the speculations or the controversies of the day. Its ministers were not forward in theological or political discussion. It rested with entire satisfaction upon its completed standards, and contributed no active help to the settlement of the theological tumults which were raging around it; but it was doing good and growing strong. It had won for itself the respect and confidence of the community; and when the first returns are made from parishes to the diocesan Convention in 1812, the two Boston churches report a considerable number of communicants. Christ Church has sixty, and Trinity Church has one hundred and fifty, and on the great festivals as many as three hundred.

The second period, the period of growth and of some enterprise, may be said to extend from 1811 to 1843. The earliest addition to the number of churches, which had remained the same ever since the departure of King's Chapel, was in the foundation of St. Matthew's Church, in what was then the little district of South Boston. That picturesque peninsula, which now teems with crowded life, had in 1816 a population of seven or eight hundred. In that year the services of the Episcopal Church were begun by a devoted layman, Mr. John H. Cotting; and two years later a church building was consecrated there by Bishop Griswold. The parish has passed through many vicissitudes and dangers since that day; but it has always retained its life and done good service to the multitudes who have gradually gathered around it.

In 1819 another new parish began to appear, formed principally out of Trinity Church; and on June 3, 1820, the new St. Paul's Church, in Tremont street, was consecrated by Bishop Griswold, assisted by Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut. The first rector of the new parish was the Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, a native of Connecticut, an ecclesiastic of sincere devotion to his Church, and a scholar of excellent attainments. St. Paul's Church made a notable and permanent addition to the power of episcopacy in the city. Its Grecian

temple seemed to the men who built it to be a triumph of architectural beauty and of fitness for the church's services. "The interior of St. Paul's," so it was written while the church was new, "is remarkable for its simplicity and beauty; and the materials of which the building is constructed give it an intrinsic value and an effect which have not been produced by any of the classic models that have been attempted of bricks and plaster in other cities. The erection of this church may be considered the commencement of an era of the art in Boston." On its building committee, among other well-known men, were George Sullivan, Daniel Webster, David Sears, and William Shimmin. When it was finished it had cost \$83,000. The parish leaped at once into strength; and in 1821 it reports that "it has ninety communicants, and that between six and seven hundred persons attend its services." In 1824, when Boston had reached a population of fifty-eight thousand, the four Episcopal churches which it contained numbered in all six hundred and thirty-four communicants; certainly not a great number, but certainly an appreciable proportion of the religious community.



FRANKLIN PLACE.

In 1827 Dr. Alonzo Potter succeeded Dr. Jarvis at St. Paul's; and he brought with him that broad, strong intellect and noble character and earnest zeal which made him all his life one of the very strongest powers in the Episcopal Church of the United States. In the same year the Rev. George W. Doane, who was afterward the successor of Dr. Gardiner at Trinity, came to be his assistant. These were both notable additions to the church's ministry in Boston. They were men of modern character; they put new life into the now well-established Church. The very dryness of the tree when it was brought hither from England had perhaps made it more possible to transplant it safely; but now that its roots were in the ground it was ready for more vigorous life. In quite different ways, with very dissimilar characters and habits of thought, Dr. Potter and Dr. Doane represent, not unfitly, the two great tendencies toward rational breadth and toward ecclesiastical complexity, which were beginning to take

possession not merely of this church, but of all the churches. The Rev. John H. Hopkins, who in 1831 became the assistant of Dr. Doane at Trinity, was another of the strong characters who showed the church's greater life.

Another name of great interest in the church history of Boston appeared in 1829, when the Rev. William Croswell came from Hartford, a young deacon just ordained, to succeed Dr. Eaton at Christ Church. Dr. Eaton's ministry had been long and useful. He had established, in 1815, the first Sunday-school which ever existed in this region. His parish had no doubt already begun to change with the changes of the city's population; but when Mr. Croswell came there it was still strong, and, though his most remarkable ministry was to be elsewhere than in Christ Church, his coming there marks the first advent to the city of one of the most interesting men who have ever filled its Episcopal pulpits.

The slow addition of parish after parish still went on. In 1830 Grace Church, which had been struggling with much difficulty into life, appears at last as an organized parish, and is admitted into union with the Convention. At first the new congregation worshipped in Piedmont square, and then in Bedford street. It was not until 1836 that its new stone church in Temple street was finished and consecrated. In Roxbury the first movement toward the establishment of an Episcopal Church began to appear as early as 1832; and, after worshipping for a while in a building called the Female High School, the new parish finished and occupied its sober, serious stone structure on St. James street in 1834. Its first rector was the Rev. M. A. De Wolf Howe, who is now the bishop of the diocese of Central Pennsylvania. While these new parishes were springing into life the old parish of Trinity was building its new house of worship, which was to stand until the great fire should sweep it away in 1872. The solid, battlemented Gothic church, which for so many years stood and frowned at the corner of Summer and Hawley streets, was consecrated on November 11, 1829. The next year Dr. Gardiner, for so many years the honored minister of the parish, died in England, where he was seeking his lost health, and Dr. Doane became Rector of Trinity Church in his stead.

In these years also another man appears for the first time, who is afterward to hold a peculiar place in the life of the Church in Boston; to be, indeed, the representative figure in its charitable work. It is the Rev. E. M. P. Wells, who is in charge of the House of Reformation Chapel at South Boston. Indeed, now for the first time there began to be a movement of the Episcopal Church toward the masses of the poor and helpless. Up to this time it had been almost altogether the church of the rich and influential. It had prided itself upon the respectability of its membership; but in 1837 St. Paul's, which had now passed into the earnest and fruitful ministry of the Rev. John S. Stone, had a mission-school of between sixty and eighty scholars on Boston neck, and there was a free church in the eleventh ward-room in Tremont street, and Mr. Wells had his work at South Boston. The

movements were not very strong nor very enduring, but they showed a new spirit, and were the promises of better things to come.

In 1840 there were the beginnings of two new parishes. The church at Jamaica Plain was as yet only a mission of St. James's in Roxbury, and was under the charge of the rector of that church till 1845, when it secured a minister of its own. In Charlestown a few Episcopalians met in the Congregational Church, and organized a parish under the charge of the Rev. Nathaniel T. Bent. The corner-stone of their build-



THE RUINS OF TRINITY CHURCH, 1872.

ing was laid in 1841, and the building was finished the next year. Both of these parishes were named St. John's.

Thus, in 1843, there were in what is now Boston seven Episcopal parishes. In that year Bishop Griswold died. When he was chosen bishop, in 1811, there were only two parishes; and, besides this increase in the number of organized churches, there had begun to be, as we have seen, some movement of missionary life. These thirty-two years had been a period of growth and quiet enterprise. There had been no marked stir of active thought; men had believed and taught much as their fathers had before them. There had been no disputes

or controversies about faith or worship; but all the time a fuller and fuller life was entering into the whole Church. The evangelical spirit, which was the controlling power of the Church of England, ruled the parishes here, and inspired the system which under the churchmanship of the eighteenth century had been so dead. Of all this time the type and representative is Bishop Griswold. He stands, indeed, at the head of the active history of the Church in Massachusetts, to give it, as it were, its true key-note, — somewhat as Bishop White stands at the start of the Episcopal Church in the United States at large; or, we may say, perhaps, as Washington stands at the beginning of the history of the nation. He had the quiet energy which the times needed, a deep and simple piety, a spirit of conciliation which was yet full of sturdy conscientiousness, a free but reverent treatment of church methods, a quiet humor, and abundance of "moderation, good sense, and careful equipoise." He had much of the repose and peace of the old Anglicanism, and yet was a true American. He had patience and hope and courage, sweetness and reasonableness in that happy conjunction which will make his memory, as the years go by, to be treasured as something sacred and saintly by the growing Church.

The third period in the history of the Episcopal Church in Boston, reaching from 1843 to about 1861, is not so peaceful as the last. Before Bishop Griswold died the signs of coming disagreement had appeared; and, even before it was felt in this country, a new and aggressive school of church life had taken definite shape in England. This is not the place to write the history of that great movement which, within less than fifty years, has so changed the life of the English Church. In 1833 the first of the so-named "Tracts for the Times" was issued at Oxford, and from then until 1841 the constant succession of treatises, devoted to the development of what became known as Tractarian or Puseyite ideas, kept alive a perpetual tumult in the Church of England. Led by such men as Dr. Pusey and John Henry Newman, the school attracted many of the ablest and most devoted of young Englishmen. The points which its theology magnified were the apostolical succession of the ministry, baptismal regeneration, the eucharistic sacrifice, and church tradition as a rule of faith. Connected with its doctrinal beliefs there came an increased attention to church ceremonies and an effort to surround the celebration of divine worship with mystery and splendor.

This great movement — this catholic revival, as its earnest disciples love to call it — was most natural. It was the protest and self-assertion of a partly neglected side of religious life; it was a reaction against some of the dominant forms of religious thought which had become narrow and exclusive; it was the effort of the Church to complete the whole sphere of her life; it was the expression of certain perpetual and ineradicable tendencies of the human soul. No wonder, therefore, that it was powerful. It made most enthusiastic devotees; it organized new forms of life; it created a new literature; it found its way into the halls of legislation; it changed the aspect of whole regions of education. No wonder, also, that in a place so free-minded and devout as Boston each one of the permanent tendencies

of religious thought and expression should sooner or later seek for admission. Partly in echo, therefore, of what was going on in England, and partly as the simultaneous result of the same causes which had produced the movement there, it was not many years before the same school arose in the Episcopal Church in America; and it showed itself first in Boston in the organization of the Church of the Advent. The first services of this new parish were held in an upper room at No. 13 Merrimac street, on Dec. 1, 1844. Shortly after, the congregation moved to a hall at the corner of Lowell and Causeway streets, and on Nov. 28, 1847, it took possession of a church in Green street, where it remained until 1864. Its rector was Dr. William Croswell, a man of most attractive character and beautiful purity of life. We have seen him already as minister of Christ Church from 1829 to 1840. After his resignation of that parish he became Rector of St. Peter's Church, Auburn, New York, whence he returned to Boston to undertake the new work of the Church of the Advent. The feature made most prominent by its founders with regard to the new parish was that the church was free. This, combined with its more frequent services, its daily public recitation of morning and evening prayer, an increased attention to the details of worship, the lights on its stone altar, and its use of altar-cloths, were the visible signs which distinguished it from the other parishes in town.

By this time the poor and friendless population of Boston had grown very large, and the minister and laity of the Church of the Advent, in common with those of the other parishes in the city, devoted much time and attention to their visitation and relief.

Bishop Griswold, before his death, had feared the influence of the new school of churchmanship, and had written a tract with the view of meeting what he thought to be its dangers; but the duty of dealing with the new state of things in Boston fell mostly to the lot of his successor. In the year 1842 the Rev. Dr. Manton Eastburn, Rector of the Church of the Ascension in New York, had become Rector of Trinity Church in Boston, and had been consecrated assistant-bishop of Massachusetts. That interesting ceremony took place in Trinity Church on Dec. 29, 1842. On Bishop Griswold's death, in 1843, Bishop Eastburn succeeded him; and in his Convention address of 1844 we find him already lifting up his voice against "certain views which, having made their appearance at various periods since the Reformation, and passed away, have been again brought forward in our time." These remonstrances are repeated almost yearly for the rest of the bishop's life. On Dec. 2, 1845, Bishop Eastburn issued a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, in which he recounts his disapprobation of "various offensive innovations upon the ancient usage of our Church," which he had witnessed on the occasion of a recent episcopal visit to the Church of the Advent. On Nov. 24, 1846, he writes to Dr. Croswell that he cannot visit the parish officially again until the offensive arrangements of the church are altered. These utterances of the bishop led to a long discussion and correspondence which lasted for the next ten years. On Nov. 9, 1851, Dr. Croswell died very suddenly, and Bishop Eastburn's discussion was

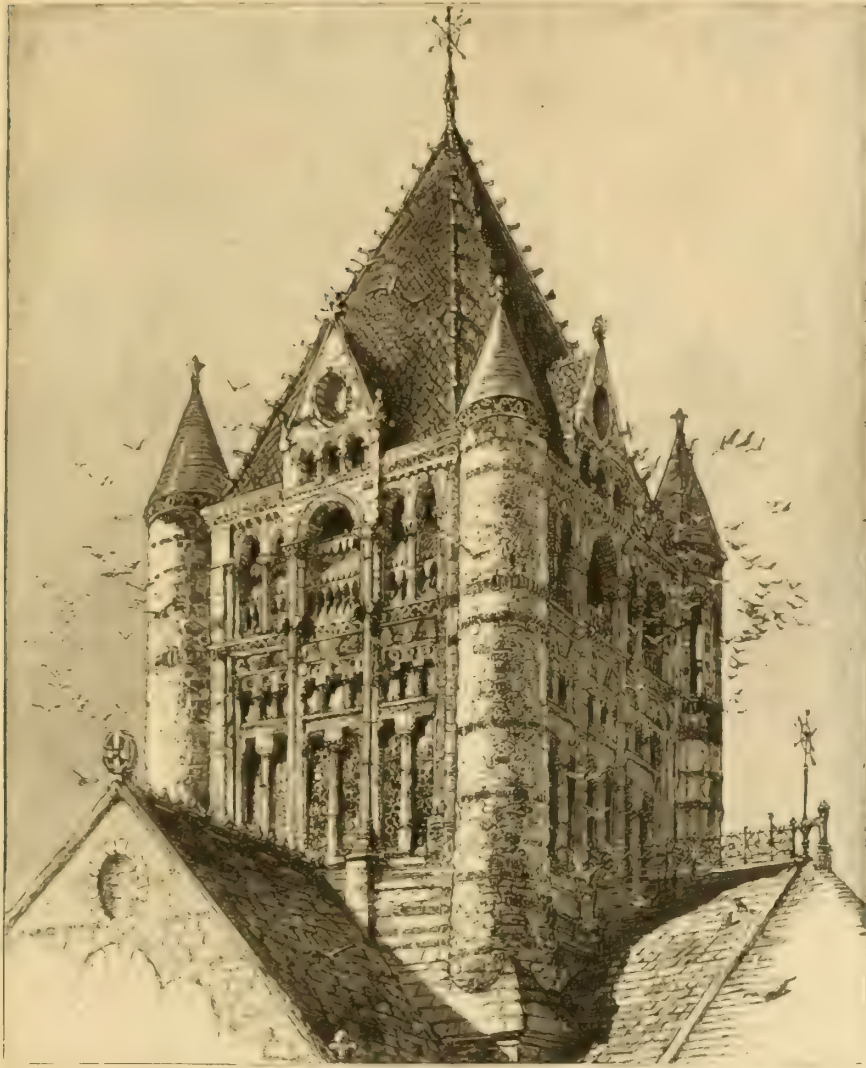
continued with his successor, the Right Rev. Horatio Southgate. It was not until Dec. 14, 1856, that the parish received again the visitation of its bishop; and in his report to the diocesan Convention in 1857 Bishop Eastburn explains the change in his action by saying that "the General Convention having passed, during its session in October last, a new canon on episcopal visitations, I appointed the above-mentioned day, shortly after the close of its sittings, for a visit to the Church of the Advent, for the purpose administering confirmation."

This closed the open conflict between the bishop and the parish. In 1864 the Church of the Advent moved from Green street to its present building in Bowdoin street, where it was served, after Bishop Southgate's departure in 1858, by the Rev. Dr. Bolles. Upon his resignation, in 1870, the parish passed into the ministry of members of an English society of mission priests, known as the Brotherhood of St. John the Evangelist, and in 1872 the Rev. Charles C. Grafton, a member of that society, became its rector. In 1868 it began the erection of a new church in Brimmer street, which is not yet completed. The peculiarities of faith and worship of this parish have always made it a prominent and interesting object in the church life of Boston.

But during these years of conflict the healthy life and growth of the Church were going on. In 1842 began the long and powerful rectorship of the Rev. Dr. Alexander H. Vinton, at St. Paul's Church. For seventeen years his ministry there gave noble dignity to the life of the Church in Boston, and was a source of vast good to many souls. His work may be considered as having done more than that of any other man who ever preached in Boston to bring the Episcopal Church into the understanding, the sympathy, and the respect of the people. His vigorous mind and great acquirements and commanding character and earnest eloquence made him a most influential power in the city and the Church. He was met as he first came to St. Paul's by a deep religious interest, which was only the promise of the profound spiritual life which will always make the years of his ministry here memorable and sacred. He remained in Boston until 1858, when he removed to Philadelphia; but later in life, in 1869, he returned to his old home, and was Rector of Emmanuel Church till December, 1877. As these pages are being written he has just passed away, leaving a memory which will be a perpetual treasure to the Church. He died in Philadelphia on April 26, 1881.

In 1843 the growth of the city southward toward the Neck was marked by the organization of the new Church of the Messiah in Florence street, which, under the ministry of the Rev. George M. Randall, sprang at once to useful life. The parish worshipped for a while in a hall at the corner of Washington and Common streets. The corner-stone of the new church was laid Nov. 10, 1847, and the church was consecrated Aug. 29, 1848. In 1843 the mission work of the Rev. E. M. P. Wells, which afterward became so well known, and which was never wholly abandoned till his death, began at what was called Trinity Hall, in Summer street. About the same time the Rev. J. P. Robinson began a mission for sailors in Ann street, which

for many years excited the interest and elicited the generosity of the Episcopalians of Boston, and which still survives in what is called the Free Church of St. Mary, for sailors, in Richmond street. In 1846



TOWER OF TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON.

an individual act of Christian generosity provided the building of St. Stephen's Chapel in Purchase street, the gift of Mr. William Appleton, where Dr. Wells labored in loving and humble sympathy and companionship with the poor until, on the terrible night of Nov. 9, 1872, the great fire swept his church and house away. He was a remarkable man, with a genius for charity, and a childlike love for God.

Meanwhile a parish was slowly growing into life in the populous district of East Boston. St. John's Church was organized there in 1845. After many disappointments and disasters it finished and occupied its house of worship in 1852. In 1849 St. Mary's Church in Dorchester was added to the number of suburban churches. In 1851 St. Mark's Church, at the South End, finds its first mention in the record of the acceptance of its rectorship by the Rev. P. H. Greenleaf, who had just resigned the charge of St. John's Church, in Charlestown. The next year this new church bought for itself a church building, which it afterward removed to Newton street, and in which it is still worshipping. In 1856 the Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Lambert began his ministry in Charlestown, and the Rev. William R. Babcock came to Jamaica Plain, succeeded in 1876 by the Rev. S. U. Shearman. In 1858 Bishop Eastburn resigned the rectorship of Trinity, and was succeeded in 1859 by the Rev. Phillips Brooks. In 1860 the Rev. Dr. William R. Nicholson became Rector of St. Paul's Church, and the Rev. George S. Converse of St. James's.

These were years full of life, — a life which, if it sometimes became restless and controversial, flowed for the most part in a steady stream of zealous and ever-widening work. The traditions which had bound the Church almost exclusively to the rich and cultivated were cast aside. It had accepted its mission to all classes and conditions of men. The number of communicants increased. In 1847 there were about two thousand in the churches of what then was Boston, and men whom the city knew and felt and honored were preaching in the Episcopal pulpits.

With the year 1860 begins the latest period of our history. A new Boston was growing up on the Back Bay; the country was just entering on the great struggle with rebellion and slavery; and the fixed lines of theological thought were being largely broken through. All of these changes were felt in the fortunes of the Episcopal Church in Boston. On March 17, 1860, a meeting of those who were desirous of forming a new Episcopal church, west of the Public Garden, was held at the residence of Mr. William R. Lawrence, 98 Beacon street. The result of this meeting, and the others to which it led, was the organization of Emmanuel Church, and the erection of its house of worship in Newbury street, which was consecrated April 24, 1862. The parish held its services, before its church building was finished, in the Mechanics' Hall, at the corner of Bedford and Chauncy streets. Of this parish the first rector was the Rev. Dr. Frederick D. Huntington, who had long been honorably known in Boston, first as the minister of the South Congregational Church, in the Unitarian denomination, and afterward as the Plummer Professor of Christian Morals and Preacher to the University at Cambridge. It was in view of his leaving his Unitarian associations, and seeking orders in the Episcopal Church, and in expectation of his becoming its rector, that the parish of Emmanuel Church was organized. Dr. Huntington was ordained Deacon in Trinity Church, on Wednesday, September 12, 1860, Bishop Burgess, of Maine, preaching the sermon. On the next Sunday he took charge of his new congregation, and his ministry from that time until he was made Bishop of the Diocese of Central New

York, in 1869, was one of the most powerful influences which the Episcopal Church has ever exercised in Boston. Under his care Emmanuel Church became at once a strong parish, and soon put forth its strength in missionary work. It

founded in 1863 a mission chapel in the ninth ward, from which came

by and by the Chapel of the Good Shepherd, which now,

with its pleasant building in Cortes street, is an

independent and useful parish

church. In 1860

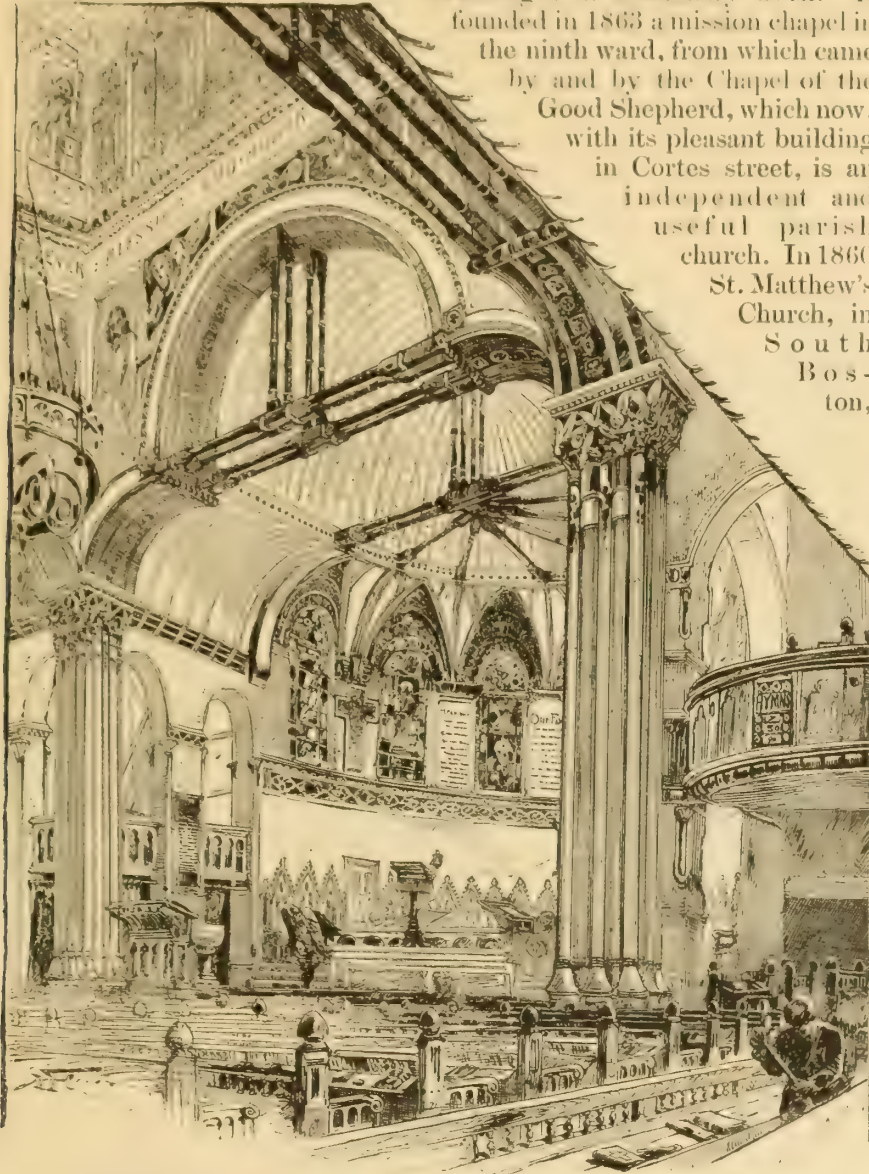
St. Matthew's

Church, in

South

Bos-

ton,



CHANCEL OF TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON.

which had for twenty-two years enjoyed the wise and gracious ministry of the Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Clinch, was left without a rector, by his resignation; and in 1861 the Rev. Dr. J. I. T. Coolidge was chosen to supply his place. Dr. Coolidge, like Dr. Huntington, had been a

Unitarian minister, and had only a short time before received ordination in the Episcopal Church.

In 1861 St. James's Church, Roxbury, established a mission chapel on Tremont street, which, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Converse, became, a few years later, an independent parish, named St. John's. In 1877 St. James's Church, now under the ministry of the Rev. Percy Browne, again manifested its energetic life by the establishment of another mission chapel, in Cottage street, in Dorchester, which is called St. Anne's Chapel. In 1867 St. Mary's Church in Dorchester began a mission in Milton Lower Mills, which has grown into a distinct parish, bearing the name of All Saints. In 1875, after Dr. Vinton had succeeded Dr. Huntington as Rector of Emmanuel Church, his assistant, the Rev. B. B. Killikelly, founded a mission at the West End of Boston, which, bearing the name of the Free Chapel of the Evangelists, is now under the care of Trinity Church. In 1875 a mission at City Point was organized by the Rev. John Wright, Rector of St. Matthew's Church. In 1873 a new mission grew up in the part of South Boston called Washington Village, which is known as Grace Chapel, under the charge of the Board of City Missions.

All these are signs of life and energy. Only once has a parish ceased to be. In 1862 the Rev. Dr. Charles Mason, Rector of Grace Church, died. He has left a record of the greatest purity of life and faithfulness in work. After his death the parish of Grace Church became so feeble that at last its life departed. Its final report was made in 1865. Grace Church had been in existence almost forty years.

These last years also have seen great changes in the personal leadership of the parishes and of the Church. Bishop Eastburn died Sept. 12, 1872, after an episcopate of thirty years; and his successor, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Henry Paddock, was consecrated in Grace Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., on Sept. 17, 1873. After Dr. Randall was made Bishop of Colorado, in 1865, the Rev. Pelham Williams became Rector of the Church of the Messiah, and he was succeeded in 1877 by the Rev. Henry F. Allen. In 1877 Dr. Vinton gave up the rectorship of Emmanuel Church, and in 1878 the Rev. Leighton Parks became his successor. The Rev. Henry Burroughs became the rector of the venerable Christ Church in 1868, and the Rev. William Wilberforce Newton succeeded the Rev. Treadwell Walden as Rector of St. Paul's Church in 1877, followed in 1883 by the Rev. Dr. F. Courtney.

Very gradually, and by imperceptible degrees, the parishes of Boston have changed their character during this hundred years which we have been surveying. Their churches have ceased to be mere places of worship for the little groups which had combined to build them, preserving carefully the chartered privileges of their parishioners. They have aspired to become religious homes for the community, and centres of religious work for the help of all kinds of suffering and need. Many of the churches are free, opening their pews without discrimination to all who choose to come. Those which are not technically free are eager to welcome the people. In places

which the influence of the parish churches cannot reach, local chapels have been freely built.

Besides the parish life of the Episcopal Church in Boston, and the institutions which have grown up under distinctively parochial con-



TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON.

trol, the general educational and charitable institutions of the Church should not be left unmentioned. For many years the project of establishing a Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Boston had been from time to time recurring. In 1867 a very generous gift of Mr. Benjamin Tyler Reed secured what has so long been wanted; and the Episcopal Divinity School of Cambridge was founded on a strong basis, which insures its perpetuity. Since that time other liberal gifts have increased its equipment, and

it is now one of the best provided theological schools in the country.

The Church Home for Orphans and Destitute Children, which is now situated at South Boston, was founded in 1855, by the Rev. Charles Mason, who was then Rector of Grace Church. St. Luke's Home for Convalescents, which has its house in the Highlands, was established originally as a parish charity of the Church of the Messiah, during the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Pelham Williams, but it is now an institution of the Church at large.

The great fire of Nov. 9 and 10, 1872, destroyed two of the Episcopal churches of Boston, — Trinity Church, in Summer street, and St. Stephen's Chapel, in Purchase street. St. Stephen's has not yet been rebuilt. Trinity had already begun the preparations for a new church before the fire; and the new buildings on Huntington avenue were consecrated on Friday, Feb. 9, 1877, by Bishop Paddock, the consecration sermon being preached by the Rev. Dr. Vinton, then Rector of Emmanuel Church.

These are the principal events which have marked the history of the Episcopal Church in Boston during this last period of the century. There are within the present city limits twenty-two churches and chapels, with five thousand six hundred and seventy-five communicants, and four thousand two hundred and forty-nine scholars in their Sunday-schools.

And these last twenty years have been full of life and movement in theological thought. The Tractarian revival of 1845 has passed into its more distinctively ritualistic stage; and the broader theology, which also had its masters in England, in such men as Dr. Arnold and the Rev. Frederick D. Maurice, has likewise had its clear and powerful effect upon the Episcopal Church in Boston. A lofty belief in man's spiritual possibilities, a large hope for man's eternal destinies, a desire for the careful and critical study of the Bible, and an earnest insistence upon the comprehensive character of the Church of Christ, — these are the characteristics of much of the most zealous pulpit teaching and parish life of these later days.

Phillips Brooks

MONOGRAPH VII.

REPRESENTATIVE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

BY THE REV. EUGENE AUGS. HOFFMAN, D.D., DEAN.

AMONG the first things to which the attention of the Church, after its organization was directed was the best method of making provision for the education of its candidates for holy orders.

As early as 1810 the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Virginia, in a sermon preached in St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, earnestly presented the benefits which would accrue to the Church "from the establishment of some school in which instruction in the Scriptures, and theology in general, with suitable preparation for the ministry, might be obtained."¹

At the same early date an earnest desire was expressed by churchmen in South Carolina for the establishment of a theological seminary under the direction of the General Convention.

Bishop Hobart, even before his consecration as bishop, took up the subject with all his wonted energy, and endeavored to provide for the practical realization of his plans by purchasing a beautiful location in New Jersey, about eighteen miles from New York, on the Short Hills, near what is now called the town of Summit, on the Morris and Essex Railroad, which he intended to devote to the establishment of a theological school. In 1813 he brought the matter before the Convention of his diocese.

Bishop Hobart did not rest content with urging the project on others. He went to work himself, and in the spring of 1814 put forth a scheme for a "Theological Grammar School," to be a stepping-stone to a higher seminary. Its final aim was to be the establishment of a theological seminary, and to this all its profits were to be appropriated. To it he pledged his services not only as its head, but as a teacher, so far as his official duties would permit. How thoroughly the good bishop appreciated the importance of such an institution and its value to the Church is evident from the language of the prospectus which he prepared and published. It was to take the candidates early and train them faithfully, "in the spirit of evangelical piety, in habits of close thinking and accurate research; in theological attainments; in the proper mode of celebrating holy offices; in pulpit eloquence; and in the still more important practical qualifications which constitute the faithful, laborious, and zealous parish minister." For, as he wisely adds, "the spirit of the ministry, such as it was in the primitive times,

¹ Rev. Dr. Turner's address before the alumni of the seminary, Oct., 1858.

and such the Church now requires, must be formed in *retirement*, by study, meditation, and prayer." In this prospectus he anticipated and mapped out the scheme of a seminary, which, in after years, received the sanction of the whole Church. The course of study was to be that prescribed by the canons, and the instruction to be "under the control of the authorities of the Church." The institution was to be "under the patronage of the General Convention," and cared for by a board of trustees (of which the bishops were to be, *ex officio*, members), and who were to be required to "render an account of the state of the institution to the General Convention at its stated meetings." And, although his scheme was not then realized, its publication attracted the attention of churchmen to its necessity, and prepared them for action at a later day.

The honor of making the first motion in the General Convention, contemplating a general theological seminary for the whole Church, belongs, however, to the deputies from the diocese of South Carolina. Instructed by their Diocesan Convention "to use their endeavors that there be established in some central situation, under the auspices of the Church in general, a theological seminary, in which young men of genius and piety may be trained for the sacred office," the Rev. Mr. Gadsden offered the following resolution in the General Convention of 1814: —

Resolved, That, with the consent of the House of Bishops, a joint committee of both Houses be appointed, to take into consideration the institution of a Theological Seminary, and, if they should deem the same expedient, to report a plan for the raising of funds, and generally for the accomplishment of the object.

In consequence of the unexpected opposition of Bishop Hobart, which arose from his fear of "committing a power so vital to the Church, as the control of the education of its candidates, to a body so fluctuating and irresponsible as the General Convention, at least in the House of Delegates, and of the operation of which the Church had not at that time sufficient experience to justify so high a trust," nothing was done except referring the matter to the bishops, to consider and report to the next General Convention, "concerning the expediency of establishing a theological seminary, to be conducted under the general authority of this Church."

The diocese of South Carolina was not willing, however, to let the matter rest. At its next Convention, in 1815, the theme of the opening sermon was the importance of a general theological seminary, and a large portion of the bishop's address was devoted to the same subject, urging his diocese to aid the friends "of this important design in accomplishing their wishes."

Thus the question was steadily urged by its friends, through all opposition, and when the bishops reported in the following General Convention (1817) the sense of their respective dioceses on the subject of a theological school, though there was some diversity of opinion, the sense of both Houses was in favor of a general school, which it was then determined to establish in New York. As the Rev. Dr. S. R. Johnson quaintly records, "It was in the city of

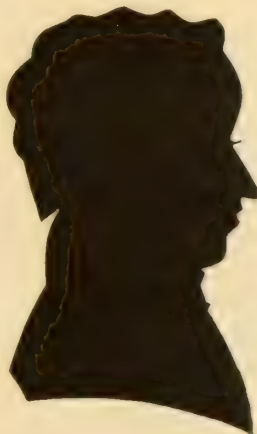
New York, in Trinity Church, on Tuesday, the 27th of May, 1817, in the morning, that the General Theological Seminary was born." The plan, as originally proposed by the House of Deputies, contemplated that it should be governed by a board of twenty-two trustees, consisting of the senior bishop, the bishop of the diocese in which the seminary was established, and ten clergymen and ten laymen elected by the General Convention. The following resolutions, drawn up by Bishop Dehon, of South Carolina, were finally adopted by both houses : —

Resolved, That it is expedient to establish, for the better education of the candidates for holy orders in this Church, a General Theological Seminary, which may have the united support of the whole Church in these United States, and be under the superintendence and control of the General Convention.

Resolved, That this Seminary be located in the City of New York.

Resolved, That persons be appointed by the House of Bishops, to visit the several parts of the United States, and solicit contributions towards funds for founding and endowing such an institution.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed, to consist of the presiding Bishop and the Bishops of this Church in New York and New Jersey, with three clergymen and three laymen, to be appointed by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, which committee shall be empowered to receive and manage such funds as shall be collected—to devise a plan for establishing and carrying into operation such an institution, which plan shall be communicated to the several Bishops of this Church—and in the event of sufficient funds being obtained, if a majority of the Bishops shall have approved the plan, to carry it into immediate operation.



RT. REV. T. DEHON, D.D.,
BISHOP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Under the last resolution the following gentlemen were appointed on the part of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies : the Rev. Drs. Wharton, How, and Harris, the Hon. Rufus King, William Meredith, Esq., and the Hon. Charles F. Mercer.

At the same time the Rev. Daniel Burhans, of Newtown, Connecticut, the Rev. Nathaniel Bowen, D.D., of the city of New York,

Daniel Burhans—

and the Rev. William H. Wilmer, of Alexandria, were appointed a committee to

solicit contributions in the several States. The appointment of these gentlemen was accompanied by a letter of Bishop White, expressing "his own anxious desire, and that of his brethren, the other bishops, for the success of the enterprise in which they fondly anticipated the supply of a learned and godly ministry to our Church,"—a matter regarded by them as of the utmost importance.

In October of the same year Bishop Hobart laid the plan for the proposed seminary prominently before his Diocesan Convention. After

enlarging on the fact, that candidates for orders in such a seminary "would make much greater and more substantial progress in all the preparatory qualifications for the ministry, than if left to solitary instruction and solitary study," he pleads as one of the most eminent benefits of such a school "the pecuniary aids which it will furnish to youths of piety and talents who are destitute of the funds to procure the necessary education for the ministry."

"This, then (he adds), is no ordinary call on the liberality of Episcopalians. It is a call, on the successful issue of which, in procuring *large* contributions, depend, if not the existence, certainly the extension and prosperity of the Church."

In December, on the representation of the New York members of the committee appointed to collect contributions for the seminary, Bishop White authorized by letter twenty-five gentlemen, resident in New York, seven of whom were clergymen, to aid the committee in their important work.

In January, 1818, the committee addressed a letter "to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States," urging the "necessity of extraordinary liberality towards the institution, the establishment of which is so fundamentally connected with the interests and prosperity of the Church," and sketching briefly their plan of a body of resident professors detached from all concerns of a parochial cure, aided by others whose subsistence would not be altogether dependent on their professorships.

In October, at a meeting held in Philadelphia, at which Bishops White, Hobart, and Croes, the Rev. Dr. C. H. Wharton, and Mr. William Meredith were present, the following resolutions were adopted, the first being proposed by Bishop White, the others by Bishop Hobart:—

1. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to carry into immediate operation the Theological School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and that, for this purpose, a Professorship of Biblical Learning, comprehending the exposition of the Holy Scriptures, with whatever relates to the evidences of revealed religion and biblical criticism; a Professorship of Systematic Theology, giving correct views of the doctrines of Scripture, and of the authorities sustaining them; a Professorship of Historic Theology, giving correct information of the state of the Church in all ages, and of the Church of England in particular, from the Reformation, embracing a view of the constitution of the Christian Church, of the orders of the ministry, and of the nature and duty of Christian unity; a Professorship of the Ritual of the Church and of Pulpit Eloquence, comprehending all the points relative to the liturgy, to the correct and devotional performance of the service of the Church, to the composition and delivery of sermons, and to the duties of the clerical office.

2. That, as soon as the funds of the institution will admit, these professorships be filled, and the professors detached from all parochial charge, and devoted solely to the objects of the institution.

3. That, when the funds of the institution admit, the Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, D.D., be appointed Professor of Systematic Theology, and that the Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis be now appointed Professor of Biblical Learning, and the Rev. Samuel H. Turner, Professor of Historic Theology, and that these two last-named professors receive for the present, and until they can be detached from parochial cures, and devoted solely to the objects of the institution, a salary each of eight hundred dollars per annum.

4. That, until the other professorship be filled, and until the Professor of Systematic Theology enter on the duties of his office, the subject of systematic theology be assigned to the Professor of Historic Theology, and that the Professor of Biblical Learning and the Professor of Historic Theology provide, by joint arrangement,

for the object assigned to the Professor of the Ritual of the Church and of Pulpit Eloquence.

5. That the professors be regulated in their instructions by the provisions of the canons, and the course of study set forth by the House of Bishops: that they conduct the students through all the books prescribed in that course, making them thoroughly acquainted with the subjects of which those books respectively treat: that the present professors provide for the daily instruction of the students, and that when the professors are detached from parochial cures they shall each be daily engaged in instruction; that the students be frequently exercised in the devotional performance of the service of the Church, and in the composition and delivery of sermons; and that particular attention be paid to their progress in the spiritual life, and to their correct views of the nature and responsibility of the duties of the clerical office.

6. That, until the further and complete organization of the institution, the Bishops who are members of the committee be charged with making such temporary arrangements as may be necessary.

7. That, as soon as the funds will admit, Theological Scholarships be established for the education of young men of piety and talents who may be destitute of pecuniary means.

8. That David J. Greene, Esq., of the city of New York, be appointed the treasurer of this institution, with power to collect and receive the moneys which may be subscribed or granted for the benefit thereof, and to place them at interest, on good security, in trust, for the use of the institution.

9. That the Bishops composing this committee be authorized and requested to make arrangements for providing funds for the institution, and for this purpose to publish an earnest appeal to the members and friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church, stating the wants of the Church with respect to clergymen, the number of young men of piety and talents desirous of an education for the ministry, but who are destitute of adequate pecuniary resources, and the indispensable necessity of a liberal endowment of the Theological Seminary, to the honor, prosperity, and vital interests of the Church.

The plan contemplated in these resolutions not succeeding, another meeting was held in Philadelphia, in February, 1819, at which Clement C. Moore, Esq., of the city of New York, offered, through Bishop Hobart, sixty lots, comprising the block now bounded by the Ninth and Tenth avenues and Twentieth and Twenty-first streets, on condition that "the buildings of the theological school should be erected thereon." This offer was accepted, and a resolution adopted that the theological seminary be erected on or near the ground thus given. At the same meeting Dr. Jarvis' salary was increased to two thousand five hundred dollars per annum, with an allowance of five hundred dollars in lieu of a house, "in the expectation of his applying himself solely to the discharge of the duties of his station," and Dr. Turner's to one thousand dollars.

During the same month, at the meeting of the Convention of South Carolina, "a statement for the theological seminary" was made by the Rev. Dr. Gadsden, afterwards bishop of the diocese, which was published by the Convention. In this document it is said that, "the honor of originating the measure for the proposed seminary belongs to this diocese. It was introduced by our delegates to the General Convention in 1814, and by that body referred to the consideration of the respective dioceses. It was renewed by our delegates in the Convention of 1817, and was then unanimously adopted. We are pledged not to permit this institution to die in its birth, and to foster it with unceasing care and liberality. May I not be permitted to add, that our perseverance is due to the memory of our late bishop. In this

cause he labored unto death. The resolutions adopted by the General Convention were from his pen. It is generally admitted that what has been done is chiefly owing to his influence and exertions. He has laid the foundation, and it belongs to others to raise the superstructure of a beautiful and sublime fabric."

At the same time the Convention pledged itself, unanimously, to give the institution effectual support, — a pledge which, as the subscription lists attest, was nobly fulfilled.

But, notwithstanding all that was done by the friends of the movement, there does not appear to have been much interest awakened in its behalf. When its work actually began, on May 1, 1819, there was no publication of its opening, no inaugural address delivered, no religious service held, and but six students composed its first class. Among these, however, were George Washington Doane (the late Bishop of New Jersey), Manton Eastburn (afterwards Bishop of Massachusetts), and Benjamin Dorr (the well-known Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia). The Rev. Drs. Turner and Jarvis were the only Professors. They met the students in a small apartment over the vestry-room of St. Paul's chapel, which was then at the north-east corner of the building, until the approach of cold weather compelled them to seek a room in which they could have fire. Then they removed to the vestry-room of St. John's chapel, which, like that at St. Paul's, was contiguous to the chancel, and on the north-east corner of the building. St. John's chapel was then frequently opened for prayers during the week, and, being in a retired part of the city, was a very suitable place for the purpose. There they remained until one day they found the doors locked, and were informed by the sexton that they would not be allowed to continue to use the room unless the professors would supply the fuel necessary to warm it, — so little was the importance of the seminary then appreciated. In this strait, Mr. Lawson Carter, one of the students, who kept a school for young ladies in the second story of a house on the north-west corner of Broadway and Cedar streets, offered them the use of his room in the afternoon.¹ The offer was gratefully accepted, and there they remained during the winter of 1819-20, and until the seminary was removed to New Haven.

It is not difficult to understand why the seminary, as originally established, did not flourish in New York. It is said² that even "Bishop Hobart treated it with comparative indifference," while the leading churchmen in the city took very little interest in it. How much of this was occasioned by the difference of the theological views of the bishop and the two professors, it is not easy now to say. Dr. Jarvis must have felt that there was but little probability of the institution rising to any distinction; for, in less than six weeks after its opening, he gave his friends in Boston the assurance that he would accept the rectorship of a church which they proposed to build for him in that city, and shortly after he resigned his professorship.

¹ It is to this room Bishop G. W. Doane alludes, when he says, "I was one of those who studied and recited, when the whole Seminary was accommodated in a second-story room over

a saddler's shop down town."—*Life and Writings of Bishop Doane*, I., p. 29.

² Dr. Turner's autobiography, p. 86.

But, whatever may have been the cause, whether "from some defect in the plan, or from objections to the location, or from other causes, the seminary languished in New York," and, there seeming to be no probability of procuring for it sufficient funds for its support, the General Convention, in May, 1820, determined to remove it to New Haven, and to reorganize it on a different plan. The chief motive for this removal, as stated by the committee who reported in its favor, was the lack of funds to sustain the institution in "so expensive a city" as New York, "at least for the present, and while its funds were so limited." In New Haven the "professors and students could have access to public libraries, enjoy the benefits resulting from literary society, and live comfortably at a moderate expense." At the same time the management of the seminary was vested in a board of trustees, consisting of the bishops and twelve clergymen and twelve laymen, to be appointed by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies at every meeting of the General Convention.

On the 14th of July Bishop Brownell, president *pro tem.* of the board of trustees, published, by its order, the plan for the organization of the seminary, preceded by an address and an appeal to the "Christian public" in its behalf. According to this plan there were to be at least three professors as soon as the funds would permit, and the course of study — which was to comprise the following departments: 1st, Biblical Learning; 2d, Systematic Theology; 3d, Ecclesiastical History; 4th, The Ministry, Polity, and Ritual of the Church; and 5th, The Composition and Delivery of Sermons, and the Duties of the Pastoral Office — was to be extended over a period of three years, each year being divided into two terms, the first from the middle of September to the middle of December, and the second from the middle of March to the middle of July. Applicants were to remain six months on probation before final admission, and the seminary was made by Art. IV., "Equally accessible to *students of all religious denominations*, exhibiting suitable testimonials of character and qualifications. But no one (it added), while a member of the institution, shall be permitted to promulgate opinions tending to disturb the harmony of the Protestant Episcopal Church." Students who received assistance to the amount of one hundred dollars should, if required by the trustees, on receiving holy orders, act as missionaries under the direction of the Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society, provided a suitable provision was made for their support and the consent of their diocesans was obtained. Provision was also made for the endowment, not only of professorships and for the establishment of scholarships for indigent students, but for fellowships which might be given to students who distinguished themselves during their seminary course, and who should remain in the institution, unmarried, for three years more, and apply themselves exclusively to theological studies. Thus early did the seminary recognize the importance of endowments for fellowships, which, like those in the English universities, would enable scholarly men to devote themselves to the study of "the mother of sciences," and become fitted to be not only teachers of divine truth, but learned defenders of the faith once delivered to the saints.

On the 13th of September, 1820, the seminary was opened in New Haven, with an inaugural discourse, delivered in Trinity Church, by the Rev. Samuel H. Turner, "Professor of Historic Theology," as he was then styled. The Rev. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Turner being the only professor, Bishop Brownell tendered his services *gratuitously*, and removed his residence to New Haven, that he might devote to the seminary such portions of his time as were not occupied by his episcopal duties. Fourteen students entered the first term, and seven more before the close of the first year. Among them were Robert Croes, Manton Eastburn, Wm. L. Johnson, Samuel R. Johnson, Henry M. Mason, William Shelton, and Frederick Schroeder, — all of whom afterwards filled honorable positions in the Church. The first public examination was held in Trinity Church, New Haven, in July, 1821. At the annual meeting, held in New Haven, in July, 1821, a subscription was started for the support of a "Professor of Systematic Theology," and the Rev. Bird Wilson was appointed to the chair.

Bishop Hobart and the diocese of New York, however, were not satisfied. The consent of the deputation from New York, in the General Convention of 1820, to the removal of the seminary to New Haven, was reluctantly given, under the impression that diocesan institutions would ultimately be established. As soon, therefore, as it was decided to remove the seminary to New Haven, Bishop Hobart issued a pastoral letter to his diocese urging the establishment of a theological school in New York. In this letter he proposed the formation of a society to be entitled "The Protestant Episcopal Education Society of the State of New York," and suggested the establishment of two schools, one in the city, and the other in the northern or western portion of the State, which was then more difficult to reach than one of our western territories is to-day. In accordance with the bishop's proposal the society was established by the Diocesan Convention, at its session in October, 1820. The society immediately took measures to establish two schools, — the principal one in the city of New York, the other in Geneva. They were not intended to be entirely distinct; but students who, from preference or from circumstances of peculiar convenience, pursued their studies in the branch school at Geneva, were to be allowed an opportunity of completing or revising their course in the theological school in New York.

The New York school was opened in May, 1821, with the following professors: The Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D.D., Professor of Systematic Divinity and Pastoral Theology; Mr. Clement C. Moore, Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture; Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck, Professor of the Evidences of Revealed Religion and of Moral Science in its relations to Theology; the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Professor of the Nature, Ministry and Polity of the Church and of Ecclesiastical History.

The branch school at Geneva was opened in the vestry school-house of Trinity Church, Geneva, in June of the same year, by the Rev. Daniel McDonald, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Scripture Interpretation, and the Rev. Orin Clark, Professor of Systematic Theology.

In the mean time, in March, 1821, Mr. Jacob Sherred, a vestryman of Trinity Church, died, leaving by a will, dated January 28, 1820, a legacy of about \$60,000 to a seminary to be established in New York by the General or Diocesan Convention, "for the education of young men designed for holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The question immediately arose as to the seminary which was entitled to the legacy. Eminent counsel gave their unqualified opinion that it belonged to the theological school which was about to be opened in New York, under the "Protestant Episcopal Education Society;" but the trustees of the seminary in New Haven were not satisfied with this view, and at their request a special meeting of the General Convention was assembled at Philadelphia, in October, for the purpose of determining this question. As foreshadowed by Bishop Hobart the result was a compromise. With singular harmony the Convention decided to remove the general seminary back from New Haven to New York, and, by uniting it with the diocesan school there, to form the present general theological seminary, and to convey to it Mr. Sherred's legacy.

Thus the great question of the establishment of one general seminary to be permanently established in New York was finally decided and practically settled. And it is not too much to say that this decision and settlement were owing, under God, to Bishop Hobart's far-seeing wisdom and sagacious judgment. His position required him to weigh carefully and deeply the whole question of diocesan schools or one general institution; and he foresaw, from the outset, that if the seminary was to continue the general seminary, it must be located in the city of New York. In the words of Dr. Edson:—

"In this view, as well as in the development of his plans for its organization, the procuring its charter, and adopting its constitution, he was sustained and aided by laymen whose legal ability has rarely been equalled, and never surpassed, in the history of this city." "Jurisprudence culminated in New York in the time of Bishop Hobart. There were the Chancellors Kent and Jones; Justices Livingston, Thompson, Van Ness, Irving, and Colden; the Ogdens, Hoffmans, Wells, Emmetts, Spencers, Harisons, Verplanck, Troup, Johnson, Duane, Clarkson, and others, men of the highest professional attainments, admirers of Bishop Hobart, and he in friendly social intercourse with them. Rufus King, too, was particularly intimate with the bishop. It is seldom that such legal ability and practical knowledge can be readily resorted to as that which the bishop was in a condition to avail himself of. An enduring monument remains. In the charter, constitution, and statutes, indeed in the whole structure of the seminary, may be seen the impress of minds which knew what they were about, foreseeing and providing for contingencies, which, however unexpected, failed not to happen. Those who have had occasion to look carefully into these documents may have been surprised at the forecast and prudence which seemed to have prepared for exigencies, and to find, when unexpected dangers have threatened, that the interests of the institution were protected already. Even when a vote of the General Convention was procured for some fundamental alterations, it

was found, upon investigation, that the thing could not be done; that the institution was a general seminary, settled in that position at its origin under circumstances which drew out and tasked the greatest and best efforts of the best and greatest minds then extant, as well in the legal and financial, as in ecclesiastical and devotional departments of thought." To such men we owe, under God, the existence to-day of "The General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

The constitution of the seminary was adopted by the General Convention of 1821. In this constitution, as the trustees stated in their address, "In dependence on Divine Providence, and the zeal of the friends of our venerable Church," they "laid at once the foundation of a widely-extended system of theological instruction."

As in the earlier history of the seminary, the diocese of South Carolina again took a deep interest in its welfare. Each of the clergy of that diocese was requested to preach and make a collection in its behalf, and Bishop Bowen issued an earnest appeal to the laity to aid in the good work.

The seminary was reopened, with twenty-three students, in New York, February 13, 1822. An introductory address was delivered by Bishop Hobart, in Trinity Church, on Monday evening, March 11, 1822, and in successive years Professors Turner, Wilson, Onderdonk, and Moore performed the same duty. The classes attended the several professors in the rooms of the Trinity Church School, on the north-east corner of Canal and Varick streets, and this arrangement was continued until they removed to the building erected on the present seminary grounds.

At the meeting of the trustees held in July, 1824, after a communication had been read from the South Carolina trustees, recommending that suitable buildings be erected for the seminary on the ground given by Professor Moore, ten thousand dollars were appropriated from the general fund for the purpose, and the standing committee was authorized to proceed in the erection of the building as soon as ten thousand dollars additional were subscribed for the purpose; it being expressly stipulated that "no more than ten thousand dollars be, in any event, drawn from the general funds of the seminary."

On the 28th day of July, 1825, at the close of the seminary year, which then began on the first Monday in October, and ended on the last Saturday in July, "the trustees assembled at the residence of Professor Moore, and, with the faculty, students, clergy, and assemblage of citizens, formed a procession to the site of the intended seminary building; where, after an address and prayers by the presiding Bishop (White), the corner-stone was laid by him, assisted by Bishop Kemp, Bishop Croes, and Bishop Brownell." Bishop White closed his address with a request to "every person present to put up a mental prayer to the Bestower of all good, so to govern the minds of those who now, or who may hereafter, superintend the studies of the institution, as that they may furnish the gold, the silver, and the precious stones of sound doctrine, to the exclusion of the

wood, the hay, and the stubble of human imperfection; and that the labors to be here bestowed may endure the fire of that great day which shall try every man's work of what sort it is." The service was closed with the Lord's Prayer, some appropriate collects, and a prayer for the seminary.¹

This building, now known as the east building, of which the corner-stone was thus laid, was not finished, in consequence of various delays, until the spring of 1827. It is 104 feet in length by 52 feet in depth, three stories in height, contains at each end a house for a professor, in the middle portion a large room, intended for the library and lectures but now used as the chapel, apartments for the matron, and seventeen rooms for students. In arrangement it is very inconvenient, and has little to recommend it but its venerable associations, age, and solidity. Those who have seen it only as it stands to-day, surrounded by a dense population, can hardly realize its appearance when the corner-stone was laid, in 1825. Its site was then an apple orchard, about twenty feet below the entrance to the grounds which was on the Ninth avenue, a little north of what is now Twenty-first street. Professor Moore's country residence was situated on the high ground to the north of it, near the southerly side of what is now Twenty-third street. There was then no street in the vicinity. A narrow road, called "Love Lane," ran easterly from it to the Bloomingdale road, now Broadway. The principal approach to the site was by the road which ran near the line of the present Hudson street, through the village of Greenwich from the city. At that time there was scarcely a good three-story brick house between it and Canal street. The high-water mark of the Hudson river was east of the present Tenth avenue; and, as Dr. Turner records in his autobiography, during the winter the water was sometimes ankle deep in front of the end in which he resided, so that, in order to have a dry access to the lecture-room, in the centre of the building, he had a door cut through the garret partition; and one winter the mud was so deep immediately around the building as to make it almost inaccessible, except on horseback or in a carriage. It was, in fact, a quiet, rural retreat on the picturesque banks of the Hudson, with the elysian fields across the river in full view, far removed from the noise and bustle of the now crowded city, and where the devout student had every appliance to aid him in his work, with nothing to distract his mind or call him off from his sacred studies. Then, as now, it was noted for being one of the healthiest portions of the island on which the city is built.

The distance of the seminary from the city and the nearest church rendered it necessary to provide services for the students on Sundays. The Rev. Drs. Wilson and Turner united in establishing a morning service on each Lord's Day, in the library, which was attended by their families, the students, and some of the residents of the neighborhood. A Sunday school was soon gathered, with the approval of the faculty, by the students, with the assistance of devoted

¹ In the minutes of the Board of Trustees (Maryland), who had completed the course of for this year it is noted that Mr. William R. study, was allowed by vote the academic privilege of a Fellow.

ladies living in the vicinity. The school was very flourishing, and the little congregation soon grew too large to be accommodated in the seminary library, so that in a few years St. Peter's parish was organized. By strenuous efforts of the few inhabitants of the sparsely settled neighborhood a small chapel (now converted into the rectory of St. Peter's Church) was then built, and the congregation placed in charge of the Rev. Benjamin T. Haight, who had just graduated from the seminary. A few years later, during the rectorship of Rev. Dr. Hugh Smith, the present St. Peter's Church was erected, and the parish permanently established which is still so efficient in good works under the faithful pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Alfred B. Beach.

The erection of the east building, which was begun without waiting to secure sufficient funds for its completion, involved the seminary in financial difficulty, and embarrassed the institution in every way. It cost upwards of thirty-three thousand dollars, of which about twenty thousand dollars had to be supplied from money contributed for the current needs of the seminary. It should, however, be stated, in justice to those who incurred the expense, that about one-third of this deficiency was due to the failure of subscribers to make good their subscriptions. In the following year the trustees found themselves compelled to take the "painful, but necessary," step of reducing the already small salaries of Professors Turner and Wilson. But still the necessary funds did not come in, and the income continued insufficient to meet the current expenses. In 1829 the deficiency was reported as \$1,235.18, and this, too, when the outlay was about to be largely increased by the necessary filling in of the water lots adjoining the seminary block on the west. Unfortunately at this juncture the noble legacy of \$100,000 to the seminary, of Mr. Kohne, of Philadelphia, was made known by his death. Unfortunately, because both the trustees and the Church, forgetful of the fact that the legacy was subject to a life interest which might delay its payment for a long period, and which did delay it for twenty-four years, seemed to think it rendered the institution independent of all external aid, and at once began to slacken their efforts and to withhold contributions which were still so urgently required. Again the finance committee was compelled to complain of a large deficiency of income, stating that the institution could not be supported on prospective means, and that "this legacy, promising future wealth, had tended to present impoverishment."

Up to 1832 the classes were simply distinguished as the first, second, and third. They were then for the first time designated as the junior, middle, and senior classes. At this date a student's entire expense for the seminary year, for board, washing, fuel, and lights, was only \$70.95!—a marked contrast with the present, when the same accommodations cannot be procured for less than \$200.

Even at this early period in its history the necessity of having a recognized and ever-present head of the seminary, either "within the walls or in the immediate neighborhood," who should have the charge and superintendence of the buildings and their internal arrangements,

whose duty it should be to enforce the statutes and be responsible to the trustees for carrying them into effect, induced the trustees, by statute, to create the office of Dean, and provide that it should be "held in annual rotation by the resident professors." This arrangement, with all its manifold disadvantages, was continued, in consequence of the lack of funds, until the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Forbes, as permanent Dean, in 1869.

In 1833 Dr. Clement C. Moore, who owned the land adjoining the property of the seminary, desiring to extend his ground two hundred feet farther into the river, proposed to build a bulkhead¹ opposite the seminary property at his own expense, at a cost of \$7,320, provided the trustees would execute to him "a bond and mortgage for the cost of the bulkhead, on the block of ground where the seminary now stands, bounded by the Ninth and Tenth avenues and Twentieth and Twenty-first streets, the principal and interest not to become due so long as the ground and the buildings thereon are used for the seminary exclusively, the buildings to be occupied by the professors and students thereof; provided, however, that in case the said block, or any part of it, should be disposed of or used for any other purpose than as above intended, then the aforesaid bond to be paid, with compound interest, from the date of it."

It is evident from this proposal, which was accepted and carried out by the trustees, that Dr. Moore earnestly desired, and intended by his original gift, to keep the seminary permanently located on its present site. And, although he reluctantly consented, a short time before his death, at the urgent request of the trustees, to cancel this bond and mortgage, provided the trustees would give him the strongest assurance in their power that the seminary block should never be alienated in fee from the general seminary, it is a serious question whether the trustees are not morally bound by his expressed wish to keep the institution, which almost owes its very existence to his munificent liberality, in its present location, unless circumstances beyond their control compel them to remove it to another site. One thing, however, is clear in the judgment of the writer, that if, at any future time, in consequence of changes in the neighborhood, the question of removal should be forced upon the trustees, it would be in the highest degree impolitic to deprive the seminary of the manifold advantages which the students possess by reason of its location within the city of New York. Unless it is deemed wise to shut up its students in cloistered walls, far removed from intercourse with their fellow-men, and to send them out as mere ecclesiastics of one narrow type to evangelize this busy world, of whose habits and tone of thought they have been kept in utter ignorance, it would be an unhappy day for the Church which should see the removal of its chief school of the prophets from the advantages of a great city, which are not less numerous and important to candidates for holy orders than those which decide a city location for the schools of law and medicine.² In a large city alone can stu-

¹ This bulkhead was 400 feet west of the Tenth avenue, and 200 feet west of the bulkhead which was built a short time previous.

² "I have no doubt that, on every principle that should direct professional instruction, this city should be maintained as the seat of this

dents be kept free from the narrowing effect of small provincial communities, be brought into contact with the best forms of church life and work, and surrounded by influences which broaden their minds, refine their manners and elevate their characters. In a large city also they have an opportunity, which they can find nowhere else, of engaging in varied forms of work, which contribute largely to their support, and, under the direction of wise and faithful parish priests, adding to sacred, solid learning the teachings of acknowledged experience.

In 1834 the number of students had increased to sixty-four, being twenty-four more than the seminary building would then accommodate, and the trustees having been put to considerable expense to rent accommodations for them, the erection of the present west building was ordered. It was supposed that the cost of the building would not exceed \$20,000, which could be paid by the legacy of \$20,000, left by Mr. George Lorillard, of New York; and an estimate to erect it for that amount was reported to the trustees. The standing committee soon found that no good and responsible mechanic would contract to erect the building for less than \$30,000; and, at a special meeting of the board, in April, 1835, they were authorized to proceed, provided the entire expenditure should not exceed \$32,000; and they were further empowered to borrow the additional amount required and mortgage the lots west of the Tenth avenue to secure its repayment. This building was completed and occupied in 1836. It contained a room for a chapel, now occupied by the library, three lecture-rooms, a residence for a professor, and thirty rooms for students, and was much better arranged than the east building.

Up to this time the grounds about the seminary had only been partially graded, and were surrounded by a close board fence. Their unfinished and unsightly appearance was such a detriment to the neighborhood, that Dr. Moore, as he frankly avowed, for the improvement of the surrounding property, had them properly graded and enclosed with an open pale fence, at his own expense.

At the meeting of the trustees, in August, 1835, Mr. Peter G. Stuyvesant, of New York, offered to give \$25,000 to found a professorship, to be named after "St. Mark's Church in the Bowery," upon the condition that the trustees would secure to the founder the right to nominate, within one month after the endowment, some person as professor; and, should such nomination not be approved, then the founder should have the right to make a second nomination. In consequence of this generous offer these privileges were immediately embodied by the trustees in the statutes. Mr. Stuyvesant then nominated the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., Rector of St. Thomas's Church, New York, to the chair of Ecclesiastical History. Dr. Hawks, however, declined the nomination, and on the nomination of Mr. Stuyvesant, the Rev. William R. Whittingham, Rector of St. Luke's Church, New York, was unanimously elected. Mr. Whittingham filled the chair with great ability for four years, until he was elected Bishop of Maryland, in

seminary. The way to educate the professions that have to care for the bodies or the estates or the souls of the people, is to put them where the most bodies, estates, and souls are."—*Wm. M. Evarts' Address at the laying of the Corner-stone of Sherred Hall.*

1840. After his consecration he resigned his professorship on the first of November in that year. Mr. Stuyvesant then nominated the Rev. John D. Ogilby, Professor of Ancient Languages in Rutgers College, at New Brunswick, in the State of New Jersey, and a presbyter of that diocese. His nomination was unanimously approved by the trustees at a special meeting held Dec. 2, 1840, and Mr. Ogilby shortly after entered on the duties of the professorship.

In 1836 a committee, consisting of Bishop Doane and the Rev. Drs. McViekar and Anthon, secured pledges amounting to \$5,000 "for the present and permanent increase of the library," conditioned on \$10,000 being raised for the purpose. This sum was made up by the payment of a legacy of \$1,000 from Mrs. Margaret Pendleton, of New York, which she left in addition to a legacy of \$3,000 for the general purposes of the seminary, and a grant of \$4,000 from Trinity Church, and paid over to the seminary with the conditions that of this amount \$6,000 should "be forever held by the trustees, in trust for the benefit of the library, paying interest therefor semi-annually at the rate of six per cent. per annum, for the increase of the library." It does not redound to the credit of churchmen that the interest of this small sum, after a lapse of nearly fifty years, is the only resource which the seminary has for adding to the library copies of the valuable and useful books which are annually issued from the press, and which ought to be thus placed within the reach not only of the students but of clergymen and others who wish to consult them.

To provide instruction in the departments to which the funds of the seminary would not allow the appointment of professors at this period, the Rev. Dr. Hugh Smith gave instruction for several years in Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury in the Evidences of Christianity and Moral Science, and received the thanks of the trustees for their valuable services.

The alumni being at this time engaged in raising \$25,000 for the endowment of the professorship of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, with the understanding that they were to be given "all the powers and privileges conferred on the founders of professorships" by the statutes, the corporation of Trinity Church generously offered, if the amount should be raised before January, 1839, to contribute a like sum for the endowment of the "Hobart Professorship of the Evidences of Christianity, and of Moral Science in its Relations to Theology." But, owing to the financial difficulties in which the country became involved in 1837, the alumni found it impossible to secure this endowment within the time specified, and the generous offer of Trinity Church failed to become available to the seminary. The professorship of Pastoral Theology having been recently endowed by the late Samuel Verplanck Hoffman, of New York, the associate alumni have at length, after years of effort, succeeded in securing the proposed amount. In accordance with a plan submitted by them and accepted by the Trustees at the meeting in 1883, upwards of \$25,000 has been paid to the seminary to endow a professorship, to be designated "The Alumni Professorship of the Evidences of Revealed Religion."

In 1838 the regular daily morning and evening prayer of the

Church was begun in the chapel, and all the students required to attend.¹ This practice is still continued, with great advantage to the institution.

It is curious to read in the present day, when colored students are admitted to all the privileges of the institution without a word of complaint from any quarter, the report of a committee in 1839, on the petition of Mr. Crummell to be received as a student, now the esteemed Rector of St. Luke's Church, Washington, D.C., "that having deliberately considered the said petition, they are of opinion that it ought not to be granted, and they accordingly recommend to the board of trustees the adoption of the following resolution: *Resolved*, That the prayer of the petitioner be not granted." This report was signed by H. U. Onderdonk, James Milnor, Hugh Smith, Wm. Johnson, David B. Ogden, and Edward A. Newton, and adopted by the board, but not without opposition, — Bishop Doane protesting and asking leave to have entered on the minutes his reasons for dissenting from the vote of the majority on the report of the committee. This privilege was not, however, accorded to him.

In November, 1841, the Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, Rector of All Saints' Church, New York was unanimously elected to the Professorship of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, and shortly after entered on his duties.

Dr. Hodges the well-known organist of Trinity Church, and who did more than any other in his day towards improving the music of our Church, was now employed by the generosity of the vestry of Trinity Church to instruct the students in sacred music. It is much to be regretted that the seminary is still without the means to make provision for similar instruction, which should be given to every candidate for holy orders.

In 1842, the custom of having dissertations read at the Commencement by members of the graduating class was abandoned, in order, as the resolution of the trustees expressed it, "to make the Commencements occasions of public worship, of a sermon or charge by a bishop, and of closing the seminary year, and parting with the graduating class by the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This custom has however recently been reintroduced, the sermon or charge, as in other collegiate institutions, being delivered on the Sunday previous.

Up to this period in its history the seminary enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. It commanded the confidence of the whole Church. The acknowledged ability of its professors and the character of its graduates had attracted more students than it could accommodate. It is true that, owing chiefly to the necessity of erecting buildings, and the very large demands made upon its funds by city assessments, together with the expense of filling in the water-lots, it had with difficulty met its current expenses. But in other respects there was nothing left to be desired. There were then, as there probably always will be, honest differences of opinion on many points; but they were never suffered to disturb the harmony of the seminary, or interfere with the influence and teaching of the faculty.

¹I have been told that Dr. Whittingham was the only member of the faculty that then wore any robe in saying these offices, and he wore a black gown!

But we are now compelled to enter on another phase of its history. The controversy which began in England about "the Oxford movements" had found its way to this country, and gradually invaded the peaceful precincts of the seminary. It is difficult for us, at this date, when party spirit is unknown in the Church, except as a thing of the past, to realize the excitement of those days. The whole ecclesiastical atmosphere was at fever heat; bishops and clergy, pastors and people were marshalled against each other in hostile array; the newspapers were filled with the angry controversy; and scarce a week elapsed without one or more bitter, recriminating pamphlets being issued from the press. In such a condition of things it would be too much to expect that the seminary could escape unscathed. The first mutterings of the storm appear in the resignation of Peter G. Stuyvesant as a member of the board of trustees in 1841, and a resolution of the board:—

That this Board, and the Seminary are not responsible for the ministerial acts, in administering the sacraments, of the individual Professors of the Seminary, and that such acts do but express the opinions and views of the individuals concerned.

Meanwhile the Carey ordination occurred with all its attendant excitement, and the war of pamphlets went on with increasing violence, arousing and fermenting suspicion and distrust on all sides.

At the meeting of the trustees held in June, 1844, rumors of unsoundness in the teaching of the seminary were brought to their notice through resolutions passed by the Convention of South Carolina, requesting an investigation by the board. These rumors pointed to instructions said to have been given concerning the practice of infant communion in the primitive Church, and the heretical character of the Church of Rome. The whole subject was referred to a committee, which made a full report of its proceedings to the triennial meeting of the board in September, containing extracts of letters which they had received, together with the copies of the questions or heads of inquiry they had proposed to the professors, with the answers they had returned. After careful consideration of the report, the committee was discharged, and the board reported to the General Convention that not only the entire course of study pursued in the seminary, but the whole tone and tenor of the sentiments of the students, "appeared to be in perfect accordance with the doctrines, discipline, and worship of the Church, and such as were calculated to sustain its elevated character, and command the public confidence and respect." And it added, "In conclusion, the trustees feel assured that the General Theological Seminary has never been in a more healthful condition than it is at the present time."

Some of the trustees, however, were not satisfied. A brief statement, signed by Bishops Hopkins, Mellvaine, and Eastburn, the Rev. Dr. Anthon, and Messrs. Barnwell and Neufville, and Peter G. Stuyvesant, was presented to the General Convention in October, expressing their dissent from the report of the trustees. In consequence of this statement the affairs of the seminary naturally assumed a prominent place in the deliberations of the Convention. A list of forty

questions was adopted by the House of Bishops, as visitors of the seminary, and sent to each member of the faculty, to be answered in writing. A little later twenty-four additional questions were sent to the Professor of Ecclesiastical History. These questions were evidently designed to cover the whole ground,—the tone of teaching, the state of discipline, and the general deportment of the students. As Dr. Turner justly states, "Some of the questions appear irrelevant; others imply what was wholly improbable; and others, again, to have been proposed simply in order to counterbalance what had been previously admitted, so that one class might neutralize the other."¹ And, as the author of Dr. Wilson's Memoir remarks, "No one can read them without seeing at a glance that they were prompted and framed by two distinct classes of men; men holding very diverse views upon certain leading doctrinal questions, as well as to the expediency and propriety of this particular method of dealing with that institution."

The result showed that the charges had been based wholly upon the authority of irresponsible rumors, arising from the then disturbed condition of the ecclesiastical atmosphere; for, after a careful consideration of the answers, the House of Bishops adopted the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the Bishops, as Visitors, having visited the Seminary, and inspected the same, do not find, in any of its interior arrangements, any evidence that superstitious or Romish practices are allowed or encouraged in the institution.

Resolved, That the Bishops deem the publication of the questions of the Bishops and the answers of the Professors the most appropriate reply to the current rumors respecting the doctrinal teaching of the Seminary.

A few months later, when representations were made that there were students who had not only become imbued with Romish doctrines, but were using their influence to propagate them, the faculty promptly investigated the matter, and directed two of them to withdraw from the seminary, and took such action as led to the voluntary retirement of two others.

The care and anxiety which these troubles entailed upon the Rev. Dr. Wilson, who was then acting as Dean, seriously undermined his health, and led him, in 1848, to resign the professorship of Systematic Divinity, which he had filled for twenty-seven years with such distinguished honor and usefulness to the seminary and the Church. At his advanced age, having passed the allotted threescore and ten years, he did not feel equal to "the increased difficulties and responsibility of his professorship in the *present (then) state of our Church*." He consented, however, to withdraw his resignation, at the unanimous request of the trustees, who did not hesitate to declare that they "would regard it as a serious calamity, should he retire from his office." But two years later, simultaneously with Professor Clement C. Moore, he again presented his resignation, which was even then reluctantly ac-

¹ "I never was more amazed than when reading some of these questions, and occasionally the thought occurred to me that the document could not be genuine. . . . I was hardly able to persuade myself that they could have originated with such a body" (the House of Bishops). — *Dr. Turner's Autobiography*, p. 192.

cepted with the warmest expressions on the part of the board of trustees, of "their deep sense of the value of his services, of the generous and untiring fidelity with which they have been rendered, and of the just claim which they confer to an honorable retirement." Both these professors had served the seminary for twenty-nine years with singular fidelity, stood firm at their posts during a period of excitement which tried men's souls, and both had left the impress of their saintly lives and characters on a generation of its students.

In November, 1850, the Rev. Samuel R. Johnson, D.D., was elected to succeed Dr. Wilson as Professor of Systematic Divinity; and about the same time the Rev. George H. Houghton was appointed Instructor in Hebrew.

In this year the Rev. John McVickar, D.D., presented, in behalf of himself and son, an endowment to found two annual prizes, to be known as "The Greek Alumni Prize" and "The Alumni Prize in Ecclesiastical History."

In February, 1851, tidings were received of the unexpected death of Professor Ogilby, in Paris, whither he had gone in the hope of regaining his health. His death was a severe loss to the Church, and to the cause of sacred learning.

The Rev. Milo Mahan, D.D., was elected September 10, 1851, to succeed him, and entered on his duties the following month.

The struggle which the seminary had to maintain from its foundation, from lack of endowment, and the difficulty of securing sufficient contributions from the Church to pay its current expenses, greatly increased by the party spirit which had alienated some of its supporters, now began to assume alarming proportions and to threaten serious disaster. As early as 1850 the finance committee reported an annual deficiency of over \$5,000; and the expediency of suspending the institution until it could recover from its financial embarrassments was seriously agitated. The payment of the Kohne legacy obviated for the time the necessity of this, but only temporarily relieved the difficulty. The corporation of the city, about the time the legacy was paid, passed an ordinance requiring the seminary to build the present bulkhead, making the Thirteenth avenue in front of its property, and fill in the intermediate space. This involved an outlay of \$60,000 from the invested funds of the institution, and seriously reduced its available income. The subsequent sale of the bonds in which the Kohne legacy was paid, and the unfortunate investment of the proceeds in mortgages on property in South Brooklyn, which, in the financial panic which ensued, fell so rapidly in value that it could not be sold, served to increase the embarrassment. Various plans of relief were proposed, and one after another failed. Appeal after appeal to the Church came to naught. The salaries of the professors were not paid. There were no funds to repair the actual wear and tear of the buildings. When Dr. Haight resigned, in 1855, the chair of Pastoral Theology, the board was compelled to leave it vacant, as there was no means at hand to provide a salary; and in 1856 the board was obliged to mortgage the land west of the Tenth avenue for \$45,000. By 1860, the estimated deficiency had increased from \$5,000 to \$10,000, "threatening

soon to absorb the whole of even the trust funds held by the seminary for the aid of necessitous students." Under these circumstances there seemed to be no relief, if the doors of the seminary were to be kept open, but to fall back on the landed property. As tenants could not be found to lease the lots acquired by filling in the land west of the Tenth avenue, and it was already heavily mortgaged, the board found themselves compelled to initiate measures to lease or sell a portion of the seminary block. In this crisis the services of Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont, to whom the seminary owes so much, were happily secured to take charge of its finances. With large experience in real estate, and the warmest interest in the institution, he immediately gave up a large share of his time to the work, advancing also with noble generosity considerable sums from his own private funds to save it from disaster. But what could be done? The charges upon the real estate, which must be paid or the real estate sacrificed, now amounted to more than the entire income. Not a dollar remained to maintain the institution, and there was no prospect of leasing or selling the real estate during the political troubles which then prevailed, coincident with the breaking out of the Civil war. The expectation of a large increase in income from the leasing of the lots obtained at so much cost was utterly frustrated by events which the most sagacious could not have divined; and but for the noble self-denial of the resident professors in serving without salaries, and the generous help of able clergymen in the city who gave their services gratuitously, the seminary must have closed its doors. Dr. Eigenbrodt, at the request of the standing committee, undertook to instruct the students in Pastoral Theology, and subsequently the Rev. Dr. Walton became the instructor in Hebrew, both of them without any pecuniary compensation. In this crisis the alumni came forward, contributing considerable sums towards the current expenses. The Society for Promoting Religion and Learning, which has always shown itself a warm friend of the seminary, making every year a large grant for supporting indigent students, and giving at different periods nearly \$5,000 for the increase of the library, now generously appropriated \$1,000 for several years for the support of the professors, expressing at the same time their "very deep interest in the prosperity of the institution, and their trust and prayer that, under the wise counsels of its trustees, the invaluable instructions of its professors may be continued without interruption, and thus our whole Church be spared the shame and disgrace that would attend the closed doors of this its greatest establishment."

But, notwithstanding the example set them by the alumni and the Society for Promoting Religion and Learning, churchmen generally did not respond to the appeals in behalf of the seminary. The reputed large landed endowment, in spite of the fact that it was yielding no income, was the ever ready excuse. By 1863 the debts of the institution were reported as upwards of \$60,000, and the estimated "deficiency of income, besides salaries to the professors," \$14,000. In this strait the board were compelled to authorize the sale of the Brooklyn property, and the lots between the Tenth avenue and the river. In 1865 the standing committee reported that "the whole of the

Brooklyn property had been advantageously sold for \$51,750," and a year later, that the westerly half of the block between the Tenth and Eleventh avenues had been sold for \$90,900. These sales relieved the seminary from its cash indebtedness, and enabled it once more to pay the salaries of the self-denying and faithful professors. The committee, therefore, recommended that the remaining lots owned by the seminary should not be sold, but leased for long terms. This, however, it was not practical to carry immediately into effect. Notwithstanding the efforts of the treasurer, a number of them remained vacant, and, while some of the tenants of those which had been leased failed to pay their ground rent, taxes and assessments went steadily on. In this way deficiencies again occurred in the income, from time to time, gradually absorbing more and more of the capital, until the treasurer was obliged to report that unless the Church came to the relief of the seminary there would soon be nothing left but the landed endowment.

In 1855 the Rev. Dr. Haight resigned the chair of Pastoral Theology, which he had filled with so much zeal and fidelity for fourteen years, — for only four of which did he receive any salary from the institution.

In 1859, under the plea of providing funds to pay the expenses from income to be derived from the "seminary block," a movement was set on foot to induce the board to remove the institution beyond the limits of the city of New York, and at a special meeting of the board the committee appointed to consider its practicability and expediency reported in favor of purchasing one hundred and ninety acres one mile from Fishkill station, on the Hudson River Railroad, and removing the seminary thither. At the same meeting the standing committee put on record their opinion that they did not deem it "expedient or desirable to remove the institution from the seminary block."

After hearing both reports, the board, on motion of the Rev. Dr. Hawks, decided that it was "inexpedient at the present time to remove the seminary from its present location." The trustees, in their next triennial report to the General Convention, after reciting the foregoing resolution, add thus: "The question, they trust, has now, happily, been put to rest."

At the same meeting, as a grateful acknowledgment of the liberality and kindness of Dr. Moore toward the seminary from its beginning, and especially in relinquishing the mortgage he held on the seminary block, a professorship was designated "The Clement C. Moore Professorship of Hebrew."

The question of the removal was not, however, allowed "to rest." In 1869, urged by the eloquence of the Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton and some of the trustees who were anxious to remove the seminary from the city of New York, a committee of six was appointed by the board "to inquire into the legal right and the propriety of removing the seminary, and the probable cost of a new site for the purpose." In the following year this committee made an elaborate report, accompanied by legal opinions, showing that "the title of the seminary to its real estate is a *fee simple absolute*, without any restriction in law on its right to sell or to lease, in whole or in part, or otherwise to dis-

pose of its property for the just purposes of the General Theological seminary," advocating the expediency of its removal chiefly on the ground of its inability to hold its present property, and presenting several sites outside of New York which could be procured.

After further consideration, the board, in 1870, agreed to accept a deed of donation of thirty acres of land at Mamaroneck, from Mr. Thomas R. Hawley, with the condition that the property was to be used for the purposes of a theological seminary, and the further condition that the trustees should, within five years, erect buildings upon the premises for the purposes of a theological seminary, or, in default of so doing, that they would reconvey the lands to him free and clear of all incumbrance. The standing committee was, at the same time, authorized to employ an agent to obtain subscriptions for the purpose of building on this property. Two years later, however, the board appears to have realized the mistake it had made, and ordered the standing committee "to negotiate with the proper parties for the reconveyance of the Mamaroneck property," and "to take all necessary steps for the surrender of the property and for relief from all liabilities on its account." This was shortly afterwards effected.

Thus ended the agitation of the question in the board of trustees, and the writer congratulates the Church that it has finally been "put to rest" by the erection of the new buildings in accordance with the decision of the large meeting of the board held in 1882.

On the 21st of December, 1861, the Rev. Dr. Turner, the first professor of the seminary, and who for upwards of forty years had filled the chair of Biblical Learning and Interpretation with the highest honor to himself and benefit to those committed to his care, entered into his rest, in the seventy-third year of his age. Peculiarly fitted for the work which God had assigned him, he gave himself to it with unflagging zeal and patient industry to the last week of his protracted life. "Largely endowed with common-sense; blessed with quick perceptions, a retentive memory, a spirit imbued with profound reverence for the inspired word; and uniting in a rare and happy combination a proper regard for human authority with independence of judgment, his numerous publications are not only a towering monument of his vast attainments in learning, but a mine of Scriptural truth." The board of trustees spread upon their records their appreciation of him by resolving that, his "faithful services in the various duties, both of government and instruction, as an officer of the institution; his zealous perseverance and devoted Christian spirit in their discharge, and his learned researches and labors in the cause of sound Scriptural Truth, pursued through many years of feeble health and advanced age, demanded the warmest acknowledgments of gratitude and reverence on the part of the board, and of their thankfulness to the great Head of the Church that the seminary had been enabled to enjoy for so long a period the benefits of his ministrations and learning."

The Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., temporarily supplied his vacant chair, and, at the next meeting of the trustees, was elected to succeed him.

At the triennial meeting in September, 1862, the Rev. William

E. Eigenbrodt, D.D., whose services in this department had been given gratuitously, was unanimously elected to the professorship of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, which, in consequence of the financial condition of the seminary, had been vacant for seven years.

At the same meeting, the Rev. Dr. Houghton having resigned his position as Instructor in Hebrew, the Rev. William Walton, D.D., was appointed to fill the vacancy, and undertook the duty gratuitously.

In the same year Dr. Clement C. Moore, after serving the seminary, almost gratuitously, in one of its most toilsome departments for nearly thirty years, calmly fell asleep. The munificent benefactor of the institution, it will ever owe him a deep debt of gratitude. One of the noblest examples of the Christian scholar and gentleman, he adorned, as all who knew him will testify, the doctrine of God our Saviour in the mature activity of his life, as well as in the calm, dignified, and beneficent seclusion of his age. "Warm-hearted in friendship, genial in society, kindly and considerate to all; possessed of fine literary tastes, poetic instincts and expressiveness, and of cheerful humor withal; yet at the same time well accomplished in severer studies, and resolute for more laborious undertakings, as his learned works in Hebrew grammar and lexicography distinctly testify."

In August, 1864, the Rev. Dr. Mahan resigned his professorship, which he had so ably filled for thirteen years, in order that he might accept the rectorship of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore. His resignation which, it was understood, was occasioned by the necessity of providing support for his family, was a great loss to the seminary. Five years later, in 1869, he was elected to the chair of Systematic Divinity, and, notwithstanding he declined it, was again elected to the same chair on the 30th of June, 1870. After this second election he accepted; but, as he was making preparation to remove to the seminary to enter on his duties, "on the 3d day of September following, it pleased Almighty God to terminate the earthly labors of this learned theologian and beloved priest, and to recall the spirit to Himself."

The vacant chair of Ecclesiastical History was filled by the election of Bishop Whittingham, who declined to accept it, and afterwards, on the 28th of June, 1865, by the election of the Rev. George F. Seymour, A.M., Rector of St. John's Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., and late warden of St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N.Y.

In 1868 Miss Elizabeth Ludlow gave the sum of \$25,000 to the seminary to found and endow a professorship, to be called, "in reverence to the memory of her beloved parents, the Charles and Elizabeth Ludlow Professorship of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law." On the 3d of February, 1869, the Rev. Francis Vinton, D.D., on the nomination of Miss Ludlow, was elected to this professorship. Dr. Vinton filled the chair for a little more than three years, until death removed him from his earthly labors. Prominent in the counsels of the Church and in the administration of some of her important trusts, of commanding presence, and endowed with varied talents, he discharged the duties of his professorship with dignity, strength, and courtesy, adorning it with his learning and scholarship, and leaving behind a valuable text-book on canon law. He was succeeded by the Rev. William

J. Seabury, D.D., who was elected in June, 1873, and still most acceptably fills the chair.

On the 14th of December, 1868, the Rev. Dr. Johnson resigned the Professorship of Systematic Divinity, and his resignation was most reluctantly accepted. He was immediately elected by the trustees emeritus professor, and continued to act as professor for another year. Three years later his life closed. He died on the 13th of August, 1873, while he was still doing what he could in his Master's service, as a simple missionary in a little hamlet on the confines of the diocese of New York. As Dr. Seymour justly said of him, "A life devoted to the cause of Christ, with preëminent forgetfulness of self, with the loftiest aims of ministerial duty, combined with an almost childlike simplicity of character and manner, culminated in twenty years of service in the General Theological Seminary, during which long period it can safely be said that no one had been brought within the charmed circle of his influence but to *love* him; no one had named him but to apply spontaneously in thought, if not in speech, the commendation which Holy Scripture bestows upon St. Barnabas, '*He was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost.*'"

In April, 1869, the Rev. William Walton, D.D., who had served without pecuniary compensation for nearly six years as instructor in Hebrew, was unanimously elected to the Clement C. Moore Professorship of the Hebrew and Greek Languages, the election "to take effect from the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, 1868." He accepted the office, but was not able to enter on the discharge of its duties, his death occurring shortly after his election, which came too late to do more for him than to assure him of the high regard and esteem in which he was held. He was, as the trustees testified by their subsequent action, a devout Christian priest, a high-toned gentleman, an accomplished and profound scholar, a man of entire integrity, of spotless reputation, and of blameless life. A rare and valuable collection of over five hundred volumes from his library was given to the seminary, and placed, by order of the trustees, in a separate alcove bearing his name.

The Rev. Randall C. Hall, D.D., was appointed instructor in Hebrew, in October, 1869, and in June, 1871, elected to succeed Dr. Walton in the professorship, the laborious duties of which he still continues conscientiously and faithfully to discharge.

In June, 1869, the Rev. Theodore B. Lyman, D.D., the present honored Bishop of North Carolina, was elected Dean of the seminary. The election of a Dean had been looked forward to for nearly fifty years by the trustees, and it was earnestly hoped that Dr. Lyman would accept; but, after careful reflection, he felt compelled to decline the office to which he had been thus summoned.

The Rev. John M. Forbes, D.D., was then elected in October, with great unanimity. Dr. Forbes administered the duties of his office with earnestness, zeal, and ability; but difficulties connected with the discipline of the institution impelled him to retire from it in November, 1872.

The office was not again filled until June, 1875, when the Rev.

Dr. Seymour, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, was elected permanent Dean, to serve as such in connection with his professorship. He continued to discharge the arduous and responsible duties of both positions with all his well-known energy and zeal, until June 15, 1879, when he resigned in order to enable him to devote himself to his work as Bishop of Springfield, to which he was consecrated on St. Barnabas'-day, 1878. During his connection with the seminary as Professor and Dean, extending over a period of fourteen years, he initiated and carried out many important improvements, notwithstanding that, during the whole of the time, the institution was most seriously hampered by lack of sufficient means to pay its current expenses. By personal application he collected over \$10,000 for its benefit. With this he was enabled to fit up a new chapel in the east building; remove the library to the west wing of the west building, where it yet remains, and is comparatively free from the danger of fire; make very important improvements in the dormitories, and introduce gas in all the students' rooms. He reorganized the refectory which does so much to protect the students from injurious associations in boarding-houses, and to promote their physical and spiritual welfare. He was also instrumental in effecting a reformation in the calendar of the seminary, by which it is brought into harmony with the ecclesiastical year, and permits the graduating class to be ordained at the Trinity Ember season.

He has been succeeded in his office as Dean by the Rev. Eugene Augs. Hoffman, D.D., the present incumbent; and as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, by the Rev. Thomas Richey, D.D., whose long experience as a teacher, and varied learning, render his lectures peculiarly instructive and valuable.

In 1869 an act was passed by the legislature empowering the board of trustees to confer degrees in theology; a power which the board has guarded by a carefully worded statute, and from which, to its honor be it said, it has never departed.

Miss Ludlow, whose endowment of the Charles and Elizabeth Ludlow Professorship of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law, in 1868, and who died Nov. 11, 1868, left in her will a bequest of \$25,000 for the founding of a professorship in the seminary. Her heirs-at-law claimed that this bequest had been made void by her gift of that sum before her death, and Judge Barnard, of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, decided that the seminary, having received the money during the lifetime of the testatrix, was not entitled to the bequest in the will. Pending an appeal which was taken from this decision, the matter was compromised by Mr. Charles L. Livingston, the heir of Miss Ludlow, paying \$8,000, which was accepted by the seminary by an indenture of agreement, providing that the amount should be kept as a separate fund, to be forever called the "Charles and Elizabeth Ludlow Fund," the income thereof to be at the entire disposal of the trustees, to use in any manner that they may deem best.

In 1871 the present learned Professor of Systematic Divinity, the Rev. Samuel Buel, D.D., was elected, and entered on his duties.

In October of the following year the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., for ten years Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture, passed away.

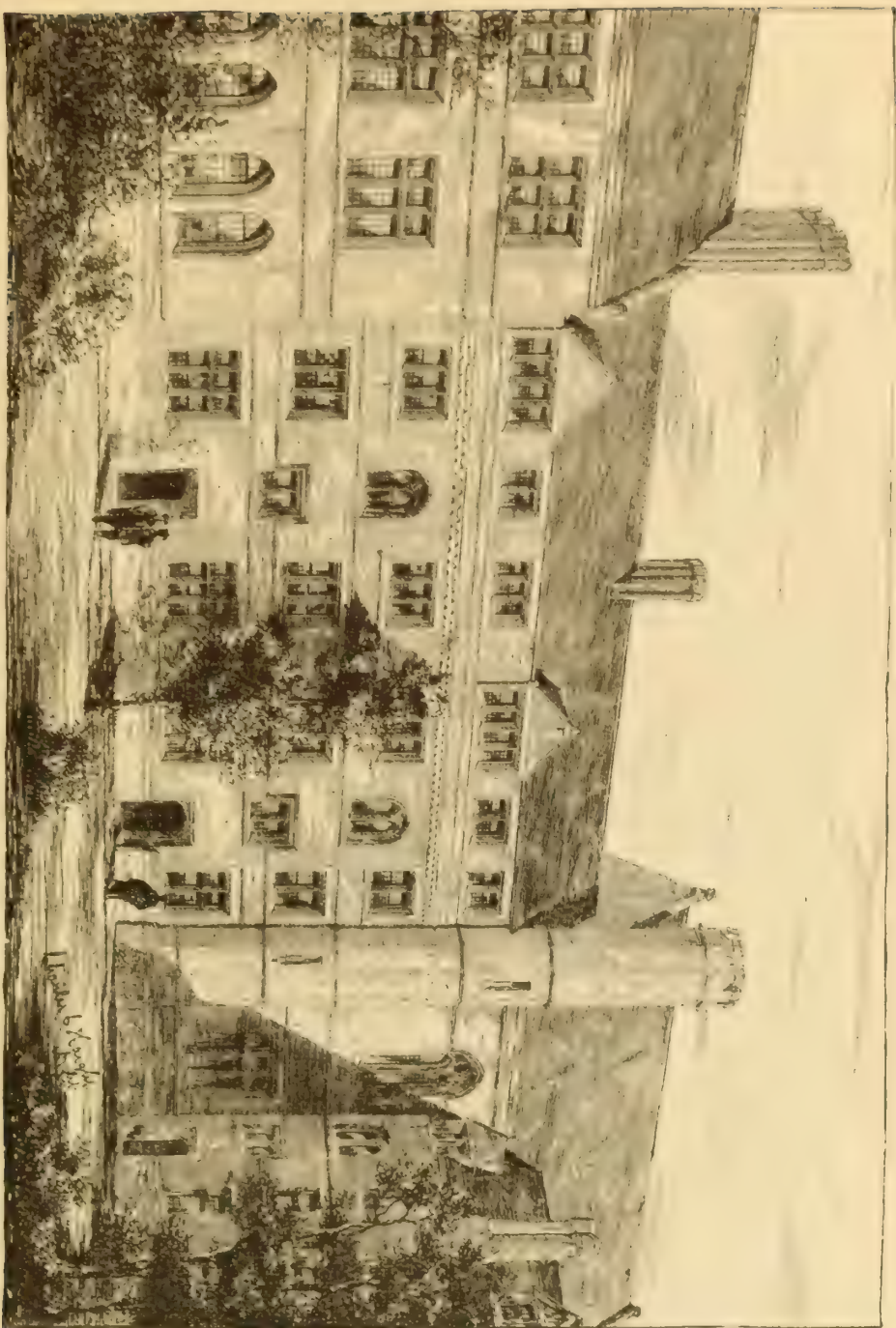
He was succeeded by his worthy and able successor, the Rev. Andrew Oliver, D.D., who was elected in June, 1873.

In 1869 an unknown donor presented the seminary with a thousand-dollar bond, to endow "a prize for the best *Extemporaneous Preaching*, to be known as THE SEYMOUR PRIZE."

Within the past five years the spirit which, in its early days, led Moore, and Sherred, and Lorillard, and Kohne, and Stuyvesant to make it the recipient of their noble endowments, has revived. The endowment of the Professorship of Pastoral Theology by the late Samuel Verplanck Hoffman has been followed by the still larger endowment of \$100,000 for the office of Dean by his family, which will hereafter secure a permanent head to the institution.

The noble gift of Mr. George A. Jarvis, to establish the "Bishop Paddock Lectureship" (on the plan of the well-known Bampton lectureship in Oxford), which has already given to the Church three very able courses of lectures, — Bishop Williams's on the Reformation, Dr. W. D. Wilson's on Natural Theology, and Bishop Littlejohn's on the Ministry at the close of the Nineteenth Century; and a similar amount given by Miss Caroline Talman to endow the "John H. Talman Fellowship," — have supplied a long-felt want, and set an example which, it is hoped, will shortly secure other endowments of like character.

And last, though not least in importance, the substantial progress which has already been made towards the erection of the admirably designed pile of collegiate buildings which is to be the future home of a great school of the prophets. The board having decided, at a large meeting in 1882, without a dissenting voice, to keep the seminary on its present site, instructed the standing committee to obtain plans and erect additional buildings as soon as the necessary funds should be provided. Thus instructed, the standing committee wisely determined to procure, before they spent a dollar on any new building, a complete plan of a series of buildings which the future development of the seminary will sooner or later require, and then to erect these buildings, one after another, as means are provided, and the growth of the institution shall demand. Employing Mr. Charles C. Haight, the architect of the new buildings of Columbia College, and the son of the late Rev. Dr. Haight, who filled for so many years the chair of Pastoral Theology, a design has been obtained, which combines in a remarkable degree economy of cost, simplicity of construction, and dignity in appearance, and which will, when fully carried out, provide accommodation for two hundred students, with residences for the dean and each member of the faculty. This general plan contemplates using the whole front on Ninth avenue by six hundred feet in depth. It will occupy three sides of the block, with a continuous line of buildings about forty feet in depth, leaving the southerly side on Twentieth street open, with the exception of the residences of the professors, which are to be placed some distance apart. The chapel, which is to stand in the centre, with the chancel on Twenty-first street, will divide the whole pile into



Sherrell Hall.

Dormitories.

Library.

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK CITY, EAST QUADRANGLE.

two quadrangles. A view of the east quadrangle, looking north-east, is given on another page. The main entrance to the buildings and grounds will be in the centre of the Ninth-avenue front, while the Dean's residence and the fire-proof library building will occupy the corners, the corresponding corner on the north-west being appropriated to the refectory. Suitable rooms are to be provided on the first floor of the fire-proof library building for the safe preservation of the archives and valuable documents of the General and Diocesan Conventions, while the ground floor of the chapel building is designed to be used as a large public lecture-room, in which a convention might assemble. The quarters of the students are particularly well arranged, every sitting-room having a southern exposure and two commodious bed-rooms attached, each of which has a window on Twenty-first street. The material to be used is pressed brick and Belleville stone, with dark slate for the steep roofs, while the interiors of the chapel, library, and lecture-rooms are to be finished with buff-colored brick, interspersed with black and red. The style of architecture is that known as the English Collegiate Gothic, which so readily adapted itself to all the requirements of a collegiate institution; and, when the whole pile is completed, it will not only furnish a collegiate establishment of which the Church may well be proud, but one which will not be put in the shade by anything in England or this country.

The corner-stone of the first of this series of buildings was laid May 10, 1883, by the Bishop of Albany, in the presence of a large concourse of the bishops, clergy, alumni, trustees, and friends of the seminary. Addresses were delivered on the occasion by the Bishop of Springfield, the Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter, and the Hon. Wm. M. Evarts, full reports of which were published in the Proceedings of the Trustees. The building is about eighty feet in length by forty feet in depth, and cost \$50,000, all of which has been provided by private subscriptions. It contains six commodious, well lighted and ventilated lecture-rooms, each about thirty feet square, and to each of which is attached a private room for the use of the professor. It was dedicated on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25, 1884, by the Assistant Bishop of New York, and is called SHERRED HALL, in memory of Mr. Jacob Sherred, a vestryman of Trinity Church, New York, whose generous legacy of \$60,000, in 1821, has already been noticed. The building is in every way most satisfactory, and has already begun to exercise a beneficial influence on the students.

Funds have been also promised for the erection of the proposed fire-proof library building, on condition that sufficient shall be contributed to build the two dormitories, which, in the plan adopted, connect it with Sherred Hall.

These, and other tokens which might be mentioned, show that our General Seminary has entered on a new era in its history, and give promise of the bright future that is opening before it.

L. A. Hoffman

THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL IN CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

BY THE REV. GEORGE ZABRISKIE GRAY, D.D., DEAN.

This institution was incorporated in 1867. It had long been felt that a Theological Seminary was needed to provide a ministry for the Church in New England, and especially when Cambridge offered so excellent an opportunity to recruit and prepare candidates. About 1825 Bishop Griswold began to urge the subject upon the clergy and laity, and in 1831 an organization was made by the Convention, chiefly under the guidance of Dr. Doane, subsequently Bishop of New Jersey; Dr. Potter, later Bishop of Pennsylvania; and Dr. Coit. The Rev. J. H. Hopkins, later Bishop of Vermont, was called from Pittsburg to undertake the work, and, for nearly two years, taught several young men in a house which he occupied in Cambridge. But, as he was elected to the episcopate, and expectations in regard to finances were not realized, the matter was given up. At the Convention of 1835 the effort was renewed, and a committee appointed, who, in 1836, reported a new plan of organization in coöperation with the diocese of Rhode Island. Trustees were appointed, and a subscription, already amounting to \$26,000, was to be made \$50,000 before work should be begun. But the financial panic that soon occurred put an end to this second endeavor. In 1845



PLAN OF EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE.

a committee was again appointed by the Convention to undertake the foundation of a seminary, and they reported, at the meeting of 1846, a plan of organization, and a gift of \$25,000 by William Appleton, Esq., conditional upon the raising of an equal sum in addition within two years. A long and influential list of gentlemen was appointed to secure this needed sum; but there appears no record of their reporting to any subsequent Convention; and thus the third attempt fell through.

But, in 1867, a munificent churchman of Boston, the late Benjamin T. Reed, resolved to revive the scheme, and to put it on a firm basis, which diocesan action had so repeatedly failed to accomplish. He

conveyed to trustees of his own selection the sum of \$100,000, accompanied by an indenture of conditions, based upon the plan of 1831. At once these trustees secured incorporation, and the history of the school began. Two peculiarities marked the conditions of this foundation. One was the mode of governing and of administering the trust. The title to the property, and the accompanying responsibilities, are vested in five lay trustees, who fill their own vacancies. This was approved by Mr. Reed because it seemed the necessary way to secure a proper care of the funds, and to keep the institution out of the complications of party politics, with their varying fortunes. But, in order that there be no departure from the Church's teaching, or any other perversion of the trust, there is a Board of Visitors, consisting of the Bishop of the diocese, with three clergymen and three laymen, who have full power to investigate and redress abuses, even to appeal to the courts of the State if they see fit.

Another condition was that all instructors are required to teach nothing contrary to the Church's doctrine of justification by faith in the merits of Christ alone, as expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles. This was inserted to prevent the trust from ever being used to inculcate either views held within the pale of Christendom which this Church has repudiated, or the anti-Christian idea of justification by morality, which threatens from a different quarter. Besides this there is absolutely no limitation, in theory or in practice, upon the liberty of inquiry and instruction within the range allowed by the standards of the Church. The aim has been to be independent of all schools of thought or parties, and to make the teaching as comprehensive as the Church itself, and as impartial towards all loyal members thereof. The history of the school has been one of marked success in material respects since its beginning. In 1869 the late R. M. Mason built the beautiful St. John's Memorial Chapel, at a cost of \$75,000, to be used for the free accommodation of officers and students of the school and of Harvard College, and of the public on such terms as the trustees may fix. In 1873 Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., built a dormitory, completed in 1880, at the total cost of \$80,000. In 1874 Mr. Reed gave the library and class-room building, costing \$35,000. Shortly after this, Mr. Reed died, and he had been so encouraged by the success of his work that he bequeathed the reversion of his entire estate, inventoried at over a million dollars. In 1875 Mr. John A. Burnham built the refectory, at a cost of \$12,000; and, at his decease, the donor of the chapel, Mr. Mason, left a legacy of \$25,000. There are to be added to all this a reversionary legacy of Bishop Eastburn, amounting to about \$25,000; also gifts for land for residences for professors, and for various items of expenditure, amounting to \$94,500. Therefore it is seen that the actual donations have amounted to \$426,500, and that property actually on hand is worth \$381,500. The ultimate reversion of the estate of the founder will render the endowment of the school one of the largest in America.

As to the *personnel* of the school, the late Rev. J. S. Stone, D.D., was Dean until 1876, when he retired, and the Rev. George Zabriskie Gray, D.D., was chosen in his place. The professors now

are, the Dean, Drs. A. V. G. Allen and P. H. Steenstra, the Rev. Messrs. William Lawrence and H. S. Nash, and the Rev. Elisha Mulford, LL.D., who is Lecturer on Apologetics. The Rev. Francis Wharton, D.D., was Professor from the beginning until 1882, when he withdrew from long and efficient labors. The chairs now in existence are those of Old and of New Testament Study, Ecclesiastical History, Systematic Divinity, Homiletics and Pastoral Care, and Apologetics. Among these six departments are divided all the branches of study prescribed by the canons of the Church.



EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE.

As to students, the number who have completed their studies is, up to July 1, 1884, eighty-four. They have come from nearly every diocese, and are at work in as many parts of the Church. The highest number present at once has been thirty. There are now twenty-seven.

The course covers, as usual, three years, with provision for post-graduate study, which is generally pursued by some each year. The degree of Bachelor in Divinity is granted to those who submit to an especial examination on the whole course, and write assigned theses.

As to conditions of admission, applicants must be Bachelors of Arts, or be examined by a fixed standard, unless they enter *ad eundem* from other seminaries. This is necessary in order to maintain that grade of scholarship which is required, in a place like Cambridge, for the credit of the Church, and where a large proportion of the students have had the thoroughness of a training in Harvard. This same fact of relations to a great university shapes the methods of

instruction, which is that of fundamental discussion of the relation of the Gospel, as held by this Church, to the thought of the day. Inquiry is peculiarly active in such a situation, and the aim is to meet it and to lead it aright, to stimulate the personal formation of opinions rather than to impose any opinions by professional authority.

One other phase of the work of the school, which springs out of its nearness to Harvard, is its relations to the church element therein. There are more churchmen there than in any other college in the land. Both the very presence of this school, and its chapel being the place of worship for such of these young men who desire to use it, give an opportunity of access to this large and important field. At present the Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Care is charged with this sphere of work, and it is expected that, even more than in the past, this relationship may lead to the impression upon the youth in that college of the claims of the Church and of its holy ministry. With divine blessing a bright future lies before a seminary in so important a place, and with such abundant means for fulfilling its mission.

G. W. May.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL HART, M.A., PROFESSOR.

The plan for the foundation of a church college in Connecticut was, to use the words of the historian of the diocese, "the conception of men who were not unmindful of the prejudices of early education." The institution at New Haven had taken its name from a churchman who had been its liberal benefactor, and had received from Dean Berkeley gifts of books and of lands which were of no little value. The Church in Connecticut may be said to have been born in the Yale College library; and though Dr. Cutler and Mr. Brown—the whole faculty at the time—were excused from the service of the college when in 1722 they professed their adherence to episcopacy, and though this action led to the requirement that all officers of the college should declare their acceptance of the Saybrook platform of church discipline, yet the clergy of the Church continued to be most friendly to the institution to which so many of them owed their early education. But under the presidency of Dr. Clap—almost at the very time when Bishop Seabury was an undergraduate—a change seems to have taken place. The college appears to have assumed a more distinctively theological character; a professor of theology was appointed—the first professor in the institution—and it was required that all of the officers of government and of instruction should give their assent to the Westminster Catechism and Confession of Faith,

and should sustain such examination thereon as the corporation should order. Moreover, the foundation of King's College in New York doubtless drew away from Connecticut some church students, and made others dissatisfied with the theological tone of Yale; and, as the Church in Connecticut increased in strength, her faithful members must have felt that it was desirable for them to establish institutions of sound learning for their children. There was no opportunity for anything of this kind before the outbreak of the struggle for independence; but we are not surprised to learn that one of the first things attempted, after the diocese had completed its ecclesiastical organization by securing the consecration of Bishop Seabury, in 1784, was the establishment of some institution of learning under the general direction of the Church. The first steps

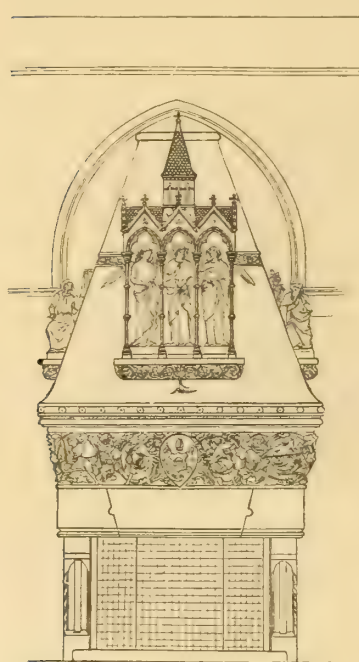


TRINITY COLLEGE IN 1829.

towards the foundation of such an institution were taken in 1788; and in 1795 a plan was perfected for the establishment of the Episcopal Academy in Cheshire, for which in 1801 a charter was obtained from the General Assembly of the State. It was sometimes called Seabury College, and its course of instruction was such as to enable it to fit young men at least for entrance upon strictly theological studies. But it had no power of conferring degrees; and when petitions were presented to the legislature in 1804, and again in 1810 and 1811, asking that the charter might be extended so as to give to the academy the full privileges of a college, the prayer of the trustees was refused. It is noticeable that in one of the two years last mentioned the proposed amendment to the charter passed the House of Representatives, and in the other it was rejected there by only a small majority, while on both occasions it was rejected by a full vote in the Council or Senate. Owing to these discouragements, to the long vacancy in the episcopate from 1813 to 1819, and to the labors of churchmen in behalf of the General Theological Seminary, which was located for a while in New Haven, the project for founding a church college was postponed. But the way for new efforts was

opened by the events which led to the revolution of 1818, in which the "standing order" was overthrown and a State constitution was adopted with an express provision for religious equality. In the following year the Rev. Dr. T. C. Brownell, a graduate of Union College, in which he had been for ten years tutor and professor, a man deeply interested in the cause of Christian education, and himself of broad and sound learning, was elected Bishop of Connecticut. Plans were soon set on foot for the establishment of a college; and, in spite of much unkind and bitter opposition, they were at last successful. On the 13th day of May, 1823, a petition, wisely and thoughtfully worded, and numerously signed, was presented to the General As-

sembly; and it is a noteworthy fact that on the preceding day the corporation of Yale College held a special meeting at Hartford, where the Legislature was in session, and repealed the test act then existing as a requirement of assent to the Saybrook platform. But though the strong argument for permission to establish a second college in the State was thus destroyed, the act of incorporation of Washington College passed the lower house on the 16th of May, and soon received the sanction of the Senate and the approval of the Governor. It seems to have been intended that the new institution should take the honored name of Seabury, which had been informally borne by the academy at Cheshire; but partly, as it would appear, to disarm prejudice, and partly because all the opponents to the old standing order were at this time making common cause with churchmen, the revered name of Washington was given to the college; and, at the same time,



DINING-HALL MANTEL-PIECE.

a third of the original trustees were selected from gentlemen who were not churchmen, and a clause of the charter forbade that any religious test should ever be required of any officer. The trustees were not to organize the college until the sum of \$30,000 should be secured for it; and, under this condition, they were given permission to establish it in any town in the State. The citizens of Hartford and vicinity, who had shown great interest in the proposed plan and had celebrated the passage of the charter by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon, subscribed liberally for its funds; and, as their gifts amounted to more than three-fourths of the \$50,000 which was soon raised for the needs of the new institution, it was decided that it should be located in that city. An ample site of fourteen acres, capable of being made a place of great beauty, about half a mile

south-west of the State-house, was purchased, and the erection of two buildings was begun in June, 1824. They were later known as Seabury Hall and Jarvis Hall, rather plain but well-proportioned and slightly structures of Portland stone, in the Ionic order of architecture; the first-named, designed by Professor S. F. B. Morse, containing the chapel, the library, the cabinet, and lecture-rooms; while the other, from the plans of Mr. Solomon Willard, the architect of Bunker Hill Monument, was intended for the accommodation of nearly a hundred students. In May of the same year Bishop Brownell had been elected to the presidency of the college, and in August the trustees met to elect members of the faculty. They chose to the chair of Belles Lettres and Oratory the Rev. George W. Doane, afterwards Bishop of New Jersey, and to that of Chemistry and Mineralogy, Mr. Frederick Hall. Mr. Horatio Hickok was elected Professor of Agri-



TRINITY COLLEGE IN 1869.

culture and Political Economy (it is believed that he was the first Professor of Political Economy in the country), and Dr. Sumner, a physician of Hartford, Professor of Botany. A tutor was also chosen for the ancient languages, — the Rev. Hector Humphreys, soon after elected professor, who left the college in 1830 to become President of St. John's College, Maryland; and in 1828 the Rev. Horatio Potter, now the venerable Bishop of New York, was called to the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and the learned Dr. S. F. Jarvis began his faithful labors, under the title of Professor of Oriental Literature, while the services of the Hon. W. W. Ellsworth had been secured as Professor of Law. As soon as the first professors were elected a statement was issued by authority of the trustees, containing their names, a full outline of the course of instruction, which was practically the same as that of the older colleges of New England, and other information. In two things the plans proposed were novel in their character: it was intended that the scientific teaching should be, as far as possible, of a practical character; and arrangements were made, as it would appear, for the first time in American college instruction, for the admission of students who

might be prepared to undertake only a part of the studies required for the regular degree in the arts, and for giving an English diploma to such as should pursue the partial course satisfactorily for two years.

On the 23d of September, 1824, the college being as yet accommodated with rooms in the city, academic work was begun; one senior, one sophomore, six freshmen, and one partial student being admitted; before the end of the year the number of students had increased to twenty-eight. The college prospered, in spite of the war of pamphlets which its organization had called forth; and the "feuds and jealousies," which it was predicted would be "implacable" and "entailed on distant generations," soon ceased to make themselves prominent. The Rev. Dr. Wheaton went to England, specially commissioned to visit the universities and to seek to secure books and philosophical apparatus for the use of the college, and his efforts were successful. In 1826, there being fifty undergraduates, it could be announced that a good library had been obtained, and that Dr. Jarvis's valuable collection of books was also deposited in the college for the use of the students (in fact, it was asserted, a few years later, that the books belonging to the college and to Dr. Jarvis were "the most select collection in the country, and second in magnitude only to that of Harvard University"); that, moreover, apparatus had been ordered, a valuable cabinet was in possession of the Professor of Mineralogy, and the college had a greenhouse and a collection of exotic plants, while part of the campus was



BISHOP BERKELEY'S CHAIR.

set out as an arboretum. In 1826 the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred upon the saintly Alexander Jolly, Bishop of Moray, in Scotland; but the first public commencement was held in 1827, in the Centre (Congregational) Church, when ten young men received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Under Bishop Brownell's presidency the students organized two literary societies which survived until 1870 — the Athenæum in 1825, and the Parthenon in 1827 — and the missionary society which is still in active operation; and in 1831 the alumni organized themselves into an association. The bishop remained at the head of the college for more than seven years; and he retired from the presidential chair in 1831, feeling that he ought to devote all of his time to his diocesan work, as, in fact, his Convention had desired him to do, while at the same time it bore "grateful testimony to the important services rendered by him in founding the college and advancing its interests." As a member of this corporation and as chancellor, Bishop Brownell continued during all the rest of his long episcopate to watch over the welfare of the institution; and, during the latter years of his life, when infirmity confined him within doors, the college procession, on its way to the hall

in which the Commencement was to be held, passed by his house and reverently saluted him.

Bishop Brownell's successor in the presidency was the Rev. Nathaniel S. Wheaton, D.D., already mentioned as one of the early friends of the college. His varied ability enabled him to do much for its welfare. He secured the endowment of the Hobart and the Seabury professorships and of certain scholarships; and among the other proofs of his taste and judgment was the beauty with which the grounds were laid out and planted. His own benefactions — gifts of



VIEW OF PROPOSED BUILDINGS, TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD.

books, of apparatus, and of money, made all through his life and at his death — will never be forgotten. It may be said of him that he gave to the college all that he was and all that he had, and the influence of his life and his work will endure as long as the college shall stand.

On Dr. Wheaton's resignation, in 1837, the Rev. Silas Totten, D.D., who had been for four years Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, was chosen to the presidency, the duties of which he discharged for eleven years. In 1845 a third building — Brownell Hall — was erected. It had been proposed in 1844 by the alumni that steps should be taken to secure an alteration in the name of the college; and in the following year, on the petition of the corporation, the General Assembly changed the name to "Trinity College." The former name, though it commanded honor and respect, had never been felt to be entirely satisfactory; and the new name was chosen, partly

that it might attest the faith of the founders and supporters of the college, and partly also because it had been long associated (especially at the university of Cambridge) with high scholarship and sound learning. In the same year the trustees organized the graduates of the college into a house of convocation, and made provision for a board of fellows who should superintend the course of study and discipline. During Dr. Totten's administration very considerable additions were made to the scholarship funds, and a library fund was begun by a generous gift of the Rev. Dr. Burgess, afterwards Bishop of Maine.

The Rev. John Williams, D.D., a graduate of thirteen years' standing, was elected to the presidency in 1848. To his efforts the college owes much in the development of its course of instruction and in the increase of its library funds. An informal theological department grew up, young men being attracted by Dr. Williams's rare gifts as a teacher; and this led to the foundation of the Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown. Meanwhile Dr. Williams had been elected (in 1851) Assistant Bishop of Connecticut, and in 1853, the duties of this office increasing, he felt it necessary to withdraw from the presidency of the college.



SEAL OF THE COLLEGE.

After Bishop Williams's resignation the Rev. D. R. Goodwin, D.D., was chosen to the presidency. To him succeeded, in 1860, Prof. Samuel Eliot, LL.D., and in 1864, the Rev. J. B. Kerfoot, D.D., on whose consecration to the Bishopric of Pittsburgh in 1866, after a vacancy of one year, the Rev. Abner Jackson, D.D., a graduate in the class of 1837, was chosen president. Under the charge of these men of learning the

college maintained its position; though, in the days of the civil war, when it sent a goodly number of students into the national service, the roll of undergraduates was considerably diminished. Under Dr. Goodwin's and Dr. Eliot's administrations, and by the legacy of Mr. Chester Adams in 1871, the permanent funds of the college were increased and its financial status was strengthened.

In 1871, the city of Hartford having decided to offer to the State a site for a new capitol, it was proposed to the college authorities that they should sell the campus for this purpose and select a new location for the college. After much opposition the corporation accepted the liberal sum which was offered by the city, reserving the use of the grounds and of the larger part of the buildings for five years, from 1872 to 1877. A new site of nearly eighty acres, on the bluff of trap-rock which runs to the south below the western part of the city, was purchased; and under Dr. Jackson's careful and painstaking superintendence elaborate and beautiful plans were prepared for the new buildings. The work, in which he took great interest, was deferred by his lamented death, in April, 1874, but was soon resumed under his successor, the Rev. Prof. T. R. Pynchon, D.D., of the class

of 1841. Ground was broken on Commencement-day, 1875, amid much enthusiasm; but it was not until the autumn of 1878 that the two blocks of buildings needed for the accommodation of the college were finished. The west side of the great quadrangle was completed in 1882 by the erection of the central tower, through the liberality of Col. C. H. Northam; and the statue of Bishop Brownell, presented thirteen years before by his son-in-law, was placed at the opposite side of the quadrangle. Dr. Pynchon's presidency was marked not only by the erection of the beautiful pile of buildings on *the plateau of the campus*, but also by the large increase of the endowments through the legacies of Col. Northam and his wife, whose gifts to the college amount in all to nearly a quarter of a million of dollars, by valuable additions to both the library and cabinet, and by a change in the charter giving the alumni the privilege of electing part of the trustees. On his retirement, in 1883, he was succeeded by the Rev. George Williamson Smith, D.D., who has been welcomed to his duties by the hearty applause of officers, students, alumni, and friends.

In thus tracing the history of the college no mention has been made of the successors of the able body of instructors who were associated with Bishop Brownell in the early work of the institution. Drs. Totten, Williams, Eliot, Jackson, and Pynchon had served in the faculty before they were elected to the presidency. One of the longest terms of professional office was that of Duncan L. Stewart, LL.D., who served in the chair of ancient languages and in that of mathematics and natural philosophy from 1833 to 1856, and who held the title of professor emeritus until his death, in 1880. But John Brocklesby, LL.D., still professor emeritus, is rightly honored as the person who has given to the college the most years of faithful labor in her faculty. At the time of his retirement, in 1882, he had been for forty years professor in the department of mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy. The present Bishop of New Hampshire,



STATUE OF BISHOP BROWNELL. COLLEGE CAMPUS.

the Rt. Rev. Dr. Niles, was called from the chair of Latin to the episcopate. Within two years the college has been called to mourn the death of the only two members of the faculty (besides President Jackson) who have died in office, — the Rev. E. E. Johnson, Professor of English, the brilliancy and enthusiasm of whose genius was only equalled by his untiring devotion to duty; and Louis M. Cheesman, Ph.D., Professor of Physics, who had in the short time of his study and work given promise of a brilliant future.

The faculty is at present constituted as follows : —

The Rev. Geo. Williamson Smith, D.D., President, and Hobart Professor of Metaphysics; the Rev. Thomas R. Pynchon, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy; the Rev. Samuel Hart, M.A., Professor of the Latin Language and Literature; H. Carrington Bolton, Ph.D., Scovill Professor of Chemistry and Natural Science; the Rev. Isbon T. Beckwith, Ph.D., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature; the Rev. Flavel S. Luther, M.A., Seabury Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy; the Rev. Henry Ferguson, M.A., Northam Professor of History and Political Science; Charles Frederick Johnson, B.A., Professor of Rhetoric and of the English Language and Literature; the Rev. J. J. McCook, M.A., Instructor in the Modern Languages; Wm. Lispenard Robb, Ph.D., Instructor in Physics.

The list of last year's lecturers includes : —

The Rt. Rev. John Williams, D.D., LL.D., History; William A. M. Wainwright, M.A., M.D., Anatomy and Physiology; William Hamersley, M.A., Law; Charles D. Scudder, M.A., M.D., Hygiene; Charles Dudley Warner, M.A., English Literature; Frederick C. Robertson, M.A., Elocution; E. O. Graves, M.A., Science of Administration.

Trinity College, during the sixty years in which it has been in operation, has admitted some sixteen hundred students, and it has confirmed bachelor's degrees upon eight hundred and seventy-nine of its members, of whom about three hundred have entered the ministry of the church; and of these latter eight have become bishops. Others of the alumni have occupied and do occupy important positions in the State, in educational institutions, in the learned professions, and in the business of life. The course of instruction has been modified from time to time to adapt it to the requirements of liberal education; and the standard has never been inferior to that of the other colleges of New England. An important change was made in 1884, providing for a certain choice of elective studies during the latter half of the course for students for the degree in arts, and affording additional facilities for the study of the sciences; the general requirements, however, being conformed to the old curriculum. In all the work of the college it has been and will be its aim to carry out, both in itself and in the lives and works of its alumni, the teaching of its motto: "PRO ECCLESIA ET PATRIA."

Samuel Hart

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, CONCORD.

By the REV. HALL HARRISON, M.A.

St. Paul's School, in Concord, N. H., is one of the best known of all our church classical schools, as distinguished from colleges like Trinity, Hobart, and Racine. It was founded, and partially endowed, by a distinguished layman of Boston, Mass., George Cheyne Shattuck, M.D., who has so generously used his wealth for the benefit of the Church, not only in New England, but in Maryland, Minnesota, and other dioceses.

St. Paul's, whose buildings are now about twenty in number, — presenting, as one approaches, quite the appearance of a little village, — is situated in a charming and salubrious region about two miles from Concord, the capital of New Hampshire. There, in a lovely, picturesque valley, by the borders of a pretty little lake, surrounded by lofty hills, Dr. Shattuck founded his institution. From small and modest beginnings it has grown, in less than thirty years, not only to take its place in the front among our church schools, but also, as the honor-lists in our leading colleges and universities show, it sends out, year by year, pupils who rank not below those who come from any of the oldest and most famous academies of the country.

With respect
Very truly
Yours
Geo. C. Shattuck

Dr. Shattuck was a firm believer in the Church as an educator; to him education meant character, and included something far beyond mere book-learning. His desire was that the spirit of the Book of Common Prayer should be the foundation of the work to be done, and that the sort of tone which we understand by the word "gentleman," in its best and highest sense, should pervade the establishment, and insensibly mould all who came under its influence. In short, a "public school" of the same general character as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Winchester, was in his mind, though he was too wise to have any idea of extemporizing any of those growths of centuries under such totally different social and political circumstances. His purpose was admirably expressed by the following words in the deed of gift: —

The founder is desirous of endowing a school of the highest class for boys, in which they may obtain an education which shall fit them either for college or business, including thorough intellectual training in the various branches of learning; gymnastic and manly exercises adapted to preserve health and strengthen the physical condition; such aesthetic culture and accomplishments as shall tend to refine the manners and elevate the taste, together with careful moral and religious instruction.

This brief statement is itself worth a passing notice for its modesty and reticence. There are not a few occasions when "the unsaid is better than the said." The Church (which was to be the cornerstone of all) is not only not thrust prominently forward, it is not even

mentioned. Only such matters are spoken of as all judicious parents would agree upon as desirable. In short, it is implied that deeds, not words, are the only test; for "every tree is known by its own fruit."

With these general views Dr. Shattuck, in the year 1855, devoted what had previously been his country-seat, situated, as has been described, in Merrimack county, N.H., to be the nucleus of the school which he contemplated. But it need hardly be said that no buildings, however costly or commodious, can make a school. There can be no school without a master, and the master is useless unless boys come to be taught and trained. After several attempts to satisfy himself the founder at length succeeded in securing to preside over the first organization of the scheme, the Rev. Henry Augustus Coit, M.A., now Doc-

tor in Divinity by diploma from Columbia College, New York. This gentleman, the present head-master — or, as he is called,

Henry A. Coit

rector — of St. Paul's School, a Southerner by birth, and educated by Dr. Muhlenberg at College Point, may, with strictest propriety of speech, be considered the second founder, and, in a true sense, the veritable creator of the institution which has become so celebrated. Though then only about twenty-six years of age he was already a fine classical and *belles-lettres* scholar. He fully entered into the enlightened views of Dr. Shattuck, and brought to the work even a more enlarged conception of what such a school, rightly and cautiously conducted, might eventually become. This conception was, perhaps, increased or intensified by a visit to England made by Dr. Coit in 1868, during which some of the English public schools were inspected. St. Paul's opened in 1856, with some five or six boys, sons, or relations, and friends, of the founder. It was from the first an incorporated institution, and the act of the Legislature of New Hampshire bears date June 29, 1855. No advertisement setting forth the claims or supposed merits of the school ever appeared. There was, at the very beginning, a simple statement in the Church papers, of its title, its situation, and the names of the rector and members of the board of trustees. Among these there have always been some names well known among churchmen, such as Bishops Chase, Niles, and Neely, Judge Redfield, E. N. Perkins, Esq., Dr. Samuel Eliot, Richard H. Dana, Esq., C. P. Gardner, Esq., John H. Swift, Esq., of New York, etc. The founder himself was not a member of the board, and, with his usual modesty, never allowed his name to be prominent, though ever ready to give his advice and assistance.

The rector was aided at first by only one or two masters, and everything was necessarily on the smallest scale, while the first foundations were carefully laid. But the boys who left him showed so manifestly the good results of their education in the large sense of the term, as well as the soundness of their instruction in the various branches of the *curriculum*, that the reputation of the school rapidly

spread: applications for admission began to pour in, and these chiefly from families of culture and good standing in various sections of the country. These applications have kept up without break ever since, to a degree almost, if not quite, unprecedented. The writer has frequently heard of parents who would enter the names of sons only seven or eight years old, that they might be ready to secure expected vacancies five or six years later. There was a nameless something about the tone and manners of the pupils — a bracing influence about the moral atmosphere which the boys breathed — that was very taking with people of culture and refinement; and the more the pupils were known, the more eager did the parents of others become to secure these same advantages for their sons. In a word, the boys themselves became, unconsciously, the very best advertisement, and no other ever was needed.

What special principles of management have produced these happy results it would not be easy, and would certainly take too long, to tell. When Dr. Arnold introduced his quiet, but still almost revolutionary, reforms upon taking charge of Rugby, in 1828, the boys used to say, "It is a downright shame to tell Arnold a lie, for he believes it." So, for one thing, it may be said that at St. Paul's the boy is *trusted* from the moment that he sets foot upon the grounds. Saving the necessary mapping out of the day for study, and the requirement of strict punctuality, there are probably not many homes where there are fewer arbitrary "rules" than suffice for the St. Paul's boys.

On St. Peter's Day, 1858, the corner-stone of a chapel was laid, — the gift of the founder, — and on St. Paul's Day, in the year 1859, the building was consecrated by the bishops of New Hampshire and Connecticut. This chapel has ever been the centre, so to say, of the holy and peculiar influence of the place. The services have always been reverent and beautiful, the music, in which the boys naturally take great interest and delight, has been church-like and elevating, and the Sunday sermons of the rector have been peculiarly adapted to inspire his hearers, older and younger, with a love of virtue and religion and an ardent desire to reach the highest excellence in all things. The Church Catechism was the basis of all the religious instruction. With a rare perception both of the desirable and the attainable, the rector seems to have felt that, while a large company of loyal and impressionable boys could be very easily made "ritualistic," it was a harder and a far worthier task to try to make them moral and religious, manly and healthy in their piety. Nor will those who understand the character of boys doubt for a moment that this instinct was an eminently wise one. The original chapel was intended to accommodate about forty boys; it was enlarged to more than double its former capacity in 1868, and, being now (1884) wholly inadequate, preparations are making by the *alumni* to build an entirely new and extremely beautiful structure, at a cost of \$75,000. Of this sum about \$56,000 have already been raised.

In the year 1865, after the breaking up of St. James's College, in Maryland, Dr. Coit was happily joined by his brother, the Rev. Joseph Howland Coit, M. A., who had been Professor of Mathematics

and Natural Science in that institution. A teacher of the very first order, of wide and varied culture, and of the same general educational views as his brother, he became vice-rector, taking charge of the scientific side of the school, and proving an invaluable addition to the corps of masters, as well as a judicious adviser on the board of trustees. At this period the school numbered between seventy and eighty; in the chapel the boys had overflowed into the seats designed for the neighboring population, who loved to attend the services, while for additional dormitories various adjoining houses were gradually purchased and added to the school property. In 1869 the Upper School, a handsome three-story granite building, was erected, with kitchen, dining-room, matron's apartments, etc., in a private house near by. To this were added the Lower School, for the youngest boys, in 1870; the rectory in 1871 or '72; the large school-house, with school-room and recitation-rooms, in 1873; the infirmary or sanitorium, in 1877. The large edifice called "The School," in which the vice-rector resides with the main body of the boys, is pronounced by competent judges to be one of the most complete school-buildings to be found anywhere in the country. This takes the place of the original house of Dr. Shattuck, which was destroyed by fire in 1878.

The funds for these numerous and costly structures have been to some considerable extent given by the founder and other generous friends of St. Paul's, but they have also been in large measure derived from the income of the school itself, which the rector has expended, as far as possible, for the permanent improvement and growth of the institution. St. Paul's has been built up rapidly, indeed, but still gradually, by the wise economy and unceasing labor of the rector and his able assistants.

The *course of study* includes six forms, of which the sixth is the highest, and a preparatory or "shell," thus covering in all seven years. The students are prepared to enter the freshman and sophomore classes in Harvard, or in any American college. Not a few, after completing the extended course, enter upon business without proceeding to college. There is also a fine gymnasium, and all the usual athletic sports, especially the famous English exercises of cricket and rowing, have been encouraged from the very start. A stranger is generally much struck with the happy, home-like life of the place, and the healthy, manly, ingenuous appearance of the boys as he sees them gathered in the chapel, or engaged in sports upon the spacious play-grounds.

The daily routine is, generally speaking, as follows: Rise at 6.30, (a little later in winter); breakfast at 7; short morning prayers in the chapel for the whole school at 8; school-work until 12; 12 to 1, recreation; 1, dinner; 2 to 4, recreation; 4 to 6, school-work; 6, supper, followed immediately by short evening prayers; after which the boy is free to use his time as he pleases (except one hour of study) until bedtime, which is 9 o'clock for most, and 10 or 10.30 for the oldest pupils. Immediately before bedtime, at 9 o'clock, a short space of some ten or fifteen minutes, known as "Bible-hour," is invariably devoted to the silent reading of the Holy Scriptures — generally the appointed gospel lesson of the day.

There are three separate refectories or dining-rooms, one at the Upper School, one—the largest—at “The School,” and a third at the Lower School. This arrangement, while considerably increasing the expense, contributes greatly to the comfort and home-like character of the daily life. The dormitories are admirably arranged, each “alcove” being practically a small private room, while the older boys, in the sixth form, have bedrooms combined with their “studies” in the upper school. The Anniversary Day, also called *Founder's Day*, is celebrated early in June every year. It is a great fête-day for the boys, their parents, and their friends; there is a grand cricket-match and feast, and a special sermon and service in the chapel. The “old boys” assemble in force, thus keeping up their own love for the “happy hills”

“Where once their careless childhood strayed,
A stranger yet to pain;”

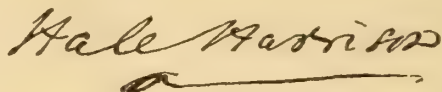
and encouraging in the younger generation a proper and pleasing pride in their *alma mater*, the effect of which is every way beneficial.

The present number of pupils is about two hundred and eighty, the number of masters, twenty,—many of them graduates of the school. Among the masters now resident at St. Paul's, and who have for many years past been identified with its history and prosperity, may be mentioned the Rev. Robert A. Benton, M.A., of Trinity, Hartford; the Rev. T. G. Valpey, M.A., of Yale; Mr. Charles S. Knox, M.A., of Columbia College, New York; the Rev. Charles A. Morrill, M.A., of Harvard; the Rev. Thos. J. Drumm, M.A.; Mr. James C. Knox, M.A.; the Rev. John Hargate, M.A.; Mr. James Milnor Coit, Ph.D.; the Rev. Edward M. Parker, M.A. (Keble College, Oxford). The last five of these are graduates of St. Paul's. The terms of admission were originally \$300 per annum; then \$400; they are now, and have been for some years, \$500. There are a few scholarships (which the authorities are anxious to increase), the holders of which receive all the benefits of the school free of charge.

It has been said that no school ought to be regarded as a well-established public institution until it has been tried long enough to see whether its own pupils, when they become fathers, retain their attachment and their belief in the methods pursued, so far as to send their own sons to the old place where they themselves were educated. This final test St. Paul's has already met. For some time past there have been on its roll pupils whose fathers were themselves old St. Paul's boys twenty years ago and more, and the number is certain to increase as each year goes by. The long list of its alumni, moreover, includes the names of not a few of the rising young lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and business men in most of our great cities.

Looking, then, at these various and really remarkable results, and calmly weighing the excellences of the system of St. Paul's, there is every reason to hope and believe that Dr. Shattuck and Dr. Coit have succeeded in founding in the United States a distinctively church school which gives every promise of enduring, and will prove, in time, worthy to be compared with those famous English schools which enter

so deeply into the very heart of the national life and character. The foundations have been so well laid that, under the protection of a good Providence, it seems they cannot easily be overthrown. No doubt, in this case, as in all similar undertakings, it may be truly said much must be due to the personal influence and magnetism of the present and first head-master, which seems, in its way, to resemble that of the celebrated Dr. Arnold at Rugby. It is plain enough that he must be a man of peculiar gifts and powers, and not only such as impress and charm the young. To bring St. Paul's to its present high efficiency and celebrity the rector must necessarily have been able to work harmoniously with a large corps of masters, themselves men of culture and acquirement; with the distinguished gentlemen who are the trustees of the school; and with the numerous parents of the pupils, not a few of whom are known among the most influential people of the land. But, after making all due allowance for these personal qualifications, which it might indeed be difficult to replace, it is quite certain that if anything like the wise judgment and unselfish labor of the past quarter of a century shall mark the administration of Dr. Coit's successors, St. Paul's, Concord, will more and more take a leading rank among those noted places of education which, after all, are the true glory of our country, because they are the best security that we have for the cultivation of those virtues which lie at the foundation of the safety, honor, and welfare of our people.

Hale Mattison


HISTORICAL SKETCH OF RACINE COLLEGE.

Racine College, situated in the limits of the city of Racine, Wisconsin, was founded A.D. 1852. It owes its foundation, no doubt, primarily to the conviction of those who were leaders in the enterprise, that the interests of religion and the political interests of the country so intimately interwoven with the morals of its people, demanded that the doctrines of, and the great principles of morality embraced in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, should enter prominently into the education of the youth of the land; and, secondarily, to the added conviction that the branch of the catholic church, called in this country the Protestant Episcopal, had an imperative duty in this direction. Prompted by this motive, the question of a church college in the diocese of Wisconsin first arose in the Convention of the Church assembled in Milwaukee A.D. 1851, with the venerated Bishop Kemper at its head.

The church in Racine at this time was few in numbers and feeble in means; but, aided by the local interest which now came into play, it secured a site of ten acres, and subscriptions to the amount of

\$10,000 for a building. Racine city is situated on a neck of land, lying high and dry between a far extending prairie on the west, and Lake Michigan on the east. On the narrowest part of this neck of land, with the native forest trees still standing, about one mile and a half south of the central part of the city, the college is located; and to those fond of broadly extended and varied views nothing could be more picturesque and pleasing. The fertile prairie, dotted with its farm-houses and frequent clusters of trees, and the boundless expanse of the lake, covered with its numerous sails and other craft of commerce, fall at a glance under the eye of the beholder from the college lookout; and what is of still greater importance, the location is unexcelled in healthfulness. Such a site being secured, and the subscription in hand for the proposed building, application was immediately made to the legislature for a charter, which, with liberal provisions, was granted on the 3d day of March, A.D. 1852, and entitled "An act to incorporate the board of trustees of Racine College."

The first meeting of the board of trustees was held on the 10th day of March, A.D. 1852, and presided over by the Rev. Joseph H. Nichols, the rector at that time of St. Luke's Church at Racine. At this meeting it was ordered "that the corner-stone of the first building be laid on the 5th of May following," which we find was accordingly done with appropriate ceremonies, and an address by the Rev. Mr. Nichols. At a meeting of the board held about the first of November, in the same year, the Rev. Roswell Park, D.D., was unanimously elected to the presidency of the incipient institution, and of its board of trustees. He accepted the position, and immediately entered upon his work with all the enthusiasm of an ambitious tiller of virgin soil. On the 15th day of the same month he opened the school, consisting of nine scholars, in a hired room, under the chartered name of Racine College.

Though a majority of the coöperators were churchmen, several of them clergymen, there is in the first charter no other intimation that it was to be a church institution. But the president was a church clergyman, and at the meeting of the trustees held in November 1852, the following preamble and items were adopted:—

"Whereas, Racine College was founded under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and has already received donations as a church institution, it is hereby understood and declared by the Board of Trustees:—

"1. That in all future elections to the board, preference be given to communicants of the church, unless there be special reasons to the contrary.

"2. That the Bishop of the Diocese be, *ex officio*, a member of this board.

"3. That the president and majority of the faculty shall be communicants.

"4. That the book of Common Prayer of the church shall be used with the Bible regularly in the daily devotions."

So far, at this time, was the college a church institution.

From the time that the president of this board came upon the

grounds, he was the acknowledged leader, not only of the educational work, but in all the financial interests, always forgetful of self, with nothing for his salary except what was left when all other claims had been met. In one report this amounted to \$7.

We pass now to the history of Racine College in its second stage, which it entered upon in the autumn of 1859.

The changes in the constitution and character of the institution, which have already been alluded to as radical, had their origin in this wise: there was existing at this time a new institution at Delafield, Wis., under the chartered name of "St. John's Hall." This institution was under the rectorship of the Rev. James De Koven, afterwards the Rev. Dr. James De Koven, warden of the college, and in which he was assisted by the Rev. J. S. B. Hodges and the Rev. Henry C. Shaw. Its building was only a cheap wooden structure. The thought suggested itself to the minds of many churchmen that this institution might with profit be united to Racine College. Dr. Park immediately fell in with the idea, and, in order to effect the union, proposed to resign the presidency of the college into the hands of Dr. De Koven, and take upon himself a professorship. His offer was accepted, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Kemper was elected president of the board of trustees, and the Rev. James De Koven, rector of the college. On the 5th day of October, A.D., 1859, Racine College entered upon the work of its second stage in two divisions, a grammar school and college proper.

In 1863 the first set of statutes was passed by the trustees and published, and under these statutes the Board of Fellows was organized. In 1865 Mr. Isaac Taylor, a trustee, and man of wealth, who had long been considering a plan for advancing the usefulness of the college by the endowment of some charity connected with it, or the erection of another building, was taken away suddenly, before his plan was fully matured, leaving all his estate to his widow. One year afterwards, in October, 1866, Mrs. Taylor also died, having, among other munificent charities, in accordance with her late husband's wishes, bequeathed to Racine College the sum of \$65,000, of which \$30,000 were to be used in the erection of a building, \$5,000 as the trustees might decide, and the balance to be securely invested chiefly in the educational benefit of the orphan sons of clergymen in the diocese of Wisconsin. In pursuance of the provisions of the bequest, the corner-stone of Taylor Hall was laid on the 22d day of June, 1867, and the building finished and occupied before the following Christmas. The grammar school, which has not demanded separate attention, though a large majority of students have always been members of it, has in all these years moved on with a full organized faculty of instruction under the supervision of the warden, the studies being directed by the Board of Fellows, as the statute provided. This department is arranged in six forms, the full course requiring about six years. A youth having completed the sixth form is ready to enter the collegiate department.

The next movement is best understood by the following extract from a circular put forth by its inaugurators, in the year 1877, and which will serve as a matter of current history:—

Racine College was founded in the year 1852, and has now been in operation for nearly twenty-four years.

In the year 1859 a change was made in its government, making it more distinctly churchly in its discipline and care, and it has since that time been under the charge of its present warden (Dr. De Koven, since deceased).

Its property consists of about ninety acres of valuable land within the limits of the city of Racine; a range of beautiful buildings, between four and five hundred feet in length, including school-house, dining-hall, and two halls for the scholars of the Grammar School; Taylor Hall, a very handsome and thoroughly appointed building, containing the warden's and sub-warden's rooms, and the studies and rooms for the college students; a fine laboratory and gymnasium recently built; and a collegiate church placed in the centre of the quadrangle. In addition to the land and buildings, there is an endowment of about \$30,000, the interest of which is devoted by the will of the donor to the keeping of Taylor Hall in repair, and to the education of the orphan sons of church clergymen of the State of Wisconsin.

There is a debt of \$25,000 upon the property, so funded that it cannot give trouble to the institution. The charter and statutes of the college afford every security for the government and perpetuity of the college under the care of the Church.

The Bishops of Michigan, Indiana, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Wisconsin, Western Michigan, Illinois, and Fond du Lac, after full conference and consideration, have determined to adopt Racine College as the collegiate institution of their respective dioceses, with the determination, with the help of God, to make it a Church university of the West and North-west.

For this purpose they are to be trustees and visitors of the college, with the powers accorded them in the statutes.

These statutes, it will be noticed, give to the bishops as such —

1. The presidency of the board of trustees, according to seniority.
2. In the case of a vacancy the nomination of the warden of the college.
3. A veto power over the regulations in regard to the worship of the collegiate church; and,
4. A visitatorial power, with provision for an annual visitation.

The reasons which have induced the bishops to enter upon this work are of the gravest character, and must commend themselves to every churchman. They feel that no institution of a broad and liberal character can be established without united effort, that no single diocese can make it what it ought to be, and that the union of many dioceses in such a work is necessary to secure enlarged interest, freedom from any narrow methods, and sufficient numbers and means to establish a true university.

They feel that the time has come for such a work, unless the Church in the West is prepared to surrender its traditional character as the truest and best educator of the people.

They find the most powerful motive for their present action in the circumstances of the times, in the needs of the day, in the growing infidelity, and in the entreating cries which come from all sides for an education which shall neglect no need of human nature, and least of all the immortal soul.

They have chosen Racine College, because it is the only Church college proper in actual operation between Kenyon College, in Ohio, and the Pacific Ocean; and because they find in it foundations wisely laid, and only needing to be as widely built upon. The college already comprises two schools — a school of letters and a school of science — with seven professors, whose whole time and labor are given to them. All this is apart from and independent of the large and successful preparatory department. They have, however, chiefly been led to its selection by the further consideration that the plan proposed by the trustees will permit the bishops to build up a university on the most liberal basis, where true freedom of thought shall prevail, guided and moulded by the conservative influences of the faith of the Church.

The bishops, therefore, in His name who has committed to them the care of the flock of Christ, ask of the clergy and laity of their respective dioceses their prayers and assistance in the work thus begun. They can aid the plan by seeking for full information, by endeavoring to urge young men to embrace the advantages which the institution will be enabled to offer them, and by such gifts as in time

shall make it what we pray it may become, a Christian university for this mighty West.

Signed for the Bishops of Michigan, Indiana, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Wisconsin, Western Michigan, Illinois, and Fond du Lac, by

E. R. WELLES,

Bishop of Wisconsin.

GEO. D. GILLESPIE,

Bishop of Western Michigan

W. E. McLAREN,

Bishop of Illinois.

Committee.

The University plan is that under which the institution is now successfully carried on. It was one of Dr. De Koven's last acts to thus place the work on the firmest possible basis for the future. He labored but two years under the new conditions, and when suddenly called away from earth, on the 19th of March, 1879, the organization of the system was so complete that each department of the work continued to be managed under its respective head, with all the regularity and thoroughness of previous years. The following words to patrons of the college, and especially the report of the visiting committee of the board of trustees as set forth in the summer of 1883, attest the honesty of this statement:—

"Everything is being done to carry out the grand ideas of the sainted genius who built up this unique college."

Racine College will stand or fall on Dr. James De Koven's idea of complete, Christian, catholic education, and it only remains to be seen if there are enough parents in this teeming empire of America who will appreciate the advantages of such a system for their sons, in the most tempted and testing time of their adolescence, and thus support and encourage such an institution.

The report of the visiting committee is as follows:—

To the Bishops, Trustees of Racine College:— The undersigned, your committee of visitation for the present collegiate year, respectfully report as result of personal inspection of the grounds and buildings, and of inquiry into the financial, educational, and spiritual condition of the institution: They are of opinion that Racine Grammar School and college are in admirable order, and are justly entitled to the confidence and support of the Church and public at large. The high standard of scholarship previously reached, in both the school and college, has been maintained; professors and instructors are well qualified for their respective positions; discipline in all departments is affectionately but firmly asserted. That nearly one-half of the whole number of students and pupils are communicants is a satisfactory indication of the spiritual tone prevailing among them.

The committee feel assured that the warden and faculty are well keeping the great trust confided to them, and that they deserve the cordial encouragement and support of the bishops that are associated in the care of this university.

Signed,

GEO. D. GILLESPIE,

W. E. McLAREN,

J. H. HOBART BROWN.

To close this sketch it remains to be said, that the bequest of Dr. De Koven for the purpose at last enabled the trustees to pay off all debts; but so large an institution, unendowed, cannot expect to remain free from embarrassment through the various changes the financial affairs of the country periodically undergo.

It now rests with the churchmen to show their appreciation of the noble work done by Dr. De Koven for the cause of Christian education, by inaugurating a future for Racine College which shall have for its distinguishing characteristic an ample endowment, rendering the work a permanent blessing to the Church and the country, and strengthening the hands of Dr. Gray, the present Warden, and those of his faithful helpers, who are loyally, devoutly, and reverently carrying on the work of him, who, in the rest that remaineth for the people of God, is awaiting his crown and reward.

Arthur Piper

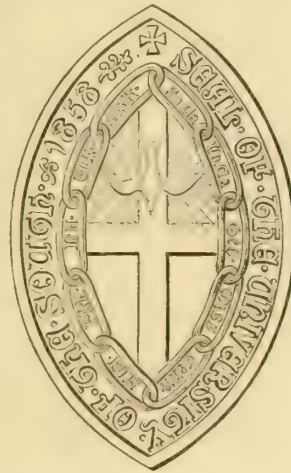
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH.

BY THE REV. W. P. DUBOSE, S.T.D.,

Professor of Ethics and Evidences of Christianity.

The University of the South, situated at Sewanee, Franklin county, Tennessee, is the property of the Church in the following dioceses and missionary jurisdictions, viz. : North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, Western Texas, Northern Texas. The board of trustees is composed of the bishops, *ex officio*, and one clergyman and two laymen from each of the dioceses named.

The history of the University is as follows : On July 1, 1856, the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana, addressed a letter to the bishops of the above-mentioned dioceses, inviting their attention to the urgent need in the Southern States of a university of high order under the distinct sanction of the Christian faith. He urged that the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States, in virtue of the wealth and intelligence of her members, owed a debt to the country ; that however the individual dioceses were to work, separately, to establish such institutions, they could, by uniting their resources, accomplish the like results : he called attention to the fact that a site could be found for such a University, of easy access by railway from all portions of the Southern country. The proposition received at once the hearty assent of all the bishops addressed. On the 23d day of October, in the same year, an address, signed by Bishops Otey, Polk, Elliott,



SEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF THE SOUTH.

Cobb, Freeman, Green, Rathoss, Davis, and Atkinson, was issued, "to the members and friends of the P. E. Church in the Southern and South-western States," proposing a plan of union by which those States should combine their strength in founding an institution of learning of such magnitude as should meet all their common wants. The proposition as set forth in this address was "to found a university with all the faculties, theology included, upon a plan so extensive as to comprise the whole course usually embraced in the much-approved institution of that grade, whether at home or abroad."

After much investigation and discussion of the merits of the various localities advocated, the plateau of the Sewanee mountains, a spur of the Cumberland range, was determined on; and the cornerstone of the main central edifice was laid in the fall of 1860. Up to this time an endowment of about half a million dollars had been obtained by a partial canvass of only two of the States concerned, and a domain of nearly ten thousand acres secured. The civil war not only arrested all progress but swept away every vestige of what had been done. Nothing remained save the ample domain. Within a year after the close of the war the enterprise was resumed, on a much reduced scale, chiefly through the exertions of the Rt. Rev. C. T. Quintard, D.D., Bishop of Tennessee. An address was issued by the trustees on the 10th April, 1867, and in the same year an effort was made in England to obtain assistance for the University, immediately after the session of the Lambeth Conference, which resulted in generous contributions from many, both of the clergy and of the laity. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and large numbers of the nobility and gentry, united in making the offering worthy of the object, and a substantial expression of sympathy and brotherhood. As the result of this effort a grammar school was put into operation on the 18th September, 1868, the trustees expressing the hope that this school would speedily assume a collegiate form, and in time expand into the magnificent proportions of the originally projected University. The grammar school opened with nine pupils. Within three years this number had increased to two hundred and twenty-five, and in the summer of 1871 the academic department of the University was organized by the election of a faculty, and is now in successful operation. From the beginning it was thought desirable that the theological department should be added without delay, and in 1875 Bishop Quintard again visited England, bearing a letter commendatory from the Episcopal members of the board of trustees, and commissioned to raise funds for this purpose. He was kindly received, and his mission warmly indorsed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; and a committee, of which the Bishop of London was chairman, was organized to assist in carrying it out. This mission was, a few months later, crowned with success by the gift, by Mrs. Henry Heyward Manigault, of Brighton, formerly of South Carolina, of the means for the erection of a handsome stone building for the use of the theological department. On St. Luke's day, 1876, the corner-stone was laid, and in the spring of 1879 St. Luke's Memorial Hall was occupied. The theological department from that time has been in full operation. This is the

only department which as yet occupies permanent quarters. The only other permanent building is the beautiful stone library, the gift, to the University, of Rev. Telfair Hodgson, D.D. Sewanee, the site of the University, is on the elevated plateau of that name, a spur of the Cumberland mountains. Its elevation above the level of the sea is about two thousand feet, while it is about one thousand above the level of the surrounding country. Experience fully confirms the wisdom of the board in its selection. The summer temperature is delightful, and the winter is not sensibly colder than in the valleys below. It is abundantly supplied with pure, cold, freestone water; and its fine, dry air is highly exhilarating and bracing in its effects.



ST. LUKE'S THEOLOGICAL MEMORIAL HALL, SEWANEE, TENNESSEE.

There can be no doubt as to its eminent salubrity. The domain is spread out upon the mountain summit, full nine miles in length, with an average width of nearly two miles. It is heavily wooded, and presents the most pleasing variety of surface. This mountain plateau, extending down nearly to the borders of Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, and situated about centrally to the sea and gulf coasts from North Carolina to Texas, affords the most convenient and accessible spot where the young of this region may grow up and be educated within their own borders, and yet amid all the advantages of a pure air and a healthful climate. The scholastic year extends from March to December, so that the students return to their homes for the vacation only in the winter. At Monteylo, six miles from the University, is Fairmount College, a highly successful school for young ladies. There

also, as at Beersheba Springs, beyond on the same plateau, are hotels of summer resort, filled during the season with guests from all parts of the South. Sewanee itself is a village of one thousand inhabitants, consisting principally of persons interested in the University. The comparative seclusion of the place, free from temptation to extravagance or vice, and favorable to habits of study, has been found in these respects of great advantage. The students board in families of persons thoroughly in sympathy with the character and objects of the place, and are thus surrounded by all the influences of home life, under the most favorable conditions. The plan of education in the University is by separate schools for each branch of knowledge. The original organization contemplates thirty-two of these schools. Of these only three are in existence, which are necessary in the academic and theological departments. Diplomas of graduation are awarded in those schools, and a certain number of diplomas, of specified combinations, is required for the different University degrees.

The University of the South was conceived in the most catholic spirit, and is designed to be in the truest sense broad and comprehensive. Under the control and influence of the Church, it nevertheless draws to itself representatives of all faiths and opinions. The North as well as the South, and England as well as America, have always contributed to its list of students. In every department of learning the utmost freedom of thought and research is allowed and practised, influenced but not restrained or narrowed by the Christian character of the institution. As a church University it has this guarantee against any one-sided development in matter of doctrine or practice, against its ever becoming identified with any one school or party in the Church, that it represents a wide constituency, and most particularly that its religious teaching and worship are under the immediate and constant supervision and control of the twelve bishops associated in it.

The University is as yet without endowment. The academic department is mainly dependent upon the income of its schools for support. The theological department is maintained by the voluntary contributions of the Church in the diocese interested. The immediate want, without which at least further development is impossible, is, first, endowment for its professorships, and, second, permanent buildings especially for its academic department. It awaits but this to realize all the hopes and expectations of its founders. This is the only institution of higher learning under the auspices of the Church in all the vast region which it represents. It would be impossible to find a want more pressing, conditions more favorable, and an opportunity more inviting than those which the University of the South presents to the Church. It is impossible to believe that an enterprise which has such reason for being, which has exhibited such power of self-production, and such tenacity of existence, which has so demonstrated its right to live, shall not be enabled to fully realize its meaning and purpose at no distant date.

W. P. Dabbs

MONOGRAPH VIII.

THE CHURCH IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

BY THE REV. JOHN FULTON, D.D., LL.D.,

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IF the history of the Church in the Confederate States is a chapter in our annals which the whole Church can read with satisfaction, it is not less true that the consistent course of the Northern Church contributed immensely to that end. In the long political struggle of the sections no part of the Church had been engaged. For the causes which precipitated the secession of the Southern States the Church had no responsibility. While other bodies of Christians had been rent into contending sectional factions, by political disputes, the quiet of the Church had not been ruffled for a moment. Hence, when secession came, and the Southern dioceses were required, as they believed, to make arrangements in accordance with political events, they felt that, in the Church at least, "the change involved," as Bishop Polk said, was "separation, not division, certainly not alienation." In the hour and act of separation they boasted that, whatever were the causes of political division, not one fault could be alleged against the Northern Church. Throughout the war there was something touching in the pride with which the churchmen of the South continued to regard the churchmen of the North as enemies only in the field, and as still brethren of a household into which no strife nor cause of strife had entered. No action of the Northern Church ever disturbed this brotherly affection; and its deep and powerful influence may be traced throughout the brief course of the history of the Church in the Confederate States.

The characteristic moderation of the Anglican communion, which had thus preserved an affectionate respect for each other in the separated sections of the Church, presented in the South certain peculiar features which exerted a salutary influence. In a broad way it may be said that theological party spirit was unknown in the Southern Church. The dioceses of Virginia and South Carolina were unquestionably "evangelical;" North Carolina, Tennessee, and Mississippi were considered moderately "high;" but, even in those dioceses, partisan organization had no existence. The theological temper there and elsewhere was not controversial; it was rather Johannean than Pauline; preaching was rather practical than polemical; and, though there were men of very decided convictions among the Southern clergy, there was a prevailing tolerance of disposition and a courtesy of intercourse which prevented hot dispute and angry controversy. In Diocesan Conventions there was little of the animation which is apt

to be exhibited where party spirit exists. They were understood to be assembled for conference, not discussion. To all of this there were occasional exceptions, of course, but they were rare and they were greatly disliked. Thus, when the time came for the dioceses of the South to meet for consultation under circumstances which demanded great discretion, they were free from the influence of party spirit, and they were prepared to meet the weighty questions which arose with perfect candor, and with a desire to solve them by the general judgment rather than by a divided vote.

Another cause availed to prevent the action and the utterances of the Church in the Confederate States from being colored by the excitements of political and sectional passion. For many years the Southern people had complained of the political preaching which was customary in sectarian pulpits at the North, and the conduct of our clergy in abstaining from it was warmly commended. Among the Southern clergy it was an accepted axiom that the Church had no concern in the affairs of politics, and that political harangues were a desecration of the pulpit. Hence it is remarkable that the pulpit of the Church lent no support to the secession movement. Until the ordinances of secession were adopted by the several States the pulpit of the Church was silent on the subject; and, even after the Confederate government had been formed, and throughout the whole period of the war, the Southern Church maintained its wise reserve. It attended diligently to its proper work, accepting facts as they arose, and acting in accordance with the facts, but keeping free from all political entanglements, and never suffering its corporate action to be influenced, or even tinged, with the passions of the time. It is true, indeed, that here and there, so rarely that the few occasions were remarked as notable events, some individual man was carried off his feet by the tremendous pressure; but, when the end came, not one corporate utterance of the Church in the Confederate States was such as charity would wish to blot.

It must not be inferred, however, that, in their private capacity as citizens, the clergy or laity of the South were in any way less earnest in supporting the Confederate cause than other citizens of the seceding States. Some of them, and doubtless many of them, had opposed secession in the first instance; but when the ordinances of secession were adopted there was no more hesitation. They believed those ordinances to be sovereign and effectual acts, which separated the seceding States from the rest of the United States; they believed that their allegiance was no longer due to the United States, but to their own States and to the Confederacy subsequently formed; and they believed that the separation of the South from the North was a finality. Of the reasonableness of their convictions no discussion is intended or implied in this connection; but it is important to observe and emphasize the fact that Southern churchmen did hold such convictions, first and last, while the Confederacy continued to exist. No one can do justice to the Church in the Confederate States, and no one can appreciate either the moderation of what it did, or the self-control exhibited in what it did not do, who does not fully realize that the men who

governed it throughout that stormy time were firm and conscientious adherents of the Confederate cause.

For some years before the war between the States one of the most eminent persons in the Southern Church was Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana. He was of an old Scottish family which had been settled for a time in the north of Ireland, and had emigrated to Delaware in 1722, their original surname of Pollok being changed to Polk in the course of generations. Part of the family removed to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and from that place Thomas Polk, the grandfather of the bishop, removed to North Carolina in 1753. He took a prominent part in the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in 1775, and served in the revolutionary war under Generals Gates and Green, with the rank of brigadier-general. His son William, the bishop's father, served under Washington at Germantown and Brandywine, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and subsequently declined the position of brigadier-general in the United States army, which was tendered to him by President Madison in 1812. In his political views Col. Polk was an extreme Federalist.

Leonidas Polk inherited an ample estate, to which his marriage with the heiress of a branch of the noble house of Devereux, established in North Carolina, added a princely fortune; though a succession of losses, occasioned by the withdrawal of his attention from temporal affairs which was involved in his performance of ecclesiastical duties, subsequently very much reduced his property. At an early age he was graduated at West Point, and was commissioned in the army of the United States. Under the instructions of Dr. McIlvaine, chaplain at West Point, and afterwards Bishop of Ohio, his mind had been directed to the Church, and, after a few months of service in the army, he resigned his commission to become a candidate for orders. In April, 1830, he was ordered Deacon by Bishop Moore, of Virginia, with whom he continued to serve for a time, as assistant minister of the Monumental Church, Richmond. In little more than a year his health failed, and he visited Europe. In 1833 he settled at Columbia, Tennessee, and in 1838, at the age of thirty-two, he was called to the episcopate as Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, with provisional jurisdiction in Alabama, Mississippi, and the (then) Republic of Texas. In 1841 he was elected Bishop of Louisiana, and resigned his missionary jurisdiction. In his personal appearance Polk had great advantages. Of good stature and an erect military carriage, broad shouldered and deep in the chest, with a well-poised, shapely head, strong but finely-cut features, one white lock overhanging his wide forehead, clear complexion, and keen but frank and kindly blue eyes, the first glance recognized him as a man to be obeyed; a closer scrutiny revealed him as a man whom noble men might love, and meaner men might fear. In scholarly attainments he was not so fortunate. His education had been mainly at West Point, and was scientific, not literary. Of classics he knew little; of theology not much. Of canon law, with the exception of our small American code, he knew nothing at all. In conversation he was wonderfully charming. In preaching and writing he was clear and vigorous, but at times diffuse. His habit of mind was to grasp at

the root-principles of things, and the clearness of his thoughts was always apparent, though his style of composition lacked the graceful facility of expression, the fertility of illustration, and the felicity of arrangement which belong to the accomplished scholar. He was quite as conscious of his lack in these respects as he was unconscious of his eminence in others, and he reflected that, throughout the Southern States, our Church had not one institution where her children might receive advantages which he had not enjoyed. While in Europe he was impressed with the universities which he visited, and for many years he revolved his great scheme of a University of the South, which should be grand enough to include all the faculties, and rich enough to attract the most eminent instructors from abroad. This idea was Polk's own, and he began the effort to accomplish it. His coadjutor in the inception of the enterprise was Stephen Elliott, Bishop of Georgia, a gentleman so fortunate in all the gifts of birth, education, mind, and person, so gracious in his disposition, so nobly guileless in his character, and so universally beloved, that one might almost have applied to him the words of Seneca concerning Gallio his brother, "*Quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest.*" Those who knew him well and loved him best, continued till the day of his death to find in him a depth of gracious nobleness which they were conscious that they had not yet sounded. The affection between Polk and Elliott was more than that of brothers. Each was the complement of the other. Polk had the greater energy; Elliott had more deliberation. Polk's plans were magnificent; Elliott had the genius of proportion. Polk aroused enthusiasm; Elliott disarmed opposition. It was natural that Polk should take the lead, and Elliott loved to have it so; yet it may be doubted whether Polk would have attained the pre-eminent position he held among the Southern bishops if Elliott had not stood by him and supplemented what Polk lacked. It is not necessary to describe the plans and efforts of Polk and Elliott for the University of the South; their acquisition of the vast and beautiful domain which was the only property it had after the war, or the munificent endowments which the war entirely swept away. It is enough to say that it was in connection with the University that Polk, and Elliott too, perhaps, were first recognized as, beyond all question, the leaders of the Southern Church.

When the time of trial came they stood upon an eminence from which the influence of their united judgment was controlling and decisive. While the question of secession was in agitation they behaved with great reserve, so that few except their intimate friends knew what their personal views were. An exquisitely simple and appropriate prayer, which Polk appointed to be used in his diocese before the assembling of the State Convention of Louisiana, begged that God would be pleased to "heal and compose the divisions which disturb us;" but it clearly contemplated the alternative event. "If in thy good providence," it said, "it be otherwise appointed, grant that the spirit of wisdom and moderation may preside over our councils, that the just rights of all may be maintained and accorded, and the blessings of peace preserved to us and our children throughout all generations."

Before the Convention assembled it was a moral certainty that an ordinance of secession would be passed, and he had ample time to consider the ecclesiastical consequences involved in that event. Of the validity or of the effectual operation of such an ordinance it never occurred to him to entertain a doubt; the only question was what the status of the Church would be, and what his office would require of him, when the State seceded. Of that, too, he had no doubt. He held that, since the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America actually was, and was intended to be, a national Church, the withdrawal of the State from the unity of the nation carried with it the necessary separation of the diocese from the national Church to which it had belonged; precisely as, at the time of the Revolution, the independence of the colonies had of necessity involved a separation of the colonial churches from the Church of England. In due time it would be the duty of his diocese to unite with other dioceses similarly situated; but for the moment it would stand in an exceptional and isolated position, which required his immediate action to authorize such changes in the prayers for rulers as the change of government made necessary. Accordingly, on the adoption of the ordinance of secession by the State Convention, he issued a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity, setting forth the ecclesiastical consequences of that event, and directing the necessary changes in the prayers for rulers. Two-thirds of the pastoral were devoted to the expression of love and esteem for the churchmen of the North, declaring that the necessary withdrawal of his diocese from formal union with the dioceses of the North, though it was only "separation, not division, certainly not alienation," must be regarded with "hearts full of sorrow" at any "separation from those whose intelligence, patriotism, Christian integrity and piety we have long known, and for whom we entertain sincere respect and affection." This pastoral, though it was very clear and cogent in its reasoning, was not entirely consistent. It betrayed a certain reluctance to accept the final consequences which its premises implied; for, while it declared that "this separation . . . has been effected because we must follow our nationality," it nevertheless conceded that the question whether the union of all the dioceses of the Church "under one national organization" would be impracticable might lie open for future decision. Such as it was, the publication of this pastoral at the North occasioned much deep feeling; even at the South, and in his own diocese, it was received with great regret. There were many who then first realized what secession meant, and they shrank from any kind of separation, actual or prospective, of the Church in which they had been born, and born again. The Bishop's logic was severely and unfairly criticised; his inconsistency was pointed out; an expression he had used to the effect that, by the secession of the State, Louisiana had acquired "an independent diocesan existence," was shown to be incompatible with the principles of our ecclesiastical polity. From all parts of the country, from members of all orders of men in the Church, and from many who were not members of the Church at all, Polk received letters of expostulation, argument, entreaty; but neither publicly nor privately did any of the critics of his pastoral speak unkindly of him-

self; and the uneasiness in his diocese, though very deep, was expressed by men whom he knew to be devotedly attached to him. The bishop was deeply moved. He was surprised to find that what he had supposed to be so clear was not at all clear to other men whom he esteemed. In these circumstances it was natural for him to consult with Elliott. They met at the seat of the university after the Confederate government had been formed by the adhesion of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. The comments on Polk's pastoral had painfully shown the misapprehensions which might arise from the separate action of bishops and dioceses, and on the 23d of March they issued an invitation to the bishops in the Confederate States to attend with deputies from their dioceses at a Convention to be held at Montgomery, on the 3d of July next following. The object of the meeting was said to be "consultation among the dioceses of the Confederate States for the purpose of considering their relations to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, of which they have so long been the equal and happy members." They declared that by the churchmen of the North no deed had been done, nor word uttered, which had left a single wound; but they said that the political changes which had occurred had placed the dioceses in the Confederate States in a position which required consultation as to their future ecclesiastical relations. A week later, Polk issued another pastoral to his diocese in partial explanation of the first. It showed at some length that, while the former had declared the existing status of the diocese, it had "concluded nothing beyond;" it conceded that the action of the Church must, of course, be determined freely by itself; but it maintained that the significance of actual events, which was all that he had stated, must nevertheless be the basis of rational procedure. The second pastoral might well have been spared; it was quite superfluous; it had hardly been read before the cannonade at Fort Sumter announced that war had been begun. The most reluctant were forced to admit that secession was a fact; no one doubted that it was a permanent fact; and all, or nearly all, felt that its saddest consequences must be met with resignation, even the separation of the Church. Hence, when Polk's Diocesan Convention met, its action was prompt and unequivocal. The committee on the state of the Church presented an elaborate report, in which the fact and the permanence of secession were assumed, and the bishop's positions were sustained on historical and canonical grounds, and in every particular except the possibility of one national organization for two national churches, and his infelicitous idea of diocesan independency. The resolutions offered by the committee as embodying the conclusions they had reached were adopted without opposition, indeed, with hardly a dissenting voice, and deputies were chosen to represent the diocese at the Montgomery Convention. The action of the diocese of Louisiana was the first conciliar action taken in any of the Southern dioceses; and, in the light of all that has occurred since then, no man of candor and learning will deny that, on the hypothesis of the reality of secession as a sovereign and effectual act, — a hypothesis which nobody there doubted, — the argument of the committee was, and is, unanswerable.

If Confederate independence had been achieved, the action of the Convention of Louisiana would have been honorably distinguished for the cogency of its reasoning, the dignity of its utterance, and the excellence of its whole spirit.

The diocese of Georgia was the next to move, and the bishop's annual address to his Convention was, as might have been expected, an important document. He assumed and maintained, though with less completeness of argument, the same ground as the Convention of Louisiana. He maintained that the position of the bishops demanded immediate action. "If," he said, "a bishop's jurisdiction were in a state of rebellion or insurrection it might be his duty patiently to await the issue of the struggle, and to bear and suffer what might be laid upon him in the performance of his episcopal functions;" but such, he contended, was not the case. The State of Georgia, "in the exercise of her unquestioned sovereignty, and with the almost unanimous consent of her people, had resumed the powers which she had delegated to the Federal government, and confederated herself with other States," "in the most solemn manner, with fasting and prayer." "Hence," he concluded, "these States are no longer, in any sense, a part of the United States, and consequently the bishops of these States or dioceses, for in this connection the words are synonymous, are no longer bishops of the United States. They are now bishops of the Confederate States." It followed that they must proceed forthwith to act as the necessities of their new position required. He met the question whether the dioceses of the Church might not meet again in General Convention, and there determine their future relations, with the answer that this would be impossible without casting a slight upon the dignity of the government of which they were now "the lawful subjects;" and that the Church was not at liberty, by any action or in any degree, to lower the position of the government in the eye of the world. It was due, he added, to the churchmen of the North that they should understand that the separation had not been effected in either Church or State "under the impulse of passion or at the beck of ambition," but "most solemnly, — with tears in our eyes, and prayers upon our lips, — with a lively sense of our duty to God, to our children, and above all, to the race whom He has committed to our nurture and care." The action of the Convention on the bishop's address was the adoption of a preamble and resolutions setting forth that, "Whereas, by the constitution and canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 'the jurisdiction of that Church extends in right only to the persons belonging to it within the United States,' and whereas, this diocese, being now included in a different nationality, is beyond that jurisdiction, therefore, the relations of this diocese to the Protestant Episcopal Church need readjustment;" that deputies be appointed to the proposed Convention at Montgomery; but that the action of the Montgomery Convention must be referred to the Georgia Diocesan Convention for ratification.

One by one, with some variety of form, but for substantially the same reasons, with the same reluctance, and with the same tributes of affection to the Northern Church, the dioceses of the Confederacy fol-

lowed in the path which had been opened by Louisiana and Georgia, and elected deputies to the Montgomery Convention. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas had not seceded when the invitations to that Convention were issued. The bishops of Virginia and North Carolina, after their States had seceded, but before they had formally joined the Confederacy, wrote to the bishops within the Confederacy asking a postponement until it would be proper for them to attend the Convention with deputies who should be chosen and sent from their dioceses. The request, however, came too late, as the appointment had now been made by the Diocesan Conventions, and so had passed out of the power of its original promoters.

On the 3d of July, 1861, the first Convention of the dioceses of the Church in the Confederate States assembled in Montgomery, Alabama; and, though the number of its members was exceedingly small, not exceeding thirty persons of all orders, it may be doubted whether any subsequent Convention was of more importance; and it is certain that its prudence and its determination to exclude all political considerations, except the force of accomplished facts, were not excelled in any. Elliott, of Georgia; Green, of Mississippi; Rutledge, of Florida; and Davis, of South Carolina, were the only bishops present; Cobbs, of Alabama, had entered into peace almost as the guns at the capitol in Montgomery were thundering out the news of the secession of the State; Otey, of Tennessee, was detained by illness; the bishop (Gregg) and deputies from Texas were cut off by the blockade; Arkansas was not then a diocese, and Lay, the Missionary Bishop of the South-west, was absent; Meade (the senior bishop) and Johns, of Virginia, were unable to attend; Atkinson, of North Carolina, was not heard from; Polk had taken arms and gone to the field. Six of the dioceses (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana) were represented by deputies of the clergy and of the laity. Tennessee was represented in the clerical order only. Bishops, clergy, and laity sat in one body; Elliott presiding as the senior bishop present. On the second day a committee of three from each order was appointed, with Bishop Green as chairman, to prepare business. Next day the committee unanimously reported a resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the Convention, to the effect that in view of the secession of certain States, and the formation by them of the Confederacy, it was "necessary and expedient that the dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church in those States should form among themselves an independent organization." At this point difference of opinion began. A majority of the committee, consisting of the bishops and the laymen, were indisposed to go further at that time than to appoint a meeting of the bishops and deputies from all the dioceses, to be held a year later, deferring all further action for the present. In the mean time they thought that the dioceses should be advised to take measures to continue in force the constitution and canons of the Church in the United States, so far as they were applicable in existing circumstances, and they suggested that necessary provision should be made for the support of missions in the South.

The clerical members of the committee, among whom was Dr.

Barnard, now President of Columbia College, New York, could not consent to the proposed delay of action. They maintained that the adoption of the first resolution had clearly implied that the Church in the Confederate States was in a condition of disorganization; that such a condition was intolerable; and that the Convention should at least proceed to prepare a provisional constitution, to be proposed to the dioceses. They met the objection that a constitution so proposed might be rejected by dioceses not now represented, by saying that this was unlikely, since no violent changes in the former constitution would be proposed; that the provisional constitution would be of force only in the dioceses which might ratify it; and that it might be made operative only until a regular General Convention could be held.

In the discussion of the two reports, the opinion of the Convention was influenced in the direction of the minority by the anomalous condition of the diocese of Alabama, which was then without a bishop. It was asked: "When the diocese elects, who is to authorize, and who is to take order for, the consecration of the bishop-elect?" It was pointed out and admitted to be true that, in such a case, when ordinary provincial action is not possible, the neighboring bishops would have a right to come to the aid of a vacant diocese, and consecrate any orthodox man of good report whom the diocese might have freely chosen; but it was urged, on the other hand, that regularity in the consecration of a bishop is a matter of very great importance; that the appearance of irregularity ought always to be avoided; that in this case there was no apparent occasion for irregularity of any kind if the Convention would do its duty; for, by adopting a provisional constitution which could be very speedily ratified, a provincial body might come almost at once into existence, and could proceed to consecrate a bishop for Alabama with all the forms of canonical regularity.

In the course of the discussion, which lasted two days, an incident occurred which ought not to be forgotten, though, for obvious reasons, some reserve is necessary in relating it. A resolution was introduced to the effect that the constitution and canons of the Church in the United States were still actually of force, so far as applicable, in the Confederate States, and that therefore the senior bishop should at once enter on his duties as Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States. This resolution, so true in its statement of existing law, and so absurd in its practical proposal, was maintained in very violent speeches by two clergymen of Northern birth, one of whom afterwards became insane. They said with much iteration, and with many turns of phrase, that the eyes of the world were bent upon that Convention (of thirty men), and that if the report went out that the Episcopal Church did not sustain the Confederate cause by the instant organization of a Confederate church, the damage to the country would be dreadful, and the members of the Convention would be guilty of all the evil influence that would follow. While these intemperate political speeches were making, Elliott, who was in the chair, beckoned the youngest member of the Convention to him, and begged him to stop the unseemly proceeding; at the first moment possible the resolution, with the whole subject to

which it related, was laid on the table, and so ended the first and only attempt which was ever made to turn a Convention of the Church in the Confederate States into an occasion for political harangue.

As might have been expected a satisfactory adjustment was reached. The Convention agreed with the minority that a postponement of all action for the space of a year was not expedient; but, while it was felt that an early date for the holding of a larger Convention must be appointed, and that the sitting Convention might very properly provide for the preparation of business to be then passed upon, the general conviction sustained the opinion of the majority of the committee that nothing should be shaped, even provisionally, in the absence of so many bishops and deputies from so many dioceses. Accordingly, it was resolved that the Convention should adjourn to meet at Columbia, South Carolina, in the following October, and that, in the mean time, a committee, to consist of three of each order, should be appointed to prepare and report for consideration a constitution and canons under which a permanent organization might be effected. The interests of the missionary cause in the South were then considered, and, after an appropriate address from the presiding bishop, the Convention adjourned.

When the Convention reassembled in Columbia, it was found that every bishop in the Confederate States, except Polk, was present; and that every diocese was represented by deputies of the clergy and laity, except Tennessee and Louisiana, which were represented in the clerical order only, and Texas, which had no deputies present. The draft of a constitution and canons was submitted by the committee appointed at Montgomery, and, after mature consideration, the constitution was, in substance, approved by the Convention. As finally revised it was decidedly more clear in expression and systematic in arrangement than the constitution of the Church in the United States. It introduced only two important variations from that instrument. A change of the name Protestant Episcopal to Reformed Catholic was voted down by a decisive majority of all the orders, and the name "Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America" was adopted. One important change introduced in the new constitution was the admission of a perfect equality of the House of Bishops with the House of Deputies, which our actual constitution still denies by the provision that, when an act of the House of Deputies is reported to the House of Bishops for their concurrence, the latter, if they do not agree with the lower house, must, within three days, give to the lower house their reasons for non-concurrence in writing, failing which the action of the lower house alone has the force of law. The Confederate constitution provided that when any proposed act should have been passed by the House of Deputies, and should be negatived by the House of Bishops, the latter, when requested by the former, should give its reasons in writing within three days after such request; but an amendment which proposed to add a provision that "in failure thereof the said act should become a law" was rejected by an overwhelming majority of all the orders. The most important change, however, which was introduced into the Confederate constitution was

an explicit recognition of the provincial system, with a careful provision for its normal growth. The first proposal, as it came from the committee, was somewhat crude, its crudity appearing in overmuch elaboration in the details of a system which thus far had no actual existence. It was proposed that, for the purposes of ecclesiastical organization, every State should be regarded as a province; that, while a State contained no more than one diocese, that diocese should send deputies to the national council; but that whenever there should be two or more dioceses in a State, they should forthwith enter into provincial arrangements, and then the provincial council alone, and not the dioceses severally, was to be represented by deputies in the national council. The provincial idea was pushed to an inordinate extent; for it was proposed that, while every diocesan bishop should be entitled to a seat in the House of Bishops, the bishops of each province were to have but one joint vote. In the Convention these crudities were removed from the proposed constitution. It was provided that in the national council (to which the aspiring name of general council was oddly given) every bishop should have an equal voice in the House of Bishops, and every diocese an equal representation by three clerical and three lay deputies in the House of Deputies; but, whenever there should be two or more dioceses in one State, they might, with the consent of the several dioceses, unite as a provincial body, with such diocesan representation as they might prefer, and in that case their provincial legislation was to be authoritative in all of the dioceses of the province. Curiously enough no limits to provincial legislation were laid down.¹ Having thus prepared a constitution for the dioceses in the Confederate States, the Convention ordered copies to be sent down to the dioceses for their ratification, and resolved that when any seven or more of the dioceses should have ratified it, the organization of the Church and the union of the consenting dioceses should be considered complete.

It was still the month of October, 1861; all the Diocesan Conventions for that year had been already held; none would meet before the spring; some would not be held before nearly a year; and the fortunes of war might possibly prevent some of them from meeting at all for years to come. Under these circumstances, it was possible that the ratification of the constitution might be indefinitely delayed; it would follow that no general council could be held; and in that case, no code of canons could be framed under which the consecration of a bishop for Alabama could take place. The deputies from Alabama regarded this prospect with great uneasiness, and memorialized the Convention to determine whether no provision could be made for the consecration of a bishop before the ratification of the constitution by the dioceses and the passage of canons by a general council. The memorial was referred to a committee consisting of Bishops Meade, Otey, and Elliott, and in a few days a rather feeble and inconsequent report was made on which the Convention took no action. It would hardly have been possible to act upon the report without some amend-

¹ This article of the constitution was distasteful to the diocese of Virginia, which, while it unanimously ratified the constitution as a whole, instructed its deputies to move in the first general council for a revision of the article.

ments which might have mortified the aged and venerable man from whose hand it came ; and as there was a moral unanimity on the subject, to which the authority of that Convention could add no canonical weight, the whole matter was tacitly left to the discretion of the bishops. The facts of the case were plain. It was impossible, even had it been desirable, to act under the canons of the Church in the United States, since all communication with the North had been suspended, and the consent of bishops and standing committees could not be asked. Moreover, such a course was not desirable, since it would have falsified the position of the Southern dioceses, as they conscientiously understood it. On the other hand it was conceivable that action under the proposed constitution might not be possible for an indefinitely long time. Only one other course remained, and that, though not technically regular, would carry out the principles and spirit of the canons to the utmost practicable extent. The diocese of Alabama had an undoubted right to elect a bishop. Having so done, it could ask the canonical consent of all the bishops and dioceses it could reach, and, having obtained their consent, it could ask the senior of all the bishops to take order for the consecration of the elect of Alabama. Under general principles of canon law no bishop could rightly refuse consecration asked by a diocese for a canonically elected bishop, under such circumstances. With this general understanding, the diocese of Alabama was left to the exercise of its own discretion ; and the important session of the Convention adjourned.

Shortly afterwards the Diocesan Convention of Alabama elected as its bishop the Rev. Richard Hooker Wilmer, D.D., of the diocese of Virginia, and, having received the consent to his consecration of all the bishops and diocesan standing committees in the Confederate States, the Bishop of Virginia took order for his consecration accordingly ; acting therein not schismatically, nor of his own will merely, but as the representative and executive of the whole body of the Church with which it was then possible for him to communicate. On the 6th day of March, 1862, "the Alabama consecration," as it has been called, took place in St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Va., the Bishop of Virginia being consecrator, and the Bishop of Georgia and the Bishop-Assistant of Virginia being present and assisting. The form used differed in no respect from that contained in the ordinal, except that the bishop-elect was not, of course, required to make a promise of conformity to the Church in the United States. Considering all the circumstances of the case, and bearing in mind the undoubted principles and precedents of catholic canon law, it must be admitted that the consecrating bishops of Dr. Wilmer had a right to certify that they "did then and there rightly and canonically consecrate" him to the office of a bishop ; and in any like emergency the precedent of the Alabama consecration will not be forgotten.

Eight days after Bishop Wilmer's consecration William Meade who had for thirty-three years been a bishop in the Church of God, was called to his reward. Otey of Tennessee stood next in seniority among the Southern bishops, and next to him stood Polk ; but neither Tennessee nor Louisiana had been able to ratify the proposed consti-

tution of the Church in the Confederate States. It therefore devolved upon Elliott, as next in seniority, to summon the first general council of the Church in the Confederate States. This he accordingly did by issuing on the 19th of September, 1862, a "declaration" that the constitution had been ratified by seven dioceses, and a "summons" to the bishops and deputies of the Confederate dioceses to meet in general council at Augusta, Georgia, on the 12th day of November next ensuing. The council at Augusta was short but laborious. It was in session only ten days, and in that brief space it considered and adopted an entire code of canons. In some respects the former canons were improved and simplified by better arrangement, but in their provisions very little was materially modified. No change in the Book of Common Prayer was made except the substitution of "Confederate" for "United" in certain places.¹ A proposed canon "of the use of the Book of Common Prayer," anticipated a later agitation for "shortened services" in the reunited Church. It provided that, in any diocese, the Convention, by the concurrent vote of clergy and laity, and with the consent of the bishop, might permit ministers a certain limited discretion: 1st, when a third service was to be held, morning prayer alone might be used for the first, the litany or ante-communion, or both, for the second, and evening prayer for the third; 2d, the whole order for holy communion, with a sermon, might be used alone, except on the greater festivals when it must be preceded by morning or evening (!) prayer; 3d, on other occasions than regular morning or evening prayer, ministers might select prayers from the Prayer-Book, and use Scripture lessons at discretion; 4th, the bishops might set forth such special services in their several dioceses as they might think edifying for any class or portion of the population. This overture was not entertained, for the reason that a much greater liberty than that proposed had long been used by bishops and other clergymen in ministering to the negroes, so that the guarded permission offered would, in effect, have been a restraint; and it may be presumed that the danger and difficulty of legislating by canon on subjects which the Prayer-Book and the constitution remit to the rubrics was also felt to present an insuperable obstacle to such a measure. Considered as a whole, the canonical work of the council at Augusta must be regarded as laborious and conscientious, but not in any way remarkable; and to one who has carefully and minutely studied the proceedings at Montgomery and Columbia, where the bishops sat with the deputies, a similar study of the course of legislation at Augusta, where they sat as a separate house, suggests a doubt whether, on the whole, a separate session of the two houses is at all times best. On some occasions, and in the discussion of certain questions, it is necessary that the orders should deliberate in separate houses; but a careful study of the course of action in the Confederate Church, at a time when both plans

¹ The only edition of the Confederate Prayer-Book which was ever printed was issued, I believe, from the press of Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswood, of England, and contained a grimly incongruous oversight. In the "Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea" the word "United"

was not changed to "Confederate." On board the "Alabama" the prayer "that we may be a safeguard unto the United States of America, and a security for such as pass on the seas on their lawful occasions," would hardly have been appropriate.

were practically tested, suggests the thought that in a great part, and perhaps the greater part, of our conciliar legislation, the House of Deputies might gain more than the House of Bishops would lose, if the two houses sat together. In its action as a board of missions, the General Convention now sits as one body, and the benefit of that course has been universally recognized. It has been found expedient to permit the committees on canons of the two houses to consult together on important subjects. It is possible, perhaps, that the two houses might, without any amendment to our present constitution, find it possible and advantageous to sit together at proper times as a committee of the whole Convention. The Convention which sat at Montgomery and Columbia regarded itself as simply a committee, and no committee ever acted with greater wisdom and discretion.

One important action, which might have led to very serious results in the reunion of the Church at the close of the war, and which, on that account alone, must be recorded here, was the admission of Arkansas as a regularly constituted diocese, and the ratification of the election of Dr. Lay, formerly Missionary Bishop of the South-west, as Diocesan Bishop of Arkansas.

The constitution and canons of the Church in the Confederate States soon ceased to be operative; its deliberations are already almost forgotten; seven of its eleven bishops are in their graves; but the pastoral letter of the House of Bishops, at the council in Augusta, will never cease to be precious to the Church of God. It is the noblest epitaph of the dead, and, if they needed such, it is the noblest vindication of the living, that their dearest friends could wish. Better than any other document the flowing periods of its clean, clear, classic English tell the spirit of the men who wrote it, and the men to whom it was addressed. It began by recognizing the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, by which the consultations of the council had been carried on in perfect harmony and peace. The need of that divine power was acknowledged. "Seldom," said the bishops, "has any council assembled in the Church of Christ under circumstances needing His presence more urgently than this, which is now about to submit its conclusions to the judgment of the Universal Church. Forced by the providence of God to separate ourselves from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, — a Church with whose doctrine, discipline, and worship we are in entire harmony, and with whose action, up to the time of that separation, we were abundantly satisfied, — at a moment when civil strife had dipped its foot in blood, and cruel war was desolating our homes and firesides, we required a double measure of grace to preserve the accustomed moderation of the Church in the arrangement of our organic law, in the adjustment of our code of canons, but above all, in the preservation, without change, of those rich treasures of doctrine and worship which have come to us enshrined in our Book of Common Prayer. Cut off, likewise, from all communication with our sister churches of the world, . . . we trust that the Spirit of Christ has, indeed, so directed, sanctified, and governed us in our present work, that we shall be approved by all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." Of the constitu-

tion they said that it was the old constitution, save that they had introduced a germ of expansion by providing for a provincial system. At present it was but a germ, and it might lie for many years without expansion, but, being there, it gave promise in the future of a more close and constant episcopal supervision than was possible under present arrangements. The canon law had been simplified in some respects, but it had not been changed in tone or character. It was the same moderate, just, and equal body of ecclesiastical law by which the Church in this country had been governed from its first organization. With the exception of three words, the Book of Common Prayer had not been changed. "We give you back your Book of Common Prayer the same as you have entrusted it to us, believing that, if it has slight defects, their removal had better be the gradual work of experience than the hasty action of a body convened almost on the outskirts of a camp." After speaking of different grounds for mutual encouragement, the bishops turned to the question of duty, — "Lord, what wilt thou have us to do?" — and they declared the principle of every Christian duty to be love. "This was Christ's especial commandment: 'A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another.' And this is truly not only the new commandment, but the summary of all the commandments. The whole Gospel is redolent with it, with a broad, comprehensive, all-embracing love, appointed, like Aaron's rod, to swallow up all the other Christian graces, and to manifest the spiritual glory of God in Christ. A church without love! What could you augur of a church of God without faith, or a church of Christ without hope? But love is a higher grace than either faith or hope, and its absence from a church is just the absence of the very life-blood from the body. Our first duty, therefore, is to send forth from this council our greetings of love to the churches of Christ all the world over. We greet them in Christ, and rejoice that they are partakers with us of all the grace which is treasured up in Him. We lay down to-day before the altar of the Crucified all our burdens of sin, and offer up our prayers for the church militant upon earth. Whatever may be their aspect towards us politically, we cannot forget that they rejoice with us 'in the One Lord, the One Faith, the One Baptism, the One God and Father of all,' and we wish them God-speed in all the sacred ministries of the Church. We rejoice in the golden cord which binds us together in Christ our Redeemer; and, like the ladder which Jacob saw in vision, with the angels of God ascending and descending upon it, may it ever be the channel along which shall flash the Christian greetings of the children of God." Such was the temper of men who were "convened almost on the outskirts of a camp, when civil strife had dipped its foot in blood." True servants of a Prince of Peace, with nothing in their hearts harder or harsher than "greetings of love to the churches of Christ all the world over, whatever may be their aspect towards us!" Very likely no one of them all could have written just such words, except the gracious and sweet-hearted Elliott; but not even he could have written them at such a time if the whole atmosphere around him had not been full of the Holy Ghost.

While the Church in the Confederate States was thus meeting the exigencies which arose, and was preparing for the duties of a future that was not to be, the occupation of large districts of the Confederacy by the Union armies was compelling individual clergymen to decide new questions which the Church had not foreseen. In one respect the clergy were more hardly pressed than other men. When the military authorities imposed the oath of allegiance on non-combatant citizens, it was taken with reluctance even by original opponents of secession who had all along expected the defeat of the South, but who were part-takers both in the humiliation and in the distress of their fellow-citizens. By the great majority who still ardently believed in the ultimate success of the Confederacy, the oath was regarded as a needless symbol of their temporary subjection to military force. The public mind was fearfully debauched by loose casuistry on the subject of oaths in general, and of forced oaths and oaths of allegiance in particular. By very many it came to be assumed, that a forced oath of allegiance was binding only so long and so far as force continued to compel its observance. Persons who had taken it declared that it meant nothing but a recognition of the force which exacted it.

“ἡ γλῶσσ’ ὁμώμακ’, ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.” — (*Eur. Hip.*, 612.)

Their tongues had sworn, but in their hearts they were as stanch Confederates as ever. It was impossible for the clergy to admit such theories, or to permit themselves to be suspected of holding them. Hence, as a rule, the clergy refused to take the oath of allegiance. They set no example of open turbulence, or secret sedition against the existing authorities, and in their official action as clergymen they avoided offence. Yet the peculiar liturgical forms of the Church involved them in difficulties from which others were exempt. The ecclesiastical authority had appointed a prayer for the president of the Confederate States, to be used in the order of Morning and Evening Prayer. They had no right, as individuals, to change that prayer, but they were aware that its use in the services of the Church would be justly regarded as an act of treason by the military authorities. Therefore, in New Orleans, they reluctantly discontinued the use of morning and evening prayer altogether, and for several months the only services used in the churches were the litany and the holy communion. In September, 1862, an order was issued by the military governor of Louisiana, declaring that “The omission, in the service of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New Orleans, of the prayer for the President of the United States, would be regarded as evidence of hostility to the government of the United States.” The clergy replied in a firm but temperate letter, stating that the governor’s order conflicted with their canonical obligations, and, therefore, they could not obey it, but that they had endeavored to avoid all offence to the existing government by an entire disuse of the services in which a prayer occurred which would be offensive. They denied the right of any civil or military power to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs, or to exact more than had been already voluntarily done, and they protested against

their official conduct being regarded as evidence of hostility to any government. Shepley, the military governor, who was a churchman, admitted that he could not justly punish men who were acting on such principles, and the matter dropped for a few weeks, until the return of the commanding general, Butler. Then, without previous notice, the service at St. Paul's Church was interrupted by the entrance of an officer, followed by a squad of soldiers with fixed bayonets. The rector, Dr. Goodrich, was ordered to desist, and he at once quietly dismissed his congregation with the blessing of peace. Dr. Goodrich was put under arrest. The rectors of Christ Church and Calvary Church were also arrested, and a week later the three were sent as prisoners to New York, to be incarcerated in Fort Lafayette. Instantly on their arrival in New York, they were released on parole, and in a short time they were set entirely at liberty. Gen. Banks, who had succeeded Butler in the Department of the Gulf, published an order, that, "on account of the negative character of the offence charged," the churches might be reopened. The rectors who had been sent away were not permitted to return, however, without taking the oath of allegiance. This they declined to do, and their churches were, for a time, partially supplied by other clergymen.

The military career of General Butler is likely to be more memorable for his exploits as an ecclesiastical disciplinarian than for his achievements in the field. On the occupation of a part of Virginia by the Federal forces, the Rev. Dr. J. H. D. Wingfield of Portsmouth, Va., now Missionary Bishop of northern California, was acting as Associate Rector of Trinity Church, of which his father was rector. He immediately suspended the use of the prayer for the President of the Confederate States and all in civil authority, though he continued the ordinary services of morning and evening prayer without further change. His church was regularly attended by many persons from the north as well as by his own people, and his private ministrations were freely extended to all. In June, 1863, he was assailed and grossly insulted by a Baptist chaplain of the army, and he was sometimes troubled by others; but he was not seriously molested until Christmas eve of that year, when the keys of his church were demanded and surrendered. He was then forbidden to officiate in public. For a short time he held services in private houses. That too was forbidden, and he submitted. A chaplain of our own communion occupied Trinity Church, and Dr. Wingfield remonstrated against the intrusion, but without effect. While thus suspended he attended services at Christ Church, Norfolk, where the Rev. E. M. Rodman, rector, who had taken the oath of allegiance, was using the prayer for the President of the United States. Dr. Wingfield sat and sang in the organ gallery, which was behind the congregation, and was enclosed with curtains. Even there he was followed by spies who accused him of raising his head during the prayer for the president, and he was condemned in a public order by Brigadier-General Wild, one of General Butler's officers, "to work for three months cleaning the streets of Norfolk and Portsmouth, thus employing his time for the benefit of that government he has abused, and in a small way to

atone for his disloyalty and treason." Dr. Wingfield was taken to the military penitentiary, and compelled to assume the garb of a convict, half black and half gray. Before he was actually set to work on the streets a numerous signed address was laid before General Butler, asking that that degrading part of the sentence might be remitted. Butler granted the request in another public order, in which he said that the penalty was "remitted, not from respect for the man, or for his acts, or because it is unjust, but because its nature may be supposed to reflect upon the Christian Church, which, by his connection with it, has been already too much disgraced."

Dr. Wingfield was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe, his house was occupied by a guard of negro soldiers, one of whom fired at Mrs. Wingfield for appearing on the gallery. In Fortress Monroe Butler demanded that Wingfield should take the oath, "or else I will put you within four walls for the balance of the war, and send your wife and baby into the Confederate lines, without money, food, or clothing." Wingfield submitted, took the oath, and went to Maryland, where he remained till the close of the war. His case and that of the clergy of New Orleans were probably the most conspicuous instances of trouble with the military authorities, though there were other cases elsewhere of a similar character.

The true history of the Church in the Confederate States cannot be written. Its best work could not be seen of men, nor could it be recorded but by the recording angel. It was done by camp-fires, and in camps where there was neither fire nor food; in desolate places where there was not a house that had not one dead, and in conquered cities where the people had no currency, but where, as in New Orleans, the merchants gave the clergy an unlimited credit. After all possible deductions for the faults or indiscretions of individuals, it may be justly said that the clergy and laity of the Church in the Confederate States did daily practise pure and undefiled religion, for the burden of their business was to minister to the fatherless and the widowed. Councils and Conventions, and occasional disturbances by military rulers, — the things, in short, that can be told by the historian, — were the least part of the work by which the Southern Church made full proof of its ministry throughout those dreadful years. In the printed page its best work must be passed by with a rapid glance of recognition. Elsewhere it will not be overlooked.

When the end came, and the battle-flag of the Confederate States was furled forever, the Confederate Church had nothing to repent. It had acted on sound principles; and, though it might be said that its hypothesis of the effectual and permanent operation of the ordinances of secession had not been verified by the decision of the sword, it was still possible for such a course to be pursued by the Federal government as would have justified, and might have forced, the Southern dioceses to maintain a separate organization from the dioceses of the North.

If, as was then proposed by many influential men, the Southern States had been permanently remitted to the status of a conquered province; if the people of the South had been treated as tributary

subjects and not as citizens of the United States; if they had been welded into closer unity by a new community of humiliation through the ignominious punishment of their chosen leaders; if, in a word, the civil separation which secession had not accomplished had been replaced by a moral, social, and political separation decreed by national authority, it is safe to say that, though the Church in the Confederate States would have changed its name, it would not have abandoned its provincial organization. Happily for the Church, as for the nation, wiser counsels were adopted, and the Church was left at liberty to follow out that tendency to nationality which is the instinctive impulse of every free catholic church. In a reunited nation, every old association and affection rooted in the memories of happier years, and every just hope for a better future, called for an immediate and sincere reunion of the Church. Nothing but some adverse action of the General Convention could hinder it; but the Southern Church was resolute in its determination to submit to not even the suggestion of a censure of its corporate acts during the period of separation. In the providence of God it had been placed in a position where it was obliged to follow its own godly judgment. What it had done it had done deliberately, in the fear of God, and with an almost timid regard for canonical and ecclesiastical precedents. It had come forth from a fiery trial with nothing but the consciousness of its integrity; and it was resolved to suffer no impeachment either of the rectitude of its conduct or of the validity of its acts. The only official matters on which it was apprehended that the Northern Church might express or imply some censure on the Church in the Confederate States, were the Alabama consecration and the erection of Arkansas into a diocese; but deeper far, in the hearts of Southern bishops, clergy, and laity, was the generous fear that any lightest breath of censure might be breathed by the General Convention concerning Polk. How little ground there was to doubt the generous justice and fraternal sympathy of the Northern Church will presently appear; but it belongs to the completeness of this outline to insert here a brief statement of the Polk case and the case of Arkansas. The Alabama consecration needs no further statement than it has received already.

It was a wise provision of the common law of England which required that an accused person should be tried by his peers, since no man should be tried for life, liberty, or reputation by other men, whose position, whether above him or below him, is such as to disqualify them from entering intelligently into the motives on which the morality of an action always depends. But the common law further required that an accused person should be tried by his peers of the vicinage; and this, too, wisely, since the element of neighborhood knowledge enters largely into the possibilities of righteous judgment. The equitable principles of the common law ought to be observed in forming an estimate of a character like that of Polk, and in judging of his conduct in taking military command in defence of the Confederate cause. No man can fully understand the one, nor rightly judge the other, who is not Polk's peer, and of his vicinage. The mere ecclesiastic cannot judge him, for Polk was a soldier by education, and inherited the

name and fame of soldiers from the third generation and beyond. It is hardly possible for any Northern man to understand him, for no Northern man can imagine the intensity of conviction which existed in the Southern mind that the war of the rebellion was, on their part, one of simple self-defence. No commonplace humanitarian can understand him, for the ordinary abolitionist cannot even conceive that a Christian man could believe in his heart that slavery was lawful; whereas nothing in the world is more certain than that men like Polk and Elliott believed with all their hearts and minds that the institution of domestic slavery, introduced into the colonies by England and New England, was intended, in the providence of God, much rather for the training of the slaves than for the profit of their masters. They were mistaken, certainly, in their belief that slavery had yet a great work to accomplish in the further elevation of the negro; slavery, as the event proved, had already done for the negro all that it was to do or had to do. They were mistaken, too, in underrating what slavery had already done for the slave, since the event has proved that the grandchildren of savage Africans were fully fit for freedom, and fairly to be trusted, even with the franchise. Be that as it may, no one can fairly judge Polk's character or conduct who cannot understand and appreciate these following facts. He believed implicitly that the institution of slavery, which the South had inherited, was a sacred trust committed to the white race for the benefit of the blacks; he knew that anti-slavery agitation had led to the enactment of barbarous laws, which prohibited emancipation and hindered the free education of the negroes by their masters; and he knew that, while the anti-slavery agitation continued, these laws could not be repealed nor other salutary laws for the protection of the slaves enacted. By a grandfather who had taken part in the formation of the Union, and at the national military academy itself, he had been taught that the original sovereignty of the government resided in the several States, and that the Federal government held only delegated powers, which might be withdrawn by the States at their own discretion, in the exercise of their original sovereignty; hence he held the secession of the South to be a constitutional and valid act, and he approved it because, in his opinion, it would leave the South freer than ever to accomplish God's purpose in the education of the subject race; hence, too, he believed the war against the Southern States to be a war of conquest and aggression, and he held that every citizen might, in emergency, be called into the field to repel invasion. There was much of the soldier even in Polk's church ideas. He believed in the church militant; his baptism he regarded as enlistment; in taking orders he had entered active service at his own cost; when he was advanced to the episcopate he had assumed command. Of canon law, in any large sense of the word, he had no knowledge; indeed, his church ideas had been formed in a school of thought which cared little for œcumenical canons, and nothing at all for the *corpus juris*. Had it been otherwise it is very doubtful whether the canon law would not have confused his mind by its innumerable contradictions. If he had been versed in it he would have known that the Apostolic Canons and the canons of Chalcedon

forbid the clergy to engage in military service in precisely the same terms as are used to forbid their accepting any other office of public dignity or administration, and yet every school-boy knows that, in the middle age, and throughout the Western Church, the greatest officers of State were almost always clergymen; he would have known that the bearing of arms for self-defence was not forbidden to clergymen in any age; he would have known that, at a time when Rome was threatened with invasion, Leo IV. declared that he would take the field himself in person to protect and avenge his people; he would have known that in crusades against the infidel the personal command of bishops was encouraged, though they were exhorted not to shed blood with their own hands; he would have known that in many a secular war the bishop's mace had been a mighty weapon, though it did not technically shed blood; and he would have known that, under the canon law, as interpreted by Roman doctors, the holding of military command in actual battle does not, to this day, vacate the benefice of an ecclesiastical person, nor involve him in canonical irregularity, unless he kills or mutilates an enemy with his own hand. All that Polk did know was that the canons of our own Church contained nothing on the subject, and the canons of our own Church were the articles of war under which he held his post. It is not to be inferred, however, that the thought of taking arms originated with himself. While he was in Richmond he pointed out to President Davis what the Union generals were years in finding out, — that if the South were ever conquered, it would not be by the way of Richmond, which could be defended for an indefinitely long time against any hostile force, but by the way of the West, where defence, to be effectual, would require timely preparation. Davis was impressed with what Polk said, and called upon him to go at once to Tennessee and carry out his own plans. Polk declined emphatically, saying that he already held a higher commission than any that the President of the Confederate States could give him. He was reminded that he had been educated at public expense for the defence of his State, and it was maintained that, although he was at liberty in time of peace to leave the public service, yet, when the State was menaced by invasion, it had still an indefeasible right to claim his services, such as no later obligations, even to the Church, could cancel. At this juncture a committee of citizens from Memphis, Tennessee, appeared in Richmond, urgently demanding that a competent commander should be sent to make proper preparations for their defence. Davis told them that he had no man of sufficient ability and knowledge of the country unless Polk would go. The committee waited on Polk and implored him to consent. Military friends of the highest distinction, who had been his contemporaries at West Point, and some of whom were devout churchmen, joined in urging him to reconsider his refusal. He was greatly startled. No childish dreams of military greatness rose before him. If he had any personal ambition at all, which is very doubtful, that ambition was to be remembered as a great bishop, in connection with great works of public beneficence. He had nothing to gain, but everything to lose, by descending even for a time to the rank of a

military commander. If he did so it would be a tremendous sacrifice. Yet, after much consideration, he felt that he could not refuse to make it, unless its effect were likely to be of injury to the Church. He could not refuse to consider the judgment of military men, of statesmen, and of citizens, that his services were necessary and even indispensable. On the interests of the Church he consulted with the venerable Bishop Meade, not for the purpose of evading or dividing the responsibility of his action, but for the satisfaction of his own mind, and for the clearing of his own judgment. Bishop Meade, if he did not encourage, did not strongly dissuade.¹

Polk endeavored honestly to meet the responsibility which was thus thrust upon him, and prayed earnestly for guidance. Meanwhile, the claim upon his services was urged peremptorily and with increasing anxiety on all hands. At length he yielded in an evil hour; but only on condition and with the assurance that he should be relieved from his command at the earliest possible moment. The announcement of his action was as great a shock to churchmen at the South as at the North. At the Montgomery Convention it was the subject of much sorrowful private conversation; and a sad foreboding overspread the minds of some that he whom all had known and loved, and loved still, would nevermore be seen among them in the house of God. So the event proved. Polk was nevermore to see his diocese, or sleep one night of peace in his own home. His family were scattered, penniless and homeless. After a while his noble wife, noble in every sense of birth and womanhood, took charge of a military hospital, and saw him sometimes.

While in military service he abstained from sacerdotal functions altogether. The visitation of his diocese he committed to Elliott, Otey, and Lay. But in camp and field, and siege and battle, he never for a moment forgot, nor did he suffer others to forget, that he was a consecrated man and a bishop in the Church of God. The simple truth is, that his habitual holiness of life was never so conspicuous as in the army. Men who had listened unmoved to his preaching were converted by the silent eloquence of his example. His reserve in abstaining from the ordinary functions of the ministry im-

¹ In a letter to Polk, dated Aug. 7, 1861, Meade wrote:—"I see it has gotten into the Northern papers that you came to me on the subject of accepting office in the army—that I said you were already in high office in the army of the Lord—the Church; but that the result was your acceptance, leaving the impression that you felt bound to engage in the war, or that I was not much opposed to it, or both. This is, I presume, about the right conclusion." On Nov. 15, having been assured by Davis that Polk could not be spared from his post, he wrote:—"I said that I would not have you withdraw if such were the case, and would justify your continuance to all the brethren with whom I should meet at Columbia. Your acceptance of the office I had defended before against all objections as an exception to a general rule, imperiously demanded by the exigencies of the country."

On Aug. 6, Elliott said, in writing of their recent Convention at Montgomery:—"Very little was said at the Convention, in my presence

at least, upon the subject of your acceptance of military office. The general feeling was against it among the clergy. My opinion coincided very much with that of Bp. Meade, that, as a general thing, it is inexpedient, but in your particular case, and under the circumstances of the Western country, very defensible. You will have to run the ordeal of all men who do unusual things. Success or failure will be made the criterion of right or wrong. If you succeed you will need no defenders; if you fail, such is the world, you will have a pack of curs at your heels, especially all those whom you may have had occasion to kick during your previous life."

At a later time of the same year, when Polk's resignation had been tendered and refused, Bishop Otey wrote a noble letter of sympathy and approval, which is too long for quotation, and too consecutive for extracts to be easily made from it. Many others wrote to him in a like strain.

pressed men with the sacredness of his sacerdotal office as nothing else could. And then, too, in spite of all reserve, the priestly character would sometimes break through all restraint of military form. One Sunday morning he rode with his staff into the village of Harrodsburg, Kentucky, from which the people had been frightened at the news of the approach of troops. The church was empty, but the door was open. Polk dismounted, laid aside his sword, and entered. One by one his staff did likewise, followed him, and found him kneeling with his head bowed on the chancel rail. They kneeled beside him and around him, and in broken sentences, the man of God poured out his soul in prayers for peace and blessing to both friend and foe. Polk's military service was always a hard burden to him, grievous and heavy to be borne. He was always yearning for his diocese; always eager for relief. Again and again he asked it, and it was refused.¹ To one of his clergy he wrote, — eight months after he had taken service, — saying: "I took the office only to fill a gap; only because the president, as he said, could find no one on whom he could with satisfaction devolve its duties. I have always regarded myself as a *locum tenens*, and have ever been anxious to have some one make his appearance with a commission to relieve me. As yet I have waited in vain for the man to take my place and let me return to my cherished work. I have labored as though I regarded my employment as permanent, while I have been encouraged and promised it should be terminated 'as soon as practicable,' and if the relief cannot be found I shall go on, by God's blessing, with fidelity to the end."² He did go on — to the end; and when Polk fell, without a groan, dead, on the battle-field,³ there was many a brave heart that came near breaking. No; Polk's character and conduct cannot yet be judged with the impartiality of history. His position cannot easily be appreciated by any but those who knew him, and they loved the man too deeply, love him still too much, to be impartial judges. By his peers of the vicinage he cannot now be judged. Hereafter, even the muse of history, if she shall gently blame him, will declare that such blame as he merited were fame enough for lesser men than he, and nothing that the Northern Church could do or did do was more grateful to the tenderest feelings of their Southern brethren than their just

¹ Copies of his letters tendering his resignation, and of the kind but firm refusals to accept it, lie before the writer.

² The letter was addressed to the writer of this paper, then a very young presbyter, whom the bishop had ordained and appointed as his assistant in Trinity Church, New Orleans, and who had been, for more than a year, a happy member of the bishop's family. On Christmas-day, 1861, he had written to his bishop a letter of loving salutation, and part of the bishop's reply is given above. Since this paper was written, the writer has received from the bishop's son, Dr. W. M. Polk, of New York, a number of valuable documents relating to the bishop, and among them his own simple letter of almost boyish Christmas greeting, now twenty years old. It contains not a word concerning the bishop's taking arms. The writer was not then reconciled to that step; is now less than ever reconciled to it; can hardly

yet forgive the men who urged so terrible a sacrifice. But it was characteristic of Polk to explain his conduct even to a boy whom his own hands had ordained. It was characteristic of him, too, that he should care, through years of incessant toil and anxiety, to preserve so valueless a letter. And it is not uncharacteristic of Leonidas Polk, strong and brave though he was, that that simple letter of boy-like affection comes back to its writer after twenty years with signs of tears upon the page.

³ In his left breast pocket, near his heart, was found his Book of Common Prayer, and in the right were three copies of a little manual entitled, "Balm for the Weary and the Wounded," in which, only the day before, he had written the names of Generals J. E. Johnson, Hood, and Hardee. All these books were saturated with his blood.

and generous silence concerning Polk. It could not be expected that Northern men should understand him. It was brotherly and kind to stand in reverent silence by his new-made grave and leave him in the sleep of peace. Posterity will judge him truly by and by. His friends desired, and still desire, no more.

The Arkansas case, as it was called, might, if unwisely handled, on the one side or the other, have prevented a reunion of the Church. On the Southern side it was felt and said that the Church in the Confederate States had been, and still was, a rightly and canonically constituted Church; it was neither heretic nor schismatic; it had every element and note of a catholic Church. True, it was not, as it had thought, a national Church; but it was a provincial Church. If it should finally resolve to retain its separate provincial organization it would have a perfect right to do so. No power but itself could determine its course in that matter. If it resolved to maintain its organization its position would be no ecclesiastical anomaly; it would hold the same attitude towards the Northern Church as the Church in Scotland holds to the Church of England. Even now that war had enforced the unity of the nation the Northern Church had neither the right nor the power to interfere with the provincial action of the Southern Church. Much more, they argued, would it be intolerable to admit that the Northern Church could sit in judgment on the actions which the Southern Church had done when it had been compelled to act on its own separate responsibility, apart from the counsels and suggestions of all other churches. All that it had then done must be accepted as canonical and final. It had consecrated the Bishop of Alabama; and unless Bishop Wilmer were admitted to the House of Bishops, no other bishop who had consented to his consecration could, in honor, take a seat there. In like manner they had admitted Arkansas as a diocese, and had received its bishop as a diocesan bishop with all the rights, privileges, and disabilities of that position. If the validity of that action should be denied no Southern bishop and no other Southern diocese could acquiesce in the denial without admitting that the whole Confederate organization of the Church had been schismatical, and therefore null and void. On the other hand the Southern bishops and others fully and fairly expected it to be maintained by the Northern Church that, in any reunion, the period of the war must be a blank; that the hypothesis on which the supposed necessity of separate organization of the Church in the Confederate States had been based had been utterly swept away; and that, as the Southern States had been compelled to submit to the fact that ordinances of secession were not to be regarded as effectual acts, but acts of rebellion, so the Southern dioceses were morally bound to hold that their secession from the national Church, though not schismatical in purpose, was schismatical in fact; in short, that the acts done by the Confederate dioceses had never been canonically regular, but were simply errors; that, therefore, Bishop Wilmer, though validly consecrated, was not yet Bishop of Alabama, but could only become so by the consent of the national Church; that, in like manner, the missionary jurisdiction of Arkansas had never really become a

diocese; and that its missionary bishop had never really become a diocesan bishop.

It was not thought to be possible that views which were supposed to be so different could be reconciled without negotiation, and it was seriously contemplated by the Southern bishops to call a Special Council to consider the situation of the Church, and, if it were deemed best, then to appoint a formal deputation of bishops, clergymen, and laymen from the General Council to attend the General Convention of 1865 and negotiate for the reunion of the Church. In some respects it seems unfortunate that this was not done, and in others it may be considered infinitely better that the Church should come, as it did come, together after the short separation of the sections, as brothers come together when a time of a parting ends, without negotiation or formality, but with full hearts and loving looks. Yet the reason why the Southern bishops did not call a council for the purpose of sending a deputation to the General Convention was a painful one.

The difficulties between the clergy of the Church and the military authorities in time of war were fairly outdone, after the war was ended, by the arbitrary acts of a military commander in the State of Alabama. This affair has been so much misrepresented and misunderstood, both at the South and at the North, that a plain statement of the facts connected with it cannot be out of place in this connection. It is somewhat singular to observe that, though the Church in the South had lent not a syllable of influence to the secession movement when the pulpits of other Christian bodies were resounding with grave arguments and passionate appeals in favor of that movement, and though the universal impulse of the Southern Church after the war was towards immediate and affectionate reunion with the national body, when no such impulse was exhibited — if it existed — in any other communion, yet, both during the war and at its close, the Church alone was subjected to military interference, while the others were untroubled. The occasion, if not the cause, of this fact was the form of prayer for all in civil authority, which was peculiar to the Church, and had nothing to correspond with it in the extemporaneous prayers of the denominations. It was observed in those days that the prayer for rulers differed widely from the prayer appointed to be used in time of war and tumults. During a truce between two armies, soldiers of both might have knelt together and used the latter prayer with one voice, while the former could be used by one side only. It was felt, and it is still felt by many, that the public prayers of the Church ought to be so catholic in thought, and so impersonal in form, that, even in time of civil war, the house of God should be a house of peace, where enemies in the field might meet for common prayer as brethren of one common Lord. Bishop Wilmer had been so impressed with this thought as to make it the subject of an address to his Convention during the war, with the purpose of endeavoring to secure in the General Council of the Confederate Church a change in the prayer which it had set forth for the President of the Confederate States. His wish was that that prayer should be set aside and replaced by another which should contain the impersonal language of the preface

to the Prayer-Book, namely, "that rulers might have grace, wisdom, and understanding to execute justice and maintain truth," so that the people might "lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty." Such a prayer, he believed, would fulfil all the purposes of prayer in that connection; and in times of civil commotion it would guard the Church against vexatious interference. Before the time came when Bishop Wilmer's proposition could have been considered the war came to an end, his own State was subjected to military government, and he himself was involved in the very difficulty from which he had desired to protect others.

The lapse of the Confederacy and the restoration of national authority required immediate action on the part of the Church. It was imperative that the prayer for the President of the Confederate States should be at once disused, and that the people should be counselled to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake. Whether the prayer for the President of the United States should be permanently restored, or whether some different form of prayer for rulers should be substituted for it, were questions to be determined by the General Council; but, by the terms of the constitution, it would be nearly four years before any alteration of the Prayer Book could be made. The rapid march of events demanded much more speedy action, and Bishop Wilmer had no desire to evade the responsibility which was laid upon him. Though he would have preferred a different form of prayer for rulers, and though he had desired to have the corresponding form changed by the Church in the Confederacy, yet the prayer for the President was the only form which the Church had sanctioned, and it was altogether improbable that it would be changed by competent authority. Hence, since the offering of public prayer for rulers is a duty of the Church, it was evident that the use of the prayer for the President of the United States must be resumed. Only the proper time for its resumption remained to be settled;¹ but into the decision of that question, two important considerations entered, the one touching a matter of fact, the other touching a matter of morals.

The prayer for rulers, appointed by the Church, is called, and is intended to be, a prayer for "all in civil authority;" but the civil authority of the United States had not been reëstablished at that time in Alabama. The State was under military government exclusively, and there were neither courts of justice to which to resort, nor any other means of protection afforded by the United States as against the *sic volo, sic jubeo* of military commanders. So far as the people

¹ Bishop Wilmer's position differed from that of every other bishop, for he was the only one who had not, at his consecration, made a promise of conformity to the Church in the United States. His canonical obedience, as a bishop, had been pledged only to the General Council of the Confederate Church. So long as the Confederate Church existed it was his only superior in liturgical matters; and, even after it was dissolved, he was not amenable to the national Church until he had freely made his promise of conformity to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Hence, since the General Council of the Church in the Confederate States had not di-

rected the restoration of the prayer, and since the bishop had not yet come under canonical obligations, as a bishop, to the Church in the United States, there was absolutely nothing but the influence of his own judgment to constrain him to restore the prayer for the President. That he did, in the free exercise of his deliberate judgment, order the use of that prayer to be resumed, so soon as the circumstances of his people should be such as the prayer itself contemplates, is a sufficient disproof of the charge of factiousness which was most unjustly made against the bishop at that time.

of Alabama were concerned, the President of the United States himself could not then be regarded as a civil magistrate, since he was inaccessible to them in that character, and stood to them simply as commander-in-chief of the armies by which they were governed. The moment when civil government should be restored in Alabama, Bishop Wilmer thought, would be the proper moment to resume the use of the prayer for all in civil authority.

The consideration of morality involved in the question seemed to him equally clear. As the imposition of oaths of allegiance in conquered districts had led to a demoralization of conscience concerning such oaths which could not fail to bring about a laxity of opinion concerning oaths in general, so it was greatly to be feared that the sincerity of public worship would be impaired by the inopportune use of a prayer which had not been framed in contemplation of such circumstances. Bishop Wilmer could not adopt the course of a worthy and cautious clergyman who had told the military authorities that he would pray for the President of the United States under protest! He could not understand praying under protest; but he could very readily understand that praying under protest would turn the service of the sanctuary into a farce, and that, while the State remained under military rule, many of the clergy and laity would feel that prayers for a civil authority which had no existence for them were a flagrant unreality to which they could consent no otherwise than under protest. While it continued even military authority must be respected and obeyed, and prayed for too, though its continuance was to be deprecated, and though the Church had provided no special form of prayer for that particular form of government. But the thing to be desired by all good men was the speedy restoration of the civil authority of the United States for which all good men could devoutly pray without protest or mental reservation.

With these views Bishop Wilmer, on the 30th May, issued a brief pastoral letter, which was followed by a longer letter on the 20th of June. He exhorted the clergy and laity to respect and obey the existing government loyally and sincerely. In the services of the Church he ordered the immediate disuse of the prayer for the President of the Confederate States, and instructed them to resume the "prayer for the President of the United States, and all in civil authority," as soon as civil authority should be restored. He called particular attention to the sanctity of oaths and the abomination of false swearing, and he encouraged the people to take the oath of allegiance when lawfully required, as he had a right to do, since he had freely and sincerely taken the oath himself. In a private conversation with the bishop, which was sought by an officer of rank in the army, the bishop positively declined to discuss any part of his official acts or obligations with a military person, unless all pretence of military authority in ecclesiastical affairs were set aside; the officer courteously waived his military position, and expressed his desire to converse simply as man with man. The bishop then gave a full explanation of his views, and of his instructions to the clergy of the diocese. The officer declared that he was satisfied, and thus the danger of conflict with the military

authorities in Alabama seemed to have been prudently averted. Unfortunately the commanding general of the department (Thomas) was affected with that peculiar bitterness of feeling which is commonly exhibited in family feuds. General Thomas and Bishop Wilmer were both natives of Virginia, and when these things came to the knowledge of the general, he caused an order to be published by his subordinate in Alabama, which more than sufficiently proved that civil authority had no existence in that State. He assumed a judicial right to interpret the canons of the Church, a more than episcopal right to enforce them, and an entirely papal prerogative of discipline. Arguing from the single negative fact that Bishop Wilmer had not directed the immediate use of the prayer for all in civil authority, the order publicly charged him with having a heart filled with malice, hatred, and uncharitableness, with violation of the canons of the Church, and with exhibiting a factious and disloyal spirit, which was an insult to every loyal citizen. It declared the bishop to be an unsafe public teacher, and it, therefore, commanded "that the said Richard Wilmer, Bishop of the Diocese of Alabama, and the Protestant Episcopal Clergy of the said Diocese be, and they are, hereby suspended from their functions, and forbidden to preach or perform divine service, and that their places of worship be closed, until such time as said bishop and clergy show a sincere return to their allegiance, and give evidence of a loyal and patriotic spirit by offering to resume the use of the prayer for the President and all in civil authority, and by taking the amnesty oath." This prohibition was to continue in force until "application for permission to preach and perform divine service" should have been made "through the military channels, to these headquarters," and "approved at these or superior head-quarters."

This unexpected and high-handed order made it impossible for Bishop Wilmer to advance one step, or even, had he so desired, to reconsider any part of his former action. The issue which had been made, and he was not the man to evade it, was whether the Church, and he himself as her responsible representative, could admit the right of a major-general to invest himself with authority to interpret her laws, to decree her worship, to exercise her discipline, to inhibit and suspend her clergy, and to make "these head-quarters" the fountain of spiritual jurisdiction, and "military channels" channels of divine grace. It was a question which the Church's honor forbade him to discuss or to entertain; but neither could he enter into an unseemly contention with an armed force; and, having been officially informed that the order would be enforced by arms, he instructed the clergy to quietly obey and desist from their public ministrations. He then appealed to the provisional (military) Governor of the State, who courteously replied that he had forwarded the bishop's appeal and copies of his pastorals to the President of the United States, but intimated that, in his opinion, there was no prospect of the order being rescinded. Then the bishop had the happy inspiration to address the President himself; his letter was referred, of course, not to any civil officer, but to the Secretary of War, and by the War Department, though with what private instructions is not known, to General Thomas.

It seems to be probable that General Thomas was privately instructed to revoke the order which he had directed to be issued by his subordinate; for, in a short time, another order, rescinding the former, was issued from his own head-quarters, and was so malignant and insulting that it is probably unique in the literature of the war. So extraordinary was it that, when published in the newspapers, it was for a time believed to be a scurrilous forgery from the hand of some "unreconstructed rebel" who intended by it to cast odium upon a gallant soldier of the Union. In striking contrast with the spirit of General Thomas was the swift courtesy of General Sherman in communicating information of the revocation of the order. "Having this moment," he wrote, "been officially informed" of it, he had the honor to inform the bishop of the fact; but he was careful not to enclose a copy of General Thomas's ill-tempered composition.

These events extended from May, 1865, to January, 1866, and during that time the General Convention met. If the unhappy state of affairs above described had not existed in Alabama it is all but certain that Bishop Elliott would have called a special session of the General Council to consider the subject of reunion; but while the dioceses in the South were not free, and while the bishop and clergy of a whole State were suspended from their functions at the arbitrary command of a major-general, it was clearly improper that a council should be held. But for the wise and independent course of Bishop Atkinson, of North Carolina, and Bishop Lay, of Arkansas, a golden opportunity might thus have been lost. The Church was hungering and thirsting for reunion; but until, in some way, the two separated sections could be brought in contact with each other, neither part could know the true heart and mind of the other. Impressed with that conviction the Bishops of North Carolina and Arkansas resolved to attend the General Convention of 1865, not necessarily to take their seats as members of the House of Bishops, but for consultation on the interests of the Church. Bishop Lay's position was different from that of Bishop Atkinson in one curious particular. His original appointment, in 1859, had been to the missionary charge of the South-west, and the House of Bishops had assigned to his jurisdiction not only the State of Arkansas, but also New Mexico and Arizona, which had never in any way belonged to or been claimed by the Confederacy. At the outbreak of the war he had resigned all that part of his jurisdiction which lay beyond the Confederate States, but the acceptance of his resignation by the House of Bishops, which was necessary to make it effectual, had never taken place. Hence, without his own knowledge, and in a way which could not apply to any diocesan bishop, he had remained under canonical obligations to the national Church, while actually coöperating with the Church in the Confederate States.

At the opening services of the General Convention of 1865 the two Southern bishops modestly took seats with the congregation in the nave of the church; and a thrill of deep emotion passed through the vast assembly when their presence was observed, and it was whispered that the South was coming back. Messengers were sent to conduct them to seats among the other bishops in the chancel, — a courtesy of

which they were fully sensible, but which they felt it to be proper to decline. After the service the Bishops of New York and of Maryland went with others to greet them, and with friendly violence drew them towards the House of Bishops. It was then, when they hesitated to enter that house until they should know on what terms and with what understanding they were to be received, that Bishop Potter addressed to them the memorable words: "Trust all to the love and honor of your brethren!" They could ask, and they desired, no other assurance. They knew the men with whom they had to deal. They entered without further hesitation, and the House of Bishops nobly redeemed the noble pledge made by the Bishop of New York.

How much inconsiderate action the presence of Bishops Lay and Atkinson at the General Convention of 1865 may have averted it is needless to inquire; how much good it did can hardly be estimated. Concerning Polk no painful word was spoken. The Alabama consecration caused no difficulty. Dr. Wilmer had been freely elected and validly consecrated, and whenever he should make his promise of conformity to the Church in the United States, which he had not yet made, he should be as welcome as his brethren. The Gordian knot of the Arkansas case was cut by Bishop Lay himself. The General Convention was ready to receive Arkansas as a diocese and himself as its diocesan, if he wished it; but the bishops earnestly deprecated any discussion of the question of jurisdiction involved in the case. Bishop Lay candidly and sorrowfully told them that he would waive discussion, and that indeed no discussion was necessary, since the fact was, that he had no diocese. Two unsupported clergymen, without cure, and laboring for their daily bread, were all that remained, after the war, under his jurisdiction. Nothing that might even technically be called a Diocesan Convention could possibly be convened to consider the situation; for there were no clergy entitled to seats, and no lay delegates who could be gathered together. Everything had been broken up and scattered by the events of war. Under these circumstances there was no one but the bishop himself to consider the interests of his diocese or to decide its future status; he could see no good to be attained by insisting on a diocesan organization which had no substantial reality. It seemed to him to be every way best that Arkansas should return to the nursing care of the Church at large by resuming its position as a missionary jurisdiction; and if it did so, no reflection would be cast upon the validity of the act by which the Church in the Confederate States had erected it into a diocese, since the General Convention had been ready to admit it as a diocese. As to himself his diocesan status must stand or fall with that of the diocese to which he had belonged; and since that had ceased to exist in fact, he was entirely free to retain the position of Missionary Bishop of the Southwest, in which, unknown to himself, he had remained throughout the whole period of the war. The course of Bishop Lay in this matter was not fully understood, and was therefore not entirely approved at the South for some time;¹ but beyond all question it was not only

¹ It is within the knowledge of the writer that Bishop Lay would undoubtedly have been elected to one large diocese of the South, and it was understood that he would have been elected

reasonable, as the foregoing statement shows, but it was rightful, canonical, and judicious. Thus every material obstacle in the way of reunion, by God's blessing, was removed; but there was still a moral difficulty, much more delicate to touch, in which manly sincerity on the one side and loyal patriotism on the other threatened a postponement of the union for which all were laboring.

The two Southern bishops found themselves, as Bishop Lay has since said, in a "community exultant with victory, enthusiastic in loyalty, and disposed to take it for granted that to return was to ask forgiveness." Now, the Southern bishops had submitted unreservedly to national authority in secular matters; for the Church's sake they were there to seek reunion, but neither as citizens nor as churchmen were they prepared to cry *peccavimus* nor to ask forgiveness. It was impossible for them to join in the utterance of any sentiment, however much they might respect it, which they did not sincerely share; and if the Church should set forth services or pronounce synodical opinions concerning national affairs, in which their Southern brethren could not cordially unite, the inference would be inevitable that the time for their reunion had not yet arrived. The House of Bishops was about to appoint a thanksgiving service for the restoration of peace; and, as was natural, the proposals made for that event included reference to certain consequences of the war, concerning which the minds of Northern men could not but differ very greatly from those of Southern men. The subject was presented at different times and in different forms, and when it was discussed the Southern bishops were not present. They felt, as Bishop Atkinson observed at the time, that the brotherly kindness of the Northern bishops had been such as they could delight to remember to their dying day. "But," said he, "they are discussing a resolution in which we cannot agree, and they will utter sentiments which cannot but pain us. It is best that we should not hear the words spoken." At length, after several fruitless efforts to reach a decision, a report was presented by the five senior bishops, who proposed a preamble and resolutions to which the Southern bishops, who were present by request, could not possibly agree. "All eyes," said Bishop Lay in his memorial sermon on Bishop Atkinson, "were upon Bishop Atkinson, as he answered the appeal made to him. He knew that he had that to say which must needs be most distasteful to men full of exultation at the Southern downfall. With no diffidence and no temper, rather with the frankness of a child uttering his thought, he opened all

to another, if it had not been believed that his surrender of the diocesan organization of Arkansas was in effect a repudiation of the validity of the canonical action of the General Council of the Church in the Confederate States, by which Arkansas had been erected into a diocese. When the bishop was afterwards elected to Easton, of which he is now the honored head, Bishop Johns, of Virginia, and possibly others, refused to consent to his translation, on the ground that the erection of Arkansas into a diocese, and Bishop Lay's settlement as its diocesan, were acts of jurisdiction which Bishop Lay had no power to set aside; that he was still, in fact, diocesan of Arkansas; and that, by the canons of the Church, his diocesan office made his translation unlawful. The writer of this paper, until he was called to make special investigation into the matter, was of the same opinion. After what has been said in the text, it is needless to add that if Bishop Lay's course in resuming the position of a missionary bishop was rightful and canonical, his acceptance of Easton was equally so; since a missionary bishop is expressly permitted by the canons to accept a diocese to which he may be elected. The statement of the case which is here made is a very tardy justice to one who did so much to bring about a result which all applaud, from which all have profited, but for which small thanks have ever been paid to those to whom thanks were chiefly due.

John Fulton

MONOGRAPH IX.

THE LITERARY CHURCHMEN OF THE ANTE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

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IT is high time that the effort should be made to bring together in one honorable company the men who, under many difficulties, cultivated letters in a forest land, where the axe of the settler and the war-cry of the Indian gave them at once inspiration and obstruction. They lived far apart and could depend little upon each other for counsel and assistance, so that their efforts were, in the main, desultory and local. In the short scope of this paper it is not possible to write exhaustively as to the list of names and the analysis of productions, nor to strike anything like a just proportion and award of merit and value among the writers here represented.

As I enter upon the subject I feel like a saunterer upon the highway, who chances upon some picturesque, grass-grown, and abandoned country church-yard, and reads there, with melancholy pleasure, quaint inscriptions upon the moss-covered headstones, with their elegiac record of men not known to common fame, but of local report in their day for worth, enduring constancy, and loyal piety.

The materials are scanty and scattered; much of them are to be found only in curious monographs and rare copies, difficult of access. Many such works are absolutely unrecoverable; we know of them only as they are mentioned or quoted by earlier historians and critics. All that I can do, then, is to present the names and works of the more eminent among these worthies; to attempt to show the attitude and relation they sustained to the historic times and circumstances in which they wrote, and thus to indicate to interested scholars the field in which larger and more careful studies may be made.

Certainly neither the times nor circumstances were conducive to literary studies. When we consider that most of the colonists in those parts of North America which were to become the United States were adventurers or voluntary exiles, seeking to push their fortunes; or religionists of many types, many of them at open variance with the Church, as well as the State, in England, whose literary productions, should there be any, would display their varied religious sentiments, and little else, our first thought is that few can be found who will answer at once to the names of churchmen and men of letters.

And, again, the colonists, Englishmen by birth or family, governed by English laws, both common and statute, had continued to cherish the comfortable customs and manners of their English home. They spoke and read as their vernacular the English language; the edu-

cated among them knew the earlier writers well, and rejoiced in the new works of which the language was the noble vehicle of progress. English literature was their literature; and, if they wrote, they wrote as Englishmen. The early colonial efforts, few, fragmentary, and imitative in style and handling, were issued by men, many of them British-born, and all of them British subjects. Why should the colonists attempt to do what England, with her grand prescriptions and wealth of material and appliances, — libraries, museums, universities, — was doing so well for them? Every English book that had any merit was brought over to America; soon there were printing-presses and publishing-houses; the books were reprinted, and the wealth of a literature which had taken a new and more splendid departure with Shakespeare and Milton, at the time of the first settlements, was the rich possession of the colonies, as well as of the mother-country. Milton was born in 1608, the year after the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia; and Shakespeare died in 1616, only four years before the landing on Plymouth Rock. Colonial writers could not hope to rival, or even equal, this home literature; there was no need of a colonial literature; the business of the settlers was to build shelters and stockades, to defend themselves from hostile Indians; to establish local governments, to lay the foundations of a new empire, and to read English books when they had time and inclination. A few would, indeed, continue to write polemics in religion, for that great controversy was always in order; and a few more would send home letters and papers descriptive of the new country, its beauties, its capabilities, its needs, mainly to persuade others to come and settle. So much for the general conditions of literature in the colonies.

To come to the consideration of the special topic of this paper, if we seek to determine its territorial bearings more exactly we are met by the grant of Virginia to the London and Plymouth Companies by King James I. The charters set forth that they should be under royal government, and that the Church of England should be, as at home, established by law. Thus the old postulates of Church and State were presented for the colonies; at least by letter of the enactment. It proved later to be an empty decree in most parts of the country; but the dead letter remained long after the informing spirit had fled. English loyalty was strongest in Virginia, and so, when we are looking at once for churchmen and men of letters, we turn instinctively to the cavalier colony of the Old Dominion. The settlers were, indeed, a motley crowd, — men of family, broken-down gentlemen, military adventurers, — and they were not in accord among themselves: there were factions and rebellions; but, whatever the causes of ferment, there seems to have been little dissent to church government. The parish system of England was introduced. Even the careless Christians among the settlers were loyal churchmen. It is significant of this recognition of church claims that we find the Princess Pocahontas, six years only after the settlement of Jamestown, stammering forth, in her broken English, the vows at once of baptism and marriage as set forth in the English prayer-book. Virginia was the central field of churchmanship and literature.

Just north was the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland, of which the large-hearted Lord Baltimore was the proprietary. The Protestants succeeded in wresting the power from the Papists, and in 1691 the proprietary was deposed, Maryland became a royal province, and the Church of England was established by law. In 1715, after the accession of George I., Lord Baltimore and his heirs were reinstated in their proprietary rights, which they retained until the Revolution. There was entire religious toleration, but in the contact of sects there is some religious polemic from the pens of literary churchmen.

The settlement of the Carolinas by Scotch, Irish, and Huguenots, with the grand, but impracticable, model of government excoGITATED by John Locke, should prepare the student for a rather unrewarding search for literary churchmen among those colonists. Analogous was the condition of Georgia, the latest founded of all the thirteen colonies,—in 1732,—and settled by released debtors from British prisons, Highlanders, Salzburgers, Jews, and Moravians. The "struggle for life" precluded much cultivation of literature.

Returning northward in this general survey we find an interesting condition of affairs in that New Netherlands which was soon to become New York. Under the four Dutch governors this colony conformed generally to the principles and practice of the Reformed Church of Holland, which had emerged in safety from the fires of persecution. When, in 1664, the English banner floated triumphantly over the battery of New Amsterdam, thenceforth to be known as the city of New York, royal English governors oppressed the conquered people, and the English Church and churchmen were for a time objects of aversion to the "Reformed" Knickerbocker gentry of Manhattan. The period of oppression did not last; more liberal governors and a more enlightened policy brought Dutch and English into a more harmonious union; the churches of England and Holland dwelt side by side without hatred or conflict, and the former began to lay those deep and strong foundations upon which it has built so beautifully in the cosmopolitan city.

Our problem assumes peculiar characteristics as we approach the New England colonies, where religion and literature received more attention than elsewhere in America. From Canada to the ocean they presented chiefly types of Puritanism; most of the religionists were independent and separatist. The story is too well known to need repetition. The early men of New England left the old home to free themselves from the oppression of the government and church conformity. Some crossed the narrow sea to Holland, where they found themselves unable, or unwilling, to fraternize with the Dutch. They returned to England, but soon set out to cross the Atlantic, in order to find in the forests a place in which their tenets might rule, and attract others of their way of thought. Avowed opponents of the dogmas and practice of the Establishment, they came to form a Puritan settlement in America. It was, in point of fact, a close corporation: no one could enter their precincts who would not accept their creed and their religious enactments. Explain this as we may, history records it as their manifesto to the world. It is difficult to understand

their peculiar casuistry, as we read, that while yet in Holland, in view of their purpose to settle in America, when they made application to the king and the London Company for permission to colonize, in the paper of seven articles, signed by John Robinson and the Elder Brewster, they showed but little dissent from the Church. They declare that they assent wholly to the confession of faith and the articles of the Church of England; that they desire to remain in spiritual communion with it; that they acknowledge the temporal power of the bishops, and in other things the king's authority. There is, indeed, a spice of indirection about this; but their full meaning was soon disclosed by what followed. They sent back to England those who persisted in using the forms of the Church. They discarded, as an idolatrous thing, the ritual of the Christian year. They drove out Anne Hutchinson to die in the wilderness; they burnt witches (however, that was hardly sectarian in those days); they condemned erring women to wear the Scarlet Letter; they flogged and then hung the Quakers (who were not a very good specimen of that innocuous sect). They banished Roger Williams to the tender mercies of Canonicus, a heathen Indian, who gave him land for a settlement, which he might well call Providence. I do not say they were illogical in taking the ground that they were a close corporation, and forbidding all who differed from them to enter their settlements; but I do say that it was the extremest intolerance, which their apologists — for I think none of the original Puritans remain — may relegate to the spirit of the age, or their descendants may fix upon the *Puritans* to the relief of the *Pilgrims*. I only mention these well-known facts, as they have to do with literary churchmen, the objects of their special dislike. Churchmanship bore the mark of the beast. It was worse than Papacy, for it was Papacy disguised.

In Connecticut they attempted to establish a rigorous theocracy founded on the Jewish dispensation. Their law came, indeed, by Moses. The Old Testament, half interpreted, gave them authority over the Amorite, the Hittite, and all the people of Canaan. A new, peculiar people, they were enjoined to smite the enemy hip and thigh. They made sumptuary laws for their own people; and their "freedom to worship God" sternly refused freedom to all but themselves. What more could they claim that the Establishment had done in England? It was sanctified retaliation; but let it be declared that, with all this intolerance, they projected and carried forward a system of education which, at first espousing, was in the end to destroy, this intolerance. More than all the other colonies those of New England fostered learning and produced literature; the best of it, of course, theological, but much of it descriptive of the new region, and its life, political and social.

In a current sketch of our colonial literature the Puritan element would largely predominate in quantity and quality. Upon that field we cannot enter; much of it, indeed, reminds us of Butler's

"Errant saints, whom all men grant
To be the true church militant,
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy teal of pike and gun."

They were nothing, if not fiercely militant. John Cotton wrote a letter "Concerning the Power of the Magistrate in Matters of Religion." Roger Williams answered caustically, in 1644, by his "Bloody Tenet of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience." Again Cotton came forth in "The Bloody Tenet washed white in the Blood of the Lamb." But there was pleasanter reading in the papers of Governors Winthrop and Bradford, President Chauncey, and the devoted John Eliot. Chief pride of New England Puritanism, and of New England in general, is the "*Magnalia Christi Americana*, or the Ecclesiastical History of New England from its first planting, in the year 1620, unto the year of our Lord 1698." This is a rare and valuable book, which must not be neglected by the scholar who is looking for the history of the Church in that day. *Fus est ab hoste doceri*. I cannot but think that Mr. William Tudor was a little at fault when he claimed to be "the last, and possibly the first, individual who *bona fide* perused in regular course the whole of Mather's *Magnalia*." Many an ardent student of New England history would claim that merit.

The first printing-press in America was set up in the house of the President of Harvard College, in 1639, and the first book printed was "The Bay Psalm-Book." New England led the New World in education and literature, with a Puritan system and discipline which frowned upon churchmanship. And yet even in this early period, and far more in the later, there are to be found literary churchmen in New England. It is time that we should pass from these necessary preliminaries to the mention of such men and their works. They have especially a historical character in that they describe, in grand features and in detail, the localities and the checkered life of the colonists; they take their full part in the religious controversies of the day, and are concerned about schemes of local government and confederated alliances for protection against the Indians and the Dutch.

Beginning with the first attempts at settlement we shall only mention the papers of the renowned and unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh, who, in 1579, accompanied his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in his unsuccessful attempt to colonize. In 1584 he obtained a patent empowering him to appropriate, plant, and govern any territories he might acquire in North America. His voyage to the Orinoco is picturesquely described in his "Discoverie of the large, rich and beautiful Empyre of Guiana," — a second voyage to which, in 1616-17, cost him his head, already compromised by the verdict of a prejudiced court.

But the first literary churchman in North America, technically speaking, was no less a personage than Captain John Smith, renowned as a soldier, an adventurer, and a leader of men. It is well, as our space will not allow a full survey of what he did, and afterwards quaintly described, that his career is well known. He has left a valuable account from his own pen of his marvellous performances on the James River and inland, in his "History of Virginia." Here we read of the controversy between himself and Wingfield, ending in the "survival of the fittest." Above all the clamor are heard the mild, but potent, tones of the clergyman, Mr. Hunt, reconciling their quarrels,

and binding them together in the joint participation of the holy communion. Smith tells us of the conversion of Pocahontas, her baptism as Lady Rebecca, and her marriage to Rolfe. No critic troubles himself about the literary character of John Smith's writings. The facts are too full of interest; the narrative, perhaps somewhat exaggerated, is radiant with romance. In it our John Smith is the hero, — an active explorer, an intrepid adventurer, a fiery man of war, a firm and judicious governor. The list of his works is easy to find; it would take up too much space here, but I desire to mention those which bear most strongly upon his own personality. He was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, in 1579, the year that Raleigh and Gilbert were coming to America; and he died in London, in 1631, when the principal colonies had been already formed, and when men from all parts of England, and many from the Continent, were "making the Virginia voyage." The fifty-two years of his life were full of poetry and romance, as well as history. The classic fiction of the Argonauts was rivalled by truth, and the more fortunate Jason of the band was John Smith himself. His first work, published in 1608, the year after the settlement of Jamestown, is entitled "A True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Colony, which is now resident in the south part thereof, till the last return from thence, by Thomas Watson, Gent. &c." In the preface we are informed — why doth not appear — that Thomas Watson should be John Smith. Unless he had literary collaboration it must have cost him great labor and trouble to have done the deeds, and chronicled them in so short a space of time. Soon after, in 1612, to complete his account, he published, at Oxford, "A Map of Virginia, with a description of the Countrie, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion." Four years later, in 1616, appeared "A Description of New England, or the observation and discoveries of Captain John Smith (Admiral of that country) in the north of America, in the year 1614." In 1620 he issued "New England's Trials, &c." A greater work, of the nature of a digest, is his "General History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles." This is of inestimable value, and must be carefully examined by the student of our early history. It is divided into six books, and was first published in 1624. It is worthy of remark that De Tocqueville, in his work on "Democracy in America," says of this history: "His style is simple, his narratives bear the stamp of truth, and his descriptions are free from false ornaments." Like Julius Cæsar, John Smith wrote his own commentaries, and wrote them well; but in the last years of his life he seems possessed with *cacoethes scribendi*. Thus he writes "Instructions to Young Seamen;" "Directions to those contemplating making their Home in the Colonies;" and, of more importance, final *collectanea* of all his travels and adventures from 1593 to 1629. Thus this earliest "literary churchman" had been almost as prolific with his pen as he had been famous with his sword, and if the eulogium of old Thomas Carlton may be received as strictly true; if he was indeed

—— "a warrior
From wine, tobacco, debts, dice, oaths so free,"

he has a claim to practical morality, based, let us believe, upon good Christian churchmanship, equal in merit to his claims as a warrior, an author, and a statesman. It may be doubted whether he has been as popularly known in his moral characteristics as in his perilous adventures and his warlike deeds.

We pass now to the name of a literary colonist and traveller, — *longo sed proximus intervallo*, — who was also by preëminence a churchman. *Stat nominis umbra*. How few know George Sandys, the youngest son of Archbishop Sandys, the metropolitan of York! He was born at the archiepiscopal palace of Bishopthorpe, in 1577, and died in 1643-44. He received his education at Oxford in the two foundations of Corpus Christi and St. Mary's. After his graduation he travelled extensively, making what was then an unusual and distinguished tour through Turkey, Egypt, and the Holy Land, occupying about three years. Of these journeys he published a detailed account in "A Relation of a Journey, &c.," in four books. This appeared in 1615. Not long after he sailed for America, and was appointed treasurer of the English colony of Virginia. While in the discharge of his duties on the banks of the James he found time to cater to the prevailing English taste of the day, by writing "Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologized, and Represented in Figures," and also the first book of Virgil's "Æneid." These were published in 1621. "This," says Allibone, "is of peculiar interest as the first elaborate poetical composition of America." His Ovid is praised by Dryden and Pope, and by many minor poets. Gibbon calls him a "judicious translator." Perhaps in this regard he had the advantage of being an archbishop's son. In his dedication to Charles I. he declares that he wrote it at "snatched hours in wars and tumults." He kept his pen in practice by writing paraphrases of the "Psalms of David, and other Hymns in the Bible," which the gentle James Montgomery, himself one of the best English hymn-writers, asserted to be incomparably the most poetical in the English language. "The Bay Psalm-Book" of New England found thus a rival in Virginia. He further paraphrased in verse the Book of Job, Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah, and the Song of Solomon, and published a tragedy, entitled "Christ's Passion," which is a translation of a Latin drama by Hugo Grotius. In 1839 the Rev. John H. Todd published selections from Sandy's metrical paraphrases, with a "Life" prefixed.

Among the early writers in our colonial annals was John Josselyn, of whom we know nothing until his first visit to New England, in 1638. He returned to England in 1639, but came again to America in 1663, and remained eight years. The fruit of these visits is found in several rare and interesting works. The first is "An Account of Two Voyages to New England." This appeared in 1674, with an appendix containing "A Chronological Table of the Most Remarkable Passages from the First Discovery of the Continent of America to 1673." The exaggerations are amusing, and easily eliminated. He finds frogs a foot high, and, by reason of a lack of care, barley degenerates into oats! Another valuable work is his "New England's Rarities discovered, in Birds, Beasts, Fishes and Plants," which appeared in separate parts in 1672-74-75.

The remaining period is so short in which our writers figure that we need not trouble ourselves to try to present them in exact chronological order, which would be difficult, and might be complicated by the dates of their birth, death, and authorship.

It is not without a sense of injury that we accost the name of a deserter from our "little flock;" or, rather, if the military term be too strong, of a churchman who abandoned the Church of England under the influence of New England Puritanism. Thomas Shepard was born at Towcester, in England, in 1605, and educated at Cambridge, where he was graduated in 1623, and ordained a minister of the Church. His early lectures at Earles Colne, in Essex, gave such offence to Bishop Laud that he was silenced for non-conformity in 1630. He emigrated to Boston in 1635, where, abandoning his allegiance to the Church in 1637, he succeeded the Rev. Thomas Hooker as Congregational minister at Newtown, now Cambridge, and married his daughter. He died there, in 1649. Such defections—happily they were few—were strong aids to Puritanism. Shepard's facile pen was turned against the Church in controversial papers of great bitterness. Like the Sabat of the poet, he was

"One of those
Whom love estranged transforms to bitterest foes."

Thus we find him writing in 1645, while the internecine war of the Great Rebellion was at its height, "New England's Lamentation for Old England's Errors;" a little later, "Of Liturgies and Against Them!" "Reply to Dr. Gauden's 'Liturgical Considerations Considered.'" He also published many sermons in a similar vein. We are not astonished to find him highly praised by Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia."

With the honored name of Alexander Whitaker we reach a literary churchman whose praise was in all the early churches. He was the son of the Rev. Dr. Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Divinity. Alexander Whitaker was one of the "four honest and learned ministers" who went with Sir Thomas Dale to Virginia, took part in laying the foundation of Henrico, which was thus named in honor of Prince Henry, son of James I., and became rector of a church there. His engagement with the parish was for three years, but he remained longer. He took part with Dale in bringing about the conversion of Pocahontas, and vindicated her marriage with Rolfe. He was called by Crashaw one of the "Apostles of Virginia." In 1613 he published a sermon on the text, Ecc. xi. 1: "Cast thy bread upon the waters for thou shalt find it after many days." It was entitled: "Good Newes from Virginia sent to the Council and Company of Virginia resident in England." This caused his removal from the parish.

Of the Rev. William Morell, or Morrell, little is known but that, in 1623, he accompanied Captain Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to America, and for about a year was permitted to reside at Plymouth, and made long journeys as a kind of superintendent of the churches. In the Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society

is preserved a first copy of his principal work, which they have reprinted. It is entitled "Nova Anglia," and was published in England in 1625. It is "in Latin hexameters and English heroics."

In our somewhat elastic definition of the literary churchmen of the ante-revolutionary period it gives me pleasure to find that I may include George Berkeley, bishop, metaphysician, educationist, and philanthropist, who honored the colonies with his special interest, and aided them, not so much by his actual work as by the large influence of his name and talents. Among the English churchmen of the eighteenth century there are many names which rank high in the cultivation of letters. Many were stalwart champions in that controversial and apologetic literature in defence of Christianity, the safety of which was imperilled by the assaults of such men as Bolingbroke, Hobbes, and the new school of materialists. Such defenders were Beveridge and Patrick, Sharp and Wilson, Butler (who wrote the "Analogy") and Sherlock, Warburton and Lowth, swearers and non-jurors, but all men of industry, activity, great learning, and ready pens. Among them all no one has reached greater distinction in England than Berkeley; while his love for America and the colonists, his long residence in this country, his generosity to the cause of education and religion, and, perhaps not least, his beautiful poetical prediction concerning the westward-moving star of empire, and the last and noblest offspring of Time, — *Temporis Partus Maximus*, — have gained for him in our annals even greater distinction than in England.

George Berkeley was born at Dysert Castle, near Thomastown, in County Kilkenny, Ireland, on the 12th of March, 1684. At the early age of fifteen he was a student at Trinity College, Dublin, where he began early to display his curious metaphysical acumen. At the age of twenty-three he became a fellow, and vindicated his claims by the publication of two mathematical treatises in 1707. These were followed, in 1709, by a paper on "The Theory of Vision." In 1707 he had taken holy orders. Eloquent, and yet eccentric in manner, he became noted as a preacher. In 1710 he issued his principal work on the "Principles of Human Nature," which may be said to have expanded into his metaphysical system. In 1712 he preached three discourses on the doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, which caused him to be proclaimed a Jacobite, — this was in the very crisis of Jacobitism, — but in another able sermon he exculpated himself from the charge. Known as a politician, a philosopher, a divine, a rhetorician, and an author, he became the worthy and admired friend of Swift, Steele, Addison, Arbuthnot, and Pope. Appointed chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough, he went with the English embassy to Sicily, in 1713, from which he returned in 1714. In 1721 he published his "Essay towards Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain." He gave his cordial aid to General Oglethorpe in his scheme of philanthropy, which issued in the settlement of the colony of Georgia, in 1732. It was, indeed, a happy thought to throw open the debtors' prisons throughout the land, and provide the means for sending the unfortunate inmates to the New World to begin life anew, possessed of that freedom which is "a nobil thinge." When Pope wrote of the founder of Georgia, —

“ ——— driven by strong benevolence of soul,
Should fly like Oglethorpe from pole to pole,”—

he could also say of the good friend who lent Oglethorpe aid in the project :—

“ Manners with candor are to Benson given;
To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.”

For five years Berkeley travelled on the continent, acquiring knowledge of foreigners and sympathy with them. On his return he formed part of the suite of the Duke of Grafton, who went over to Ireland as Viceroy in 1721. Promotion attended his merits; in 1722 he was appointed to the Deanery of Dromere, and in 1724 he was made Dean of Derry. Fairly settled in his church offices, he began to excogitate a scheme for the religious improvement of the colonies in America. His idea was set forth in a pamphlet entitled “A Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations, and for converting the Savages to Christianity.” Another part of his plan touched the subject of education; he wished to establish a college in the Bermudas for training American missionaries. For this project he got a promise of £20,000. Consider for a moment the condition of affairs which excited his practical sympathy. The entire colonial domain of England in the west was without a bishop, thus practically without the power of church extension; and yet time-serving England, under the Hanoverian succession, was so self-satisfied that Berkeley was considered a brainsick visionary. There was already something of the sentiment towards the colonists that half a century later caused rude old Dr. Johnson to declare that “they were a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging.” The fact of Swift’s connection with the scheme for expanding the church privileges in America is well known. It was proposed to make him Bishop of Virginia, with metropolitan powers in America. Fortunately it failed, and, in part, for the reason that when he was recommended to Queen Anne for the See of Hereford her advisers warned her “to be sure that the man she was going to make a bishop was a Christian.” This may have been too severe; but his morose disposition, his biting satire, and what I regard as his incipient madness, saved the queen from the mistake of his appointment; and, strange to say, after the death of Vanessa, it was found that the property she had at first intended for Swift was left between her executors, Marshall and Berkeley.

The Scriblerus Club, of which the latter was a member, rallied him upon his fanciful views; but he succeeded in converting them, specially by the power of his earnestness and self-devotion. He had in hand a thousand pounds for the institution at Bermuda, for which he obtained a charter under the title of St. Paul’s College. In 1728 he married the daughter of the Rt. Hon. John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and sailed in September of that year for Bermuda. Thence, after a short visit, he went to Newport, R. I., which seemed so much more convenient a place for his college that he thought seriously of changing the situation. In the common acceptance of the

word there was little practical result from his visit and his plans; but they were not without important influence. Men were attracted by his genial manners and increasing reputation; he bought land and was at once an enthusiastic friend of the colonists. It is of special interest that on his return to England he preached a sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with general reference to religion in the colonies, and particularly concerning sectarians of different denominations "who seem to have worn off part of the prejudice which they inherited from their ancestors against the National Church of England." Here was the hope—slight, indeed—upon which churchmen could rest, and build in this forest land, without a bishop. So impressed have the historians been by the spirit of his purpose that MacIntosh, in a later summary, says of his scheme, "It was a work of heroic, or, rather, godlike benevolence."

It excites our astonishment that, while ardent in the pursuit of these philanthropic schemes, he should have found inclination and time to develop rare powers of reasoning in two sciences which have little to do with practical benevolence, and seem at first sight as distant from each other as possible,—mathematics and metaphysics. But the first gave him method, and the second gave logical vent to his teeming thoughts. His "*Aleiphron, or the Minute Philosopher*," which Anderson, the historian of the colonial church, characterizes as "immortal," was written for the most part in Rhode Island, and may therefore be specially considered as a colonial product. I have not space for its examination; it was a well-delivered attack against all forms of free thought; it struck the key-note of the Christian confidence which he preached in the pulpit, and would have taught in his trans-Atlantic college.

With his metaphysical speculations our subject does not concern itself. They grew out of his own idiosyncrasy; they were neither English nor American, but challenged the scrutiny of the metaphysical world. They are to be found chiefly in his "*Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*." He was, in the Platonic view, a nominalist, and an absolute idealist. Boldly stated, there is no external world, no matter; everything exists but in idea; everything is but a perception of the mind, and God alone "can continually necessitate perception." Whatever may be thought of the elusive, impractical nature of his views, they have at least one practical bearing: they combat all forms of materialism, rationalism, and atheism.

Although the colonial schemes of Berkeley failed of practical issue, and his later life was passed amid other activities in England, his influence and example remained, and incited others to press forward in the good work. Men of weak faith became strong, and believed in his terse and sententious lines, at once poetry and prophecy:—

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last!"

Not only did the later literary churchmen echo these words, but they have been upon the tongues of all grateful patriots since. When

he left America he presented about a thousand volumes to Yale College,—a considerable number of books at that time,—and, indeed, "the finest collection given at one time to America;" and to this gift he added the farm of ninety-six acres upon which he had lived, known as the Dean's Farm.

Puritanism was strong then and there, and caused even his benevolence to be suspected; but his honesty and his generosity soon dispelled these mistaken imputations. There is, in the Trumbull gallery at Yale College, a picture representing Berkeley and his family, painted by Snibert, who had accompanied him to America. Thanks to "the art that can immortalize," this is a perennial reminder of the man and his virtues; of the prelate who loved his colonial countrymen, gave to the poor, and plead their cause without desire of return, and foresaw their great future while even the government was blind to it.

In 1734 he was created Bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland, where, amid his routine work, his heart overleaped diocesan bounds. His letters are full of compassion for the negro and the Indian. His mind was still at work for the cause of colonial education; his heart was in America. In 1744 he became interested in the wonderful properties of Tar Water, upon which he wrote a treatise, entitled "Siris, or Chain of Philosophical Reflections concerning the Virtues of Tar Water." It was to him the great panacea; he steeped himself in it. In 1751 he removed to Oxford, in England; on the 14th of January, 1753, while in his general health, just after he had expounded to his family a portion of the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians,—the lesson in the Burial Service,—and as his wife was beginning to read him a sermon of Sherlock, he died suddenly. He was buried in the Cathedral of Christ Church, and his epitaph was written by the Archbishop of York.

Recurring once more to the Virginia colony we come to the name of one specially engaged in education. James Blair was an energetic clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal Church, who was chiefly instrumental in procuring a charter for the foundation of William and Mary College in Virginia. He was sent out by the Bishop of London, in 1685, as a missionary of the society, and in 1689, in recognition of his energy, industry, and tact, he was appointed ecclesiastical commissary of the province, and is thus commonly known as "Commissary Blair." He made a voyage to London to secure funds for his college, of which he had been appointed the first president. Thus he was at once a college president, commissary, and rector of a church at Williamsburg, and deserves most honorable mention for his pastoral, educational, political, and literary labors. He died in 1743, leaving many occasional productions, but specially a volume of one hundred and seventeen sermons, containing the best and fullest commentary up to that time on Christ's Sermon on the Mount.

With him we may mention the Rev. Hugh Jones, who was Professor of Mathematics in the college, and chaplain to the Virginia Assembly in 1724, and who in that year wrote "The Present State of Virginia,"—an interesting and now very rare work, of great value to

the historian. In this connection we must speak of Colonel William Byrd, a scholar and a gentleman, who received his early education in England, and who became receiver-general of the crown in Virginia, and member, and some time president, of the Virginia Council. He was born on the 28th of March, 1674, and died on the 26th of August, 1744. He was one of the Virginia commissioners to establish the boundary-line between that colony and North Carolina, and there are few more valuable colonial papers than his written record of that expedition, in which he describes the country and the people, the want of education, the sad neglect of religion, and the consequent degeneracy of morals. The chaplain who accompanied the expedition held services, and baptized two children, who, he says, would otherwise have grown up as heathen.

William Vaughan does not figure distinctly as a churchman, but he wrote "The Golden Fleece," to allure Englishmen to join him in Newfoundland, where he had a plantation called "Cambriol;" he dedicated his work to Charles I. His poem, "The Church Militant," is in a controversial strain, and describes the Reformation, and its effects upon the English Church.

The Rev. Alexander Garden, who lived in Charleston (1685-1756), was a holy man. He wrote "Six Letters to Whitefield," "The Doctrine of Justification Vindicated," and two sermons.

I have said nothing of Whitefield and the Wesleys, because they belong in heart and work to the Methodists. They were, indeed, churchmen, but labored for secession, and accomplished it. Their lives and eulogium must, therefore, be sought elsewhere. After Whitefield's ordination, in 1736, he came to America, and wandered through it from New England to Georgia, preaching Calvinistic Methodism with an ardor and a power unexcelled in the annals of preaching: he "agitated nations." Sir James Stephens speaks of him thus: "Deficient in learning, meagre in thought, and redundant in language, as are his discourses, they fulfil the one great condition of genuine eloquence,—they propagate their own kindly warmth, and leave their stings behind them." Southey, a master of English rhetoric, says, "Powerful speaker as he was, he had neither strength nor acuteness of intellect, and his written compositions are nearly worthless."

Of the Wesleys we need not speak, except to thank them for many beautiful hymns.

We have come down in our list to the honored name of Seabury, which in three generations has sustained a high reputation for loyalty to the Church, and devotion to polite letters. Of these the most distinguished is that of Bishop Samuel Seabury, the first bishop of the American Church specially consecrated to the diocese of Connecticut. His father was a Congregational minister, at Groton, Conn., who, by reason of honest conviction, became a churchman, and missionary of the Propagation Society at New London, where he died, on the 15th of June, 1764. Samuel Seabury was born at Groton, in 1729, and graduated at Yale College, in 1748. He first studied medicine in Scotland, but soon he turned to divinity, and was ordained by Bishop

Sherlock, in London, in 1753. Returning to America, he first assisted his father, and then served as a missionary at New Brunswick, Jamaica, and Westchester. His zeal, eloquence, and energy distinguished him as the best man for a colonial prelate, and after an ineffectual attempt to secure consecration in England he went to Scotland, where, on the 17th of November, 1784, he was set apart for the high office by the Bishop of Aberdeen and the Bishops of Ross and Moray. Thus was formed a tender tie between the churches in America and Scotland, which has continued strong to the present time. His career is thus related to the colonial, revolutionary, and national stages of our country's life. He died on the 25th of February, 1796. He left a worthy son, Charles (1770-1844), and a grandson, who was born in 1801,—the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, who was well known and highly esteemed as a clergyman and theological instructor. Bishop Seabury's contributions to literature are found in two volumes of sermons, and in political tracts, most of them of a Tory character, and in favor of the crown. He lived in New York during its occupancy by the British, and was chaplain of one of the Tory regiments. In 1775 he had been imprisoned for certain published letters, but, as there was not exact proof of the authorship, was released.

Held in great esteem and veneration, especially by Connecticut and New York churchmen, is the name of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was born in Guilford, Conn., 1696. After his graduation at Yale College, in 1714, he was appointed a tutor, and began his studies in Congregational divinity. He became a minister in that denomination, and was settled at West Haven, in 1720. He soon, however, turned his thoughts towards the Church of England, and went to England with Timothy Cutler, with whom he was ordained as a deacon, in 1723. Returning to Connecticut, he was stationed at Stratford as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. His energy and zeal soon caused him to be marked, and sought for by various institutions, and when King's College was established, in New York, he was chosen its first president, in 1755; the constitution of the college requiring that the president must always be a member of the Church of England. This post he held with great usefulness until 1763, when he returned to Stratford. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford. Besides his published sermons and controversial tracts he made many contributions to educational literature. In 1746 he published a "System of Morality;" in 1752 a "Compendium of Logic," printed by Benjamin Franklin. He also wrote a Hebrew Grammar, for the use of divinity students. He died on the 6th of June, 1772. He was a great friend of Bishop Berkeley, and shared his idealistic views. It was at Johnson's instance that the bishop made his benefactions to Yale and Harvard. An ardent American, he hailed the bright prospect sung by Berkeley, and declared by Sir Thomas Browne in his "Prophecy, in 1684," that America will be the seat of the fifth empire. "The colonies in North America," wrote Browne, "have not only taken root and acquired strength, but seem hastening with an accelerated progress to such a powerful state as may introduce a new and important change in human affairs." What Berkeley and

Browne had written Johnson felt, and his thought found vent in action. Dr. Johnson, whose identity of name with the great English lexicographer is somewhat to his disadvantage, was not only his contemporary, but his friend. In a letter to him from London the great Englishman says: "Of all those whom the various accidents of life have brought within my notice there is scarce any one whose acquaintance I have more desired to cultivate than yours; whether you carried away an impression of me as pleasing as that which you left me of yourself I know not; if you did you have not forgotten me, and will be glad that I do not forget you."

Among the churchmen who had to do with literature and culture just before the outbreak of our great war for independence, and some of whom became unfortunately and rudely detached from colonial interests by the vital questions of the day, was Jacob Duché, the son of a churchman, and a native of Philadelphia. He was born in 1739. After prosecuting his studies at the College of Philadelphia, which afterwards became the University of Pennsylvania, he was sent to Clare Hall, Cambridge University, England. Soon after his graduation he was ordered a deacon by Bishop Sherlock; he returned to Philadelphia, and was appointed, in 1759, Assistant Minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's, in which position he continued until 1775. In that year he became rector of the united parishes. Borne along with the patriots in the rapid rush of events he was at first as patriotic and staunch as any. He opened the second Continental Congress with prayer, and became chaplain to the Congress in 1776. He was eloquent in the defence of colonial rights, and, as the war went on, generously gave up his salary for the benefit of the families of the soldiers who fell in battle. But in the dark days of 1777 he became despondent, and then hopeless. In his judgment the cause of the colonists could not be successful. He therefore wrote a letter to Washington, urging him to stop hostilities, and submit to the mother-country, and then he fled to England. This was an unpardonable sin; he was pronounced a traitor, and his property was confiscated by the government.

He returned to Philadelphia in 1790, but he had lost all influence. His principal literary work was in the form of sermons and letters. He was present at the consecration of Bishop White, in Lambeth Chapel, from whose hands he received, to the last, great kindness and consideration. He died in 1798, and was buried in Philadelphia. His witty "Letters of Tamoc Caspipina" are upon various subjects, literary, moral, and religious. These were published in 1771; in one of them particularly he speaks prophetically of the coming grandeur of America, in hearty and eloquent words. In a later edition is an appendix, in which he gives an account of the life and character of William Penn, which is not without historical value.

Among the most eminent names of literary churchmen is found that of William White, an important figure both in the colonial and revolutionary periods, less conspicuous in the former than the latter, but more so in the history of the American Church after the establishment of American independence. The latter, and more important, part

of his life does not belong to our subject. The son of Col. William White, of London, he was born in Philadelphia, on the 8th of April, 1748, and died there, on the 17th of July, 1836. A graduate of the College of Philadelphia, in 1765, he went to London, where he was ordered deacon in 1770, and ordained priest in 1772. Returning at once to Philadelphia, he was made assistant minister of the parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's. Soon after he became the rector, and when the troublous times of the Revolution came on he was a great patriot. During the war he was chaplain of the Congress, and remained so under the Federal Constitution as long as Philadelphia was the seat of government. Washington was his friend and parishioner. In all his positions, and in his daily walk and conversation, he was distinguished for his zeal, kindness, and wisdom. When, in 1779, he accepted the rectorship which Duché had given up, he was very considerate of his predecessor, regarding him more in sorrow than in anger, and declaring himself only a *locum tenens*, ready to resign should the former rector return. The first General Convention of the Church in America was held, the clergy and laity being represented, on the 27th of September, 1785. Dr. White, who had been one of the issuers of the call, presided, and wrote the constitution of the Church. On the 14th of September he was elected Bishop of Pennsylvania, and went over to England with Dr. Provoost, who had been elected Bishop of New York. They were consecrated together, in the Chapel of Lambeth, on the 4th of February, 1787. In his high and difficult office Bishop White served for nearly fifty years. In a life of such ecclesiastical activity, with a mission to establish and build up the Church, he was allowed but little scope to a literary pen. In conjunction with Bishop Seabury he revised the English "Book of Common Prayer," to adapt it to the needs of the American Church, and the work was so well done that it remained unaltered for a century. The Enrichment Committee on the Prayer-Book, which reported at the General Convention of 1883, while using a learned judgment in making slight changes and additions to keep pace with our church growth, found constant occasion to admire the work of these fathers, and to be grateful for it. Among his other works are, "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church," "Comparative Views of the Controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians," "Commentary on the Ordination Services," "Lectures on the Catechism," and many sermons, charges, and addresses. "As a theological writer," says Bishop Alonzo Potter, "he has made contributions to literature more valuable than is generally known; and among his unpublished works are some able and more elaborate than many yet printed, — particularly a voluminous reply to Barclay's 'Apology.' He was a man without guile. He was just and gentle, yet inflexible. He lived for duty, and died in the serene hope and faith of the Gospel of Christ." An interesting life of Bishop White was published by Dr. Bird Wilson, in 1839.

Illustrating the same transition period, and working for the same interests, with that of education superadded, we find the Rev. Dr. William Smith. He is somewhat more intimately connected with the ante-revolutionary period than Bishop White. He was born in Aber-

deen, Scotland, in 1728, and after his graduation at the college there, in 1747, he came over to America, where he was for a brief period engaged as a private tutor in the family of Col. Martin, of Long Island. He was ordained a minister of the Church of England, in London, in 1753, and immediately upon his return he was appointed the first provost of the College of Philadelphia. In this post he found the true scope for his talents and training. He devoted himself to the interests of the college; taught logic, rhetoric, and natural and moral philosophy; and, in 1762, in connection with John Jay, succeeded in getting material aid from England for the colleges of New York and Philadelphia, the share of the latter being six thousand pounds. He remained at the head of the institution from 1754 until 1779, when a controversy sprang up between the trustees and the legislature, representing the popular interest. Matters were not definitely adjusted until 1789, when Dr. Smith again assumed the direction of the college. He held this until 1791, when he retired to his country-seat, near Philadelphia, where he died, in 1803. Among his literary efforts the following are of principal interest. In 1754 he wrote "A Philosophical Meditation and Religious Address to the Supreme Being." This was published in a volume of "Ethics," prepared for students by Dr. Johnson, the president of King's College (afterwards Columbia), New York. In 1755 he wrote an excellent pamphlet, entitled "Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania." In 1757-58 he printed in "The American Magazine," over the pseudonym of *The Hermit*, eight essays, of which Mr. Duyckinck says, "They exhibit a warmth of feeling and a taste for letters ready to ripen into the pursuits of the scholar and the divine." In 1758 he issued an "Earnest Address to the Colonies," with the purpose of inciting them to a bold defence against French encroachments. A large number of his sermons, orations, and political tracts were collected into a volume, with a preface by Bishop White. Among these are an oration in honor of the memory of General Montgomery, delivered by request before the Congress, in 1776, and an eulogium of Benjamin Franklin, read before the American Philosophical Society, in 1791. Besides these original writings he published, in 1772, the poems of Nathaniel Evans. His influence has been felt to the present day, especially in the field of education. He was "a man of science, literature, patriotism, and Christian devotion,"—a right excellent literary churchman.

A name less known than those immediately preceding, and yet worthy of mention in connection with them, is that of Thomas Coombe, D.D., who was born in Philadelphia, about 1750, and who, having been ordained in London, was associated with Bishop White as assistant minister of St. Peter's. At the outbreak of the Revolution he took ground with the colonists; but, soon deprecating their intention to become independent of the British crown, he was banished to Staunton, in Virginia; he escaped, however, to England, where he was made a prebendary of Canterbury. He wrote a political narrative, called "The Peasant of Auburn; or, the Emigrant," which appeared in London in 1775; and a divine tragedy, entitled "Christ's Passion." He has sometimes been confounded with William Coombe, the author of "The Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque."

Nathaniel Evans was born in Philadelphia, on the 8th of June, 1742; in his boyhood he was apprenticed, after the custom of the times, to a merchant. When his term was at an end he pursued his studies at the Philadelphia Academy; and in the year 1765, not having obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was made an M.A. by the University of Oxford, and ordained a minister. He was at once settled over a parish in Gloucester, N. J., as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He died in 1767. His literary remains consist of sermons and poems; the latter were edited by Dr. William Smith, in 1772. Among them are imitations of Horace, and one poem is addressed to Benjamin Franklin.

Thomas Godfrey was born in Philadelphia, in 1736. The circumstances of his life seemed adverse to successful literary effort. His father was a glazier, but possessed a mechanical mind, and was devoted to mathematics. He invented "Hadley's Quadrant." The son, early losing his father, was apprenticed to a watch-maker; but in the stirring days of the French and Indian war he was commissioned a lieutenant in the expeditionary force against Fort Du Quesne. When the army was disbanded he removed to Carolina, where, in a three-years' residence as a factor, he turned his leisure to literature. In imitation of Chaucer's "House of Fame," he produced a poem, entitled "The Court of Fancy," in 1759; and, later, he wrote a tragedy, "The Prince of Parthia," said to be the first drama produced in America. It has many effective scenes, and is interspersed with songs and odes which are not without lyric merit. He died in North Carolina, on the 3d of August, 1763.

We should not omit to mention that Oliver Evans, to whom the world owes so much for his inventions in connection with milling, his improvements in steam carriage, and his intelligent predictions of future triumphs of steam in land transportation, was the son of Evan Evans, D.D., the first Episcopal minister in Philadelphia. The inventor was born in Newport, Del., in 1755, and died in New York, April 21, 1819. He left two treatises,—"The Young Millwright's Guide" and "The Young Steam-Engineer's Guide."

This rapid survey it may be hoped will lead others to study more in detail the lives and works referred to, and give healthy public expression of our debt to those men who, while loyal to the Church, cultivated letters amid such hard circumstances as might make their true motto that first suggested for the "Edinburgh Review:" *Tenui musam meditamur avena*. I have been writing of the day of small things; since then "a little one has become a thousand," and the literature of the present day presents a strong array of literary churchmen, a splendid fulfilment of a slender prophecy. "The small one has become a nation," the devout Christian churchman verily believes, "because the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

Henry Coffey

MONOGRAPH X.

CHURCH LITERATURE SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

BY THE REV. JULIUS H. WARD, A.M.

THE contributions which churchmen have made to American literature since the Revolution can best be traced along the lines of development which the Church has itself taken, and of which they are the natural and characteristic expression. The processes of history reveal the method by which the development of literature is best understood and interpreted. In following this method many biographical details are necessarily omitted, and some writers are excluded whose productions, whether literary or ecclesiastical, have been chiefly occasional or temporary in their character. At the same time it has seemed right to include others, who, though they have made no direct contributions to literature or theology, have very largely influenced our literary growth.

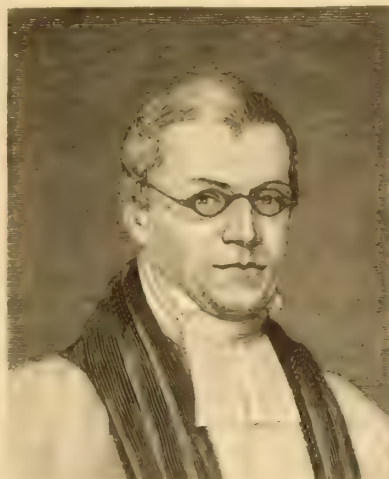
The literary development within the Church for many years after the Revolution was chiefly in ecclesiastical channels. The ideas of liberty and independence which controlled the country during the war were largely the outgrowth of the teaching of the New England Puritans; but in the early organization of the national government Washington and Hamilton and Jay, who were churchmen, contributed as much to the shaping of the constitution and to the administration of affairs as John Adams and his cousin, Samuel Adams, who were Puritans. All through our history some of the leading statesmen have been churchmen, and have stood for a conservative influence in the Nation and in the State. The Puritan made American politics democratic, while the churchman made himself felt in the strengthening of the government as an institution. No Puritan clergyman, not even such famous controversialists as Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, or Dr. Charles Chauncy, could have been more thoroughly American in their political sympathies than William White, who did not wait even to say good-by to his family when he was called to act as the chaplain of the Continental Congress, or Washington, Hamilton, and Jay, all of whom influenced the Nation as churchmen. Their religious attitude was largely due to their education in Virginia and New York, where the Church had influence among people of education and position, and broadened the bearings of their political thought and action much as the fact that Chief Justice Marshall and Chancellor Kent were churchmen in a general way influenced their legal decisions.

There were four points at this time where the Church had something like literary or educational centres;—the College of William and

Mary in Virginia, of which Dr. James Madison, consecrated at Lambeth, in 1790, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the Bishop of Virginia, was the president until his death, in 1812; Columbia College, New York, recently under the charge of Dr. Samuel Johnson, and having as his successor Dr. Myles Cooper, the friend of Bishop Seabury; while Bishop White, in Philadelphia, and Bishop Seabury, at New London, Conn., constituted the literary and ecclesiastical centres in the communities where they held jurisdiction. Bishop Madison was chiefly an educator. "The Church," says President John Tyler, "did not much revive under his bishopric;" but he trained the men who, as clergy and laity, did much towards the revival that came under his successor, Bishop Moore. Columbia College, with the majority of its trustees composed of Trinity churchmen, was a source of strength in New York, and Dr. William Samuel Johnson, who succeeded Dr. Cooper as its president, was among the foremost civilians of his generation. Bishop Seabury's home was the quarter where clerical education for New England was chiefly promoted, and two volumes of discourses, published by him in 1791, and very widely circulated, are still valued for their clear and lucid style and their compact statements of theological doctrine. This writing grew out of his Episcopal labors, and had qualities that have given it permanence as literature. His best work is in the Prayer-Book, which, in its present form, owes much to his shaping hand. Bishop White was both historian and theologian. He wrote but little until the Revolution was over. His two principal volumes are, the "Memoirs of the Church," which appeared first in 1820, and next in 1836, to which last edition Dr. B. F. De Costa has since contributed a historical preface, and an elaborate theological treatise, entitled "Comparative Views of the Controversy between the Calvinists and the Arminians," which was published in 1817. His other works were Episcopal charges, addresses before the General Theological Seminary, lectures on the catechism and the ordinal, and the pastoral letters of the House of Bishops from 1808 to 1835 inclusive. Always an eager student of philosophy and theology, he wrote on these subjects more than he published, and in his charges and lectures touched clearly and forcibly upon many questions which have since commanded the attention of the Church. Bishop Onderdonk, his successor in the Pennsylvania Episcopate, says of his theological writings: "They were decidedly anti-Calvinistic, and may be classed with what was currently denominated Arminianism in the last century, which was not the system of Arminius. He was to the last strongly opposed to the theory comprised in the words priest, altar, sacrifice, — this being one of the few points on which he was highly sensitive. The good bishop's ecclesiastical views were those known in history as Low-Church; it was not the Low-Churchmanship of the present day (1847), but that of Tillotson, Burnet, and that portion of the English divines with which they were associated. . . . Yet, though stern against the priestly doctrine, as well as decidedly averse to Low-Churchmanship, he was, on the one hand, most particularly attached to Bishop Hobart, and very largely under his influence, except in the few matters of which he was eminently tenacious; while, on the other hand,

he was not only courteous, but altogether friendly, with leaders on the opposite side.¹

His relation to Bishop Hobart was fatherly as well as friendly. Bishop White confirmed him in his fifteenth year, admitted him to holy orders in 1798, and in 1811 consecrated him the Assistant Bishop of New York. Hobart was theologically the successor of Seabury, and had little as a churchman in common with Bishop White. He had neither his speculative thoughtfulness nor his literary power. He was strongest as a man of action, and no one surpassed him in his influence over men. His writings have little value as literature, though he was the first to create a demand for church literature in America. He organized the New York Bible and Prayer-Book Society in 1809, the New York Tract Society in 1810, the Clerical Education Society in 1812, and was chiefly instrumental in establishing the General Theological Seminary, which finally took its present shape in 1820. His literary career seems to have begun almost with his ministry. Destined to be the most distinguished advocate of Episcopacy in America, there was a certain fitness in his marrying the daughter of Dr. T. B. Chandler, who was its foremost defender before the Revolution. Scarcely had he entered upon his work as assistant minister in Trinity parish, in New York, before he published the devotional manual entitled "The Companion for the Altar,"—still a favorite volume with young communicants. This was no sooner out of his hands than he adapted Nelson's book, "The Companion to the Festivals and Fasts," for American use. The Presbyterians were closely watching the young priest of Trinity parish, and the Rev. Dr. Linn, the Dutch Reformed minister of Albany, presently attacked his books in the "Albany Centinel." The Rev. Frederick Beasley, D.D., then Rector of St. Peter's, Albany, subsequently the provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and the author of the metaphysical work entitled "A Search of Truth in the Science of the Human Mind," replied; and was assisted in the controversy by Thomas Yardley How, who had been private secretary to Alexander Hamilton, and was, two years later, the author of "Letters Addressed to the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., in Reply to his Letters Concerning the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry." Hobart joined in the discussion, under the signature of "Obiter" and "Vindex," and, when the Albany editor abruptly closed his paper to the discussion, wrote the preface, and in 1806 published what had been written, as "Essays



RT. REV. J. H. HOBART.

¹ Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," Vol. v., p. 284.

on Episcopacy." Dr. John M. Mason then took up the subject in the "Christian Magazine," which he edited, and called on the "champions of a hireling priesthood" to furnish "evidence of the superiority of their practical religion, both in quantity and quality." Hobart was eager for the challenge, and his celebrated "Apology for Apostolic Order," which silenced the opponents of Episcopacy for more than a generation, contains the letters in which he replied to the strictures of Dr. Mason, who is reported to have said, when the discussion was over: "Were I compelled to submit the safety of my country to any one man, that man should be John Henry Hobart." As early as 1806 the "Churchman's Magazine" was published in New Haven, and it is believed that the "Apology" letters were first printed in its columns. This is the literary work by which Bishop Hobart is best and most favorably known. He was best as a controversialist, and as the inspirer of others with his own convictions. He lived through a remarkable epoch in the Church's history, and had a hand in promoting much that did not bear his name. Hobart College was almost directly the fruit of his personal efforts; but his influence was hardly less felt in the founding of Trinity College, in 1824, by Bishop Brownell, who was its president for the first seven years of its existence; indirectly in the founding of Kenyon College and Gambier Seminary, in Ohio, by Bishop Chase, at the same time; while the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, though due to the needs of Virginia and the foresight of Bishop Moore, was also promoted by his early efforts to advance theological education through the General Theological Seminary in New York, — an institution largely of his own creation. In labors for education, in organizing institutions, in effectiveness as an orator and debater, Bishop Hobart had few superiors. He was the first to conquer position for the principles of the Church, and gain them a hearing at the hands of his countrymen. He changed the tone of public sentiment towards the Episcopal body throughout the nation. Bishop Griswold, consecrated with Bishop Hobart, in 1811, had jurisdiction exclusively in New England, where the Church was then "a hunted thing." His publications grew directly out of his work, and, aside from a volume of discourses on "The Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion," and a small book on "The Reformation," principally concern his position as Bishop of the Eastern diocese. His strength lay in personal influence rather than in literary expression.

It is not a little remarkable that the earliest purely literary men in America were chiefly churchmen: such as Gulian C. Verplanck, the first American editor of Shakespeare's plays; Washington Irving, who caught much of the beauty of his "Sketch-Book" from his introduction to rural life as interpreted by the Church of England; James Fenimore Cooper, whose novel, "The Spy," appeared in 1821; and Richard Henry Dana, whose "Idle Man" saw the light in the same year, and whose spiritual interpretation of life was the first influence to break the spell of Addison and Pope in the circles of culture that then had their centre at Harvard. The influence of the Church imparted to the productions of these writers a motive and spirit quite different from what had heretofore been popular in America. They touched a new note.

The larger life upon which the Church had entered, with its theological seminaries at New York and Alexandria, and its colleges established at Hartford and Gambier, was attended with a special interest in Christian schools. What Rugby and Harrow were then doing for England young Muhlenberg began, in 1826, to do for the Church in America. The school which he established at Flushing, L.I., and which, in 1835, developed into St. Paul's College, was the prototype of those schools which educate boys in the atmosphere of the Christian home. Under the inspiring influence of Muhlenberg were trained the men who, a generation later, had an active share in our literary and religious development. Bishops Odenheimer, Kerfoot, and Bedell, and Dr. E. A. Washburn, Dr. Edwin Harwood, and Dr. James Lloyd Breck, were among those whom he instructed in letters and inspired with his catholic ideas. Other elements were now entering into the life of the Church. George Washington Doane, the future Bishop of New Jersey, had published a small volume, chiefly translations of Latin hymns, in 1824, before he completed his theological studies. William Croswell had begun to write poetry before he left Yale College, and when young Doane had become Professor of English Literature at Washington (now Trinity) College, and had projected, in 1827, one of the first church newspapers, the "Episcopal Watchman," Croswell removed to Hartford, and became its associate editor, contributing to its columns the sonnets, hymns, and other poems, which have given him a foremost place in the ranks of our church poets. He struck the note corresponding to that which Keble struck in the "Christian Year," and which Bishop Coxé echoed and prolonged, a dozen years later, in the "Christian Ballads,"—the product of his student life at the General Theological Seminary,—with touches of fine spiritual enthusiasm not since repeated. Prof. Doane was the first to welcome Keble in America, and his notes to the "Christian Year" reveal the high quality of his poetical feeling. This was the first outburst of native poetry. Doane and Croswell were the earliest to throw around the liturgy and the ceremonies of the Church the associations and traditions of the ancient faith. Romantic in their friendship, again united, when their work was changed from Hartford to Boston, in editorial labors in the latter city, as they had been in the former, in the "Banner of the Cross," they stand together in our literature as Herbert and Walton, Keble and Pusey, stand together in that of the Church of England. Their poetry, with that of the "Christian Ballads," was instantly recognized by devout people as the expression of a spiritual sense that had heretofore been undeveloped. It spoke the consciousness of the growing meaning of the Church and its services to the people.

Croswell's poetry was the crowning expression of a consecrated life, while Doane's was but a single feature of a great and many-sided career. He succeeded to Bishop Hobart's work and expanded it to the needs of his own day. The volumes published by his son, the present Bishop of Albany, are not so much literature as the evidence of a fine, high-toned, and richly furnished mind expressing itself through the different channels of literary and spiritual influence. Bishop Doane

was too busy a man to do justice to his literary capacities. What he wrote or said inspired men, but lacks the elements which impart vitality to literary work. His labors in Christian education, as embodied in St. Mary's Hall and in Burlington College, express his large conceptions of the place of Christian literature in the family and in the Church, and widened and continued the plans which Dr. Muhlenberg was the first to put into practical shape at Flushing. Bishop Doane made his Burlington home one of the chief centres of American culture during his episcopate, and his influence was felt in the sphere of letters and education. When Bishop Brownell was President of Trinity College, and Prof. Doane and Prof. Horatio Potter were members of its faculty, and William Croswell was writing his matchless poems for the "Episcopal Watchman," Trinity College was a chief centre of literary and ecclesiastical activity, and continued such long afterwards, partly through the influence of Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, the most learned scholar among the churchmen of his day; partly through the influence of another scholar and theologian, Dr. John Williams, who became its president in 1840, and, later on, Bishop Brownell's successor in the Connecticut Episcopate, and the founder and chief theological teacher of the Berkeley Divinity School. There was soon to be another centre in the General Theological Seminary, under the leading of Prof. Whittingham, and in the columns of the "Churchman," which began to be an ecclesiastical power in the Church, when Dr. Samuel Seabury, the grandson of Bishop Seabury, undertook its editorship, Sept. 1, 1833. Dr. Whittingham became the Bishop of Maryland in 1840; but ten years of inspiring work had been accomplished in the seminary, as the Professor of Ecclesiastical History, before he entered upon his trying episcopate, during which he gained great reputation as a catholic churchman and as an adept in ecclesiastical learning. He greatly broadened the ideas of clerical education, and in the library of the institution, and surrounded by eager students, was peculiarly at home. He did not aim at authorship, though, like Hobart, he constantly adapted English works to American use, and delighted in the return to catholic ideas, as they were set forth in the "Tracts for the Times." Dr. Seabury supplemented his influence through the church press, and was the first to make it a power. It was chiefly as an editor that he laid the foundation of his great fame. He exercised an influence unequalled in the Church. He seemed as one made for the place; "he marched like a leader and there was grandeur in his tread." For eighteen years he stood for the liberty which sheltered so advanced a man as Arthur Carey, on the one hand, and so radical a man as Dr. Milnor's successor, Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, on the other, though he himself held the theological ground mostly occupied by Hobart and the elder Seabury. His "Continuity of the Church of England in the Sixteenth Century," in which he showed that "the Church of England, in renouncing the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome and reforming itself from the errors and corruptions of Popery, underwent no organic change," his sermons on "The Supremacy and Obligation of Conscience," his volume on "The Calendar," and the volume on "American Slavery Justified,"—indi-

cate the range of his thought and the solid strength of his mind. Bishop Whittingham edited "Palmer on the Church," with other volumes; but, outside of charges, has left no writings that adequately express his learning or opinions. Dr. Samuel H. Turner, who was Prof. Whittingham's and Dr. Seabury's contemporary at the General Seminary, will be best remembered by his "Autobiography," — a volume in which he throws that light upon the growth of the General Seminary which Bishop White's "Memoirs" throw upon the growth of the entire Church down to 1835. Another writer who began to put forth his opinions while Croswell was composing his delightful hymns, and Doane was teaching church principles through the press, was John Henry Hopkins, consecrated the Bishop of Vermont in 1832. He pursued a course quite his own, and his books in their day rendered an important service in the Roman controversy and in the instruction of our people in the teachings of the Church. His diocese was small, and much of his time was given to Christian education and to the writing of books, for both of which, though his church volumes are now mostly superseded, he had a genuine vocation. His principal writings were, "The Primitive Creed," "The Primitive Church," "The Church of Rome," "The British Reformation," "The History of the Confessional," "'The End of Controversy' Controverted," "The American Citizen," "A Scriptural, Ecclesiastical, and Historical View of Slavery," and "The Law of Ritualism." They were rather popular than learned, and were mostly intended to serve an immediate purpose, the fatal infirmity of nearly all the American church literature down almost to our own day. Still another writer who pursued an independent course during this period is Dr. Francis L. Hawks, who was commissioned, about 1830, to gather up the materials for our church history in the colonial sections of the country, and present them in the form of a digested narrative. This resulted in the two volumes devoted to Virginia and Maryland in his "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States," which covered a then untrodden field with such fidelity to facts that the work is well done for all time, though accuracy and truthfulness were more conspicuous than the attractions of a good narrative style. Dr. Hawks excelled as a teacher and as an orator, and shared the enthusiasm of Dr. Muhlenberg for Christian education, and the large views of nationality which Webster was then beginning to put forth in the American Senate. Behind these writers, and in some measure inspiring them, was the missionary enthusiasm which took a comprehensive shape in the famous declaration of the Convention of 1835, that every baptized person in the Church is an authorized missionary. The great controversies of a later period had not yet come to the front, and the Church was expanding freely among our own people.

In these moments of peace Dr. Hawks and Prof. C. S. Henry started the "New York Review," the first number of which appeared in March, 1837, in whose hands it became the equal of the "North American Review" in the range of its discussions and in the vigorous and scholarly thought of its contributors. Here Hugh S. Legaré, Dr. Horatio Potter, Dr. William Ingraham Kip, Dr. J. W. Francis,

Dr. J. G. Cogswell, Dr. Hawks, and Dr. Henry, — the permanent editor during the five years of its existence, — with others whose names are lost, displayed the same fine scholarship and breadth of thought which belonged to the Unitarian school of writers in New England. The "Review" was too good to last; it was born half a century too early for a long lease of life; and it was only through the high and advanced culture which then had a place in church circles that it came to exist at all.

There is still another phase of literary development which belongs to this period, and had its abiding-place in the Alexandria Seminary, which was established in 1823, in the ecclesiastical traditions which Bishop White left in Philadelphia, and in that part of New York where Dr. Milnor had the authority of a party leader in the Church. Bishop Philander Chase, who removed to Illinois, and founded Jubilee College, in 1836; Bishop Meade, who was consecrated as Bishop Moore's assistant and successor in Virginia, in 1829; and Bishop McIlvaine, who was consecrated for Ohio, in 1832, — were the principal Low-Church bishops up to 1842, when the contest between High and Low churchmen may be said to have been well developed. Until the appearance of the "Tracts for the Times," in 1833, the evangelical school in this country had been rather a pervasive influence, acknowledged by these bishops and by individuals among the clergy and laity, but lacking any organized methods of extending and maintaining its tenets. The "Tracts for the Times" awoke a bitter controversy, which found expression in works of various kinds, and often of considerable importance and influence. Among them Bishop McIlvaine's "Oxford Theology," published in 1842, ten years after his "Evidences of Christianity," in which he first appeared as an author, and the controversial tracts of Bishop Griswold and Bishop Meade, deserve special mention. Virginia was, from the first, one of the strongholds of the evangelical school, and the Theological Seminary at Alexandria educated a large number of the clergy in strict accordance with its principles. Perhaps no one man in our Church ever exerted a larger or more intense influence upon the clergy in this direction than the late Dr. Sparrow, who for over thirty years held the Chair of Theology in that institution. He published almost nothing; but his intellectual power and force of character, combined with great fervor of devotion, still survive in intangible forms in the work of hundreds of the clergy. The most prolific author of the evangelical school was Dr. John S. Stone. His earlier works were the memoirs of Dr. Milnor and of Bishop Griswold, which have great value, both as personal biographies and as contributions to the history of the American Church. In 1844 he published the book by which he is best known, "The Mysteries Opened," — the title of which was changed in the second edition to that of the "Christian Sacraments," — a work which still represents the attitude of the evangelical school. The "Church Universal," published in 1846, was reissued in 1866, under the title of "The Living Temple." "The Christian Sabbath," published in 1844, sets forth its origin and continuity, and the benefits of its observance. In 1853 Dr. Stone published a smaller work, called

"The Contrast," in which the Tractarian theology is compared with what is set forth as the evangelical interpretation of Christianity. He was chosen to draw up the "Statement of Distinctive Principles," which was put forth by the Evangelical Knowledge Society at the time of its formation, in 1847, but was averse to the customary partisan methods of advancing the evangelical movement. The later history of the evangelical school has revealed a tendency in two directions,—one towards a pronounced ecclesiasticism, the other towards a more comprehensive theology. Dr. Stone always remained firm in his adherence to the views known as evangelical, but his later work was to prepare the way for a more spiritual and freer apprehension of Christianity; and there is no better witness to his teachings than the institution to which he devoted the last years of his life, the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, whose founders and patrons had all been at some time his parishioners.

The literary leader of the High-Church school, during the period covered by the life-work of Dr. Stone, was the eminent layman, Hugh Davey Evans, whose most important work was his editorial work in the "True Catholic," which began in 1844, and was discontinued in 1856. The first number appeared when the controversy on the vital doctrines of the Church ran high, especially in Maryland, where Dr. Evans resided, and when the publication of "Tract 90" had made a great stir on both sides of the Atlantic. The second person to defend Episcopacy was Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, whose "Episcopacy Tested by Scripture," published in 1832, made a deep impression upon the American mind; in 1844 Dr. Wainwright defended the proposition, "There cannot be a Church without a Bishop," in a controversy with the Presbyterian Dr. Potts, in the New York press, with marked ability. At this time Bishop Kenrick invited the bishops of the American Church to enter the Roman Communion, on the ground that Anglican ordinations were invalid, and the centre of controversy was soon changed from the question of orders in general to the reasons for holding the validity of the Anglican succession. Dr. Evans put his full strength into this discussion, and made the "True Catholic" the channel of his arguments, effectually silencing the Roman writers in 1844, and again in 1850, when the discussion was renewed. The three volumes which Dr. Evans republished from the "True Catholic," entitled "Anglican Ordinations," display his very great abilities as a controversialist, but are less valuable than the essays on church principles which he constantly printed in that periodical during the period when doctrinal controversy among us was at its height, and by which he educated the leaders of the Church for the next quarter of a century. He investigated these principles and questions with a profound and highly disciplined legal mind, and cleared them of the clericalism with which they are usually associated. His book on "The Episcopate," published in 1855, throws much light on Episcopal jurisdiction in the United States, and his treatise on "The Christian Doctrine of Marriage" is of permanent value. Dr. Evans always wrote on fundamental questions, and his contributions to our literature, though in no

sense popular, were, up to his death, in 1868, the most intrinsically important and far-reaching in their ecclesiastical character that had come from the pen of any churchman. A single book—Dr. Thomas W. Coit's "Puritanism"—belongs to this period. It was begun in 1835, in the form of letters to the "Churchman," by one who had the Puritan history of New England at his command, and who, in plain English speech, repaid the Puritans with interest for their persecutions of the two centuries preceding. It is one of the most sarcastic books ever written, and was shortly afterwards answered by Dr. Hall, in his "Puritans and their Principles;" to which A. B. Chapin replied in a small volume, entitled "Puritanism not Genuine Protestantism." When Peter Oliver published "The Puritan Commonwealth," in 1856, the old issues had been well settled.

The year 1850 witnessed the reaching out to a wider range of writing. "The Church Review," established in 1848 by Dr. N. S. Richardson, with the assistance of A. B. Chapin for a short period, furnished a channel for scholarly churchmen, through which, for many years, the conservative part of the Church spoke its voice without equivocation. Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis had published his "Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church" in 1846, as the prelude to a work which should bring ecclesiastical history down from the apostles' times to our own, and in 1850 brought out the first volume of his intended work (all he lived to complete), which he entitled "The Church of the Redeemed," including within it the periods from the fall of Adam to the calling of the Gentiles. In the same year a new voice was heard in the West, that of Dr. William Adams, the head of the Nashotah Theological Seminary, who then published his "Elements of Christian Science,"—a work largely wrought out of the author's own brain, and defining ethics as "the science of man's nature and position." Its value is, that it takes ethical questions out of the nomenclature of the schools, and treats them from the point of view of Christian common-sense. Four years earlier the same author brought together some periodical papers, in a volume entitled "Fewell," in which he discussed many of the practical difficulties which beset the churchman of that day; and in 1871 he published a treatise on "Regeneration in Baptism," in which, in enlargement of an earlier work, entitled "Mercy to Babies," he aimed to explain and vindicate the baptismal service in the Prayer-Book. It was also in 1850 that Murray Hoffman issued his authoritative treatise on the "Law of the Church,"—a work which has gained universal acceptance as an exposition of the value of English ecclesiastical law in the American Church, and as an interpretation of our constitution, conventional authority, and canon law. Dr. Hawks had a large sympathy with this line of work, and Dr. William Cooper Mead, the great manager of conventions, was hardly less an adept in canon law. In 1872 Dr. John Fulton, in his manual of catholic law, entitled the "Index Canonum," made it evident that the mantle of Hoffman had not fallen on unworthy shoulders, and in his recent book, on "The Law of Marriage," has applied the same clear understanding of legal relations which appears in his manual of canon law to the guardianship of the family; in fact, he may be said to be

at the head of our American canonists since the death of Dr. Hoffman, whose second work, "The Ritual Law of the Church," published at the same date with Dr. Fulton's volume, deals as faithfully with the ritual law in its application to the two sacraments, and to the orders of the ministry and to the articles, as he had before dealt with the canon law. In this connection Dr. Francis Vinton's "Manual Commentary on the General Canon Law and the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States" is to be mentioned as supplementary to Dr. Hoffman's work, and as of perhaps equal value.

It was seven years earlier than 1850 that Bishop Kip, then Rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, gave a course of parochial lectures, in which he set forth the distinctive principles of the Church, under the excellent title of "The Double Witness of the Church,"—a volume which has probably been better read in America than any other church book, with the exception of Bishop Randall's pamphlet, entitled "Why I am a Churchman." His other volumes, "Early Conflicts of Christianity," the "Lenten Fast," the "Catacombs of Rome," the "Christmas Holidays in Rome," and the "Early Jesuit Missions in North America," follow the same popular treatment, and have been recognized as a welcome addition to American literature. Since he became Bishop of California, in 1853, Dr. Kip's pen has been employed in other ways. His brother-in-law, George Burgess, consecrated the Bishop of Maine in 1847, published in 1850 a pamphlet volume, "Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England," which is the clearest and best account of the religious changes between 1740 and 1840 that has been written. Bishop Burgess had the patient industry and close fidelity to truth which are some way below the plane of genius. Neither his published sermons, nor his translations of the Psalter in verse, nor his volume entitled "The Last Enemy," nor his charges to the Maine clergy, nor his valuable work on "The Gospel of St. Luke," have striking merits; but his "Ecclesiastical History of New England" will hold the first rank in ecclesiastical literature when everything else from his pen has been forgotten.

Much as belonged to the year 1850 in the widening of the range of subjects that churchmen were thinking about, there was one that now began to draw the minds of the best men to a common centre,—the unity of English-speaking Christians in America. As early as 1835 Dr. Muhlenberg had projected what he called "a Congress of Churches," with this end in view; and the enlargement of this idea was the controlling purpose of his prophetic life. He had the rare faculty of seeing an idea in the clear, and the patience to wait till others could see it as he did, and were willing to work for it. Bishop Alonzo Potter, who had preëminently the qualities of Christian statesmanship, was working towards the same end, in his views of the Christian Church and the welfare of society, all through his episcopate. To him the Church was as broad as the nation, and the volume which he published in 1858, after he had been the Bishop of Pennsylvania for thirteen years, composed of "Charges, Discourses, Addresses, and Pastoral Letters," is the most remarkable book ever written by an American bishop. It immensely broadened the ideas of what a

working church should be, and when Dr. Muhlenberg sent his "Memorial for Christian Unity" into the House of Bishops, in 1853, Dr. Potter was one of the first to see its significance, and to obtain for it a proper recognition. The volume edited by him, and entitled "The Memorial Papers," like the companion volume which he put forth in his own name, discusses methods of dealing with "the social necessities and the ethical and theological problems of the day." His comprehensive mind regarded the Church as a whole, and the memorial movement had meaning to him because it brought his own Church within the sphere of interests common to all Christians. Another divine who approached the subject on its theological side was the late Dr. James Craik, who, under the conviction that Christians must come closer together to successfully maintain the faith once delivered, published, in 1850, a pamphlet volume, which grew into the book entitled the "Search of Truth," and still later into the work to which he gave the name of "The Divine Life and the New Birth," the object of which was to unite Christians upon the basis of the kingdom of God and of the creeds. It is something notable and significant that our church literature, in the works of Bishop Potter and of Drs. Muhlenberg and Craik, bears emphatic witness to the duty of securing Christian unity, and all that has subsequently appeared on this subject is simply complementary to what they published. The further one advances in the story of our literary growths the more it is evident that our literature, especially that which is theological or ecclesiastical in its character, is closely identified with the development of the Church, and is a witness to its increasing vitality. The "Church Review," through all its vicissitudes of management, gives evidence of this widening and deepening of interests; and the "Church Journal," which, under the permanent editorship of John Henry Hopkins, Jr., first appeared in New York on the 5th of February, 1853, at first, and all through its career, had the advancement of these same interests as its foremost object.

At this period it is well to gather up the work which churchmen had been doing, or were about entering upon, in general literature. Lydia H. Sigourney had begun to publish, in prose and poetry, as early as 1815, and in 1850 could count between forty and fifty volumes as the fruit of her labors. Donald G. Mitchell ("Ik Marvel") was engaged in writing the dreamy and imaginative essays of which his "Reveries of a Bachelor" is perhaps the best representative. The writings of the late Prof. Henry Reed, who was lost at sea, in the wreck of the "Arctic," in 1854, belong to this date, and have had great influence upon the study of English writers in this country. His "English Literature" has marked an epoch in the studies of hundreds who first came to know the great English author through his finely tempered criticisms; and his "British Poets" and "English History," the latter being devoted to that history as set forth in the historical plays of Shakespeare, are hardly less valuable to the student of literature. The Shakespearian scholar and editor, Henry Norman Hudson, is chiefly known in connection with his favorite author, and as a teacher of literature; his work covering, in some respects, ground similar to

that gone over by Prof. Reed, but expressing more individuality and much of the force of original genius. Mr. Hudson's lectures on Shakespeare, published in 1848, marked an epoch in the study of the dramatist by Americans; and his writing, in sermons, in essays, and in literary criticism, has the rugged strength and quaintness of the old school of English theological writing. After Prof. Reed he is the best interpreter of Wordsworth in America, and as the interpreter of Scott, Burke, Bacon, and Webster, has no living superior. Arthur Cleveland Coxe appears as prose-writer in 1855, as the author of "Impressions of England," which first saw the light in the columns of the "Church Journal," and is worthy to stand side by side with Emerson's "English Traits" as a statement of the characteristic merits of English civilization. It is, in fact, of all the prose-writing that has come from his pen, the best-balanced, the most satisfactory. Bishop Coxe is essentially a poet, and has no equal in the interpretation of the Church on the poetical or æsthetic side. His "Thoughts on the Services" stands next to the "Christian Ballads" in popular favor and is an excellent devotional guide to the use of the Prayer-Book. Here, also, it may be best to mention the poems and prose works of Dr. Robert Lowell, whose "New Priest in Conception Bay," published in 1858, is still the most unique and inimitable American novel, of inexhaustible pathos, unmatched in its delineation of character, unmatched also in the felicity of its style, but wayward, if not wilful, in its plot, to the last degree. Dr. Lowell's subsequent volumes, "Anthony Brade" and "Stories from an Old Dutch Town," come closer within the conventional limits of fiction, and are only less wonderful compositions than "The New Priest." His "Poems," published in 1863, have all the pathos and individuality of his prose, and express the strongest convictions of the religious life in language that thrills one with the insight and flash of genius. He is the most unconventional, if not the most original, writer in general literature whom the American Church has known. Dr. John Henry Hopkins's contributions to the "Church Journal," until he gave up its management, in 1868, in order to write the biography of his father, if sometimes traced with a sharply pointed pen, have shown a keener judgment as to the trend of the Church's interests than those which have come from any other quarter. If often more controversial than spiritual, they certainly have had the merit of pointing out the course which the Church usually took in the march of events, and have expressed the judgments of a natural leader of opinion. He is, by all odds, the best journalist the Church has known. Dr. Seabury was the greater mind, but Dr. Hopkins repeated, in the "Church Journal," the triumphs which Dr. Seabury had won, year after year, in the "Churchman." Always in advance of existing opinion, and often urging measures for which the Church was not prepared, his work in the "Journal" for fifteen years is felt to-day in the constructive movement and organic life of the Church. He is to-day foremost among those who watch ecclesiastical interests.

The questions discussed in England from 1833 to 1874 were very largely the questions discussed, for the same period, by the

Church in the United States, and a large part of our literature in that interval exists in the form of the occasional pamphlet, and in the heavy and solid charges of the bishops. The "Tracts for the Times" were as eagerly read in New York as in London. The replies of Low-Churchmen like Dean Goode and others were republished by Low-Churchmen here. When Archdeacon Manning went to Rome Bishop Ives followed in the same direction. When baptismal regeneration was the great theme in England it was also the great theme here. It thus happened that the "Essays and Reviews," in which Broad-Churchmen in England first got a popular hearing, helped to make room for a similar and growing school of thought in the American Church, in 1860. The fruitage of that volume came later, and slowly; but the seed of a different religious development was best scattered through its pages. Not that the same sort of literature was repeated here. The times were not yet ready for that; the American churchmen who were in sympathy with Bishop Thirlwall and Dean Stanley had hardly yet reached the courage of their convictions, and the Church was too much distracted by party questions to promote scholarly work. At this time Dr. Milo Mahan, the theologian, comes forward. He had published, at an earlier date, the work entitled "The Exercise of Faith," in which he discussed its relation to authority and private judgment in the light of the "Tracts for the Times," and had just brought out the volume of "Church History of the First Seven Centuries," which was conceded to have such merit as to be welcomed as a textbook in the University of Oxford; but this is not, in the judgment of Dr. Hopkins, his greatest work. In criticising Bishop Colenso's writings he struck upon the subject of the numerals of Scripture, and found in them an unexpected meaning, which he was not slow to develop into the treatises entitled "Palmoni," and "Mystic Numbers," where he appears in the rôle of a discoverer of truth. His "Comedy of Canonization" reveals his great learning and gifts of satire, and all that he wrote has the character and spirit of permanent literature.

It was between 1850 and 1860 that the demands for a working literature began to be realized through the Church Book Society, and its rival, the Evangelical Knowledge Society, both of which did much to provide reading of a distinctively American and churchly character for the young, in which field Bishop Lay, Mrs. Jenny Marsh Parker, and Mrs. D. P. Sanford have wrought with great success. At an earlier date, as far back as 1836, Dr. John A. Clark published "A Walk about Zion," — the most popular book in our Low-Church literature, — in which he insisted, nearly half a century before the Church Congress realized it in word and deed, that the Episcopal Church had taken the proper ground in relation to the right of discussion, preserving harmony "not by suppressing the honest sentiments of our hearts, but by stating them frankly, and allowing to others the same privilege." Another book of perennial popularity, published in 1828, is Dr. G. T. Chapman's "Sermons on the Church," originally dedicated to Bishop Hobart, and in accord with his views of church principles. All through the period of party contest these books wrought changes of belief in the minds of the people; but, latterly, two books, "The

Little Episcopalian" and Bishop Lay's "Tracts for Missionary Use," have presented church teachings in more genial forms. Bishop Lay's writings are remarkable for their spiritual helpfulness and serenity. His "Studies in the Church," published as a book in 1872, and one or two other volumes from his pen, have the same catholic spirit, the same frank and fresh treatment of old themes, which first appeared in his missionary tracts, and no church writer during the century has done better work of its kind. Bishop Southgate will always be remembered for the account of his short episcopate in the East, and for the later embodiment of his experience in the romance of Constantinople, which he entitled "The Cross above the Crescent," a book that takes one behind the veil in Turkish life. Dr. John McVicar's life as a writer and educator was more than half a century in length, and was delightfully related to what is best in the American Church from the opening of the century to his death, in 1868. He was the biographer of Hobart, joining company here with Dr. William Berrian, who wrote a short memoir for use in an edition of Bishop Hobart's sermons, and is also the author of the "History of Trinity Church." He was one of the two men, Dr. James Marsh being the other and abler, who introduced Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection" to Americans. He did much to realize Hobart's ideas in regard to Christian education and the development of church institutions, one of his latest essays being devoted to the "Provincial System," and, like Dr. Muhlenberg, had the power to impart his ideas to other men. One might say that Morgan Dix is the successor of Dr. McVicar's thought and spirit; as it is also true that James Lloyd Breck and Edward A. Washburn developed much that was vital in the thought and spirit of Dr. Muhlenberg.

In the field of general literature Dr. Samuel Eliot made his mark as a thoughtful historian in a general history of liberty, his "Ancient Romans" and "The Early Christians" appearing in 1853, and his "History of the United States," one of the earliest works on American history from the church point of view, coming out in 1856. Robert C. Winthrop, in the life of his eminent ancestor, John Winthrop, and in his orations and addresses, has done much to modify the asperities of New England history, and has been a faithful churchman in letters. The brothers Duyckinck, in the "Cyclopædia of American Literature," have rendered a priceless service to the Church in that very thorough and careful work, first published in 1856; and George L. Duyckinck, as the author of the biographies of Herbert, Ken, Latimer, and Jeremy Taylor, which have the singular fidelity and rare sympathy that appear in Izaak Walton's "Lives," will always hold a choice place in authorship. Another worker in the field of church literature was the late Dr. John N. Norton, whose lives of the early American bishops down to Wainwright was the first successful attempt to bring the history of the American Church to the notice of the million. Dr. Rufus W. Griswold came into the Church from the Baptist body, and wrought almost entirely in the field of pure literature, chiefly in the biographical and critical line. He died in 1857. Richard H. Dana, Jr., began authorship in 1840, with "Two Years before the Mast," which still holds the distinction of being the best

narrative of seafaring life in English literature; his other work, "To Cuba and Back," published in 1859, and written in the same easy, narrative style, is an account of a vacation voyage, and is simply complementary to the earlier work. Alice B. Haven, known in letters as "Cousin Alice," imparted a deep Christian feeling to juvenile literature in her stories, "Out of Danger," "Out of Debt," and "Where There's a Will There's a Way;" but her most instructive work is the private diary, published after her death, in 1863, as the basis of the biography entitled "Cousin Alice: a Memoir of Alice B. Haven." Dr. C. S. Henry, known as the editor of the "New York Review" in 1837, and as the Professor of Philosophy in the University of New York, displayed his political studies and quaint humor in a new sphere in "Dr. Oldham at Greystone, and his Talk There," published in 1859, in which there is a reminiscence of Southey's "Doctor," and some excellent political philosophy. The bent of his thought is perhaps better illustrated in the volume entitled "Social Welfare and Human Progress;" and two subsequent volumes gather up his various essays on social questions, revealing a mind of singular breadth and depth and literary capacity of the first order. In 1853 William S. Bartlet published an important monograph on the history of the Colonial Church in Maine, under the title of "The Frontier Missionary," and had made extensive preparations for the history of the Church in Massachusetts, which were interrupted by his death, in 1883. Dr. Charles H. Hall's "Notes on the Gospels," published in 1856, not less than his "Shadow of the Valley," a discussion of the question of future punishment, published later on, reveal a strong and healthy mind.

Prof. William D. Wilson, still in active service at Cornell University, began his literary work in 1846, with a "Manual of Church Principles," which he dedicated to Bishop Delancy, who, though he wrote nothing beyond Episcopal charges, was one of the strongest and best minds in the Church. His next volume, "The History of the English Reformation," appeared in 1850, and was designed to illustrate the doctrinal character and ecclesiastical position of the English Church. In the same year came out "The Church Identified," in which its origin, perpetuation, and extension are considered with reference to the developments of American Christianity. Dr. Wilson's later work has chiefly grown out of his Cornell professorship, and includes volumes on logic, political economy, and the live questions in psychology and metaphysics. In 1883 he gave the Paddock lectures on "The Foundations of Religious Belief," a volume in which the methods of defending natural theology are fearlessly applied to the maintenance of the doctrines of Christianity as taught by revelation, and in which Dr. Wilson appears to excellent advantage as a Christian apologist. Dr. Francis Wharton's "Theism and the Modern Skeptical Theories," — the fruit of his instruction at Gambier Theological Seminary, — published in 1859, presents the theistic argument in such shape as best to impress the mind of the present day, and belongs to the same class of theological literature. Dr. John Andrews Harris, in a work on the "Principles of Agnosticism," bearing the date of 1883, has applied the same line of thought to the evidences of Christianity; and

Bishop Clark, in "The Primary Truths of Religion," has added a classic to the literature of philosophical theology. Bishop Alonzo Potter's "Religious Philosophy," comprising his Lowell Institute lectures on nature, man, and the Bible, as the three witnesses to God and to truth, appeared in 1872, and is a comprehensive outline discussion of modern apologetics; and two later books, Thomas Scott Bacon's volume on "The Reign of God not 'the Reign of Law,'" and Dr. Benjamin Franklin's book "The Creed and Modern Thought," are able treatises on the same subjects. Bishop Henry C. Potter has followed out the methods employed by his father in the very suggestive volume entitled "Sermons of the City."

In the department of church history Dr. Edward E. Beardsley has done accurate and thorough work in the "History of the Church in Connecticut," and in the biographies of Seabury, and the Johnsons, father and son, which grew out of his studies for that history. Bishop William Stevens Perry, in editing the "Historical Collections" of the Colonial Church, has placed important materials within reach of the historical writer, and contributed, through the "Churchman's Year-Book" (1870-71) and the "Hand-Book of the General Conventions," important matter to a general history of the American Church. There is also a vast pamphlet literature, in which bishops and clergy have supplied historical monographs on churches and persons that have a meaning in our growth as a religious body. Dr. George Morgan Hills's "History of the Church in Burlington," and Dr. Samuel A. Clark's "History of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, N.J.," are specimens of local history wrought out on a large scale, and the centennial year has greatly added to these valuable materials. In this connection mention should be made of Bishop Chase's "Reminiscences," an inimitable autobiography and history combined, which was published in 1848; and of Bishop Meade's chief work, "Old Churches and Old Families of Virginia," which appeared in 1856, and is a valuable addition to the history of the Church in that section. The biographies of the leading bishops also furnish materials of the greatest historical value. The memoirs of White, Griswold, Seabury, and Hobart have already been mentioned; but equally important are the biography of Bishop Doane by the Bishop of Albany, the life of Bishop Hopkins by his son, the memoir of Bishop Potter by Bishop Howe, the volume devoted to Bishop Burgess and edited by his brother, Bishop Alexander Burgess, the memoir of Bishop McIlvaine by Canon Carus, and the very full memoir of Bishop Whittingham prepared by Mr. Brand. These works are indispensable to a proper knowledge of the ecclesiastical and spiritual history of the American Church.

In 1861 the "Church Monthly" began, under the charge of Dr. Randall and Dr. F. D. Huntington, who brought into his first relations in the Church the literary activity which had marked his career as a Unitarian divine. The "Monthly" had a chequered but useful existence and went on to the end of the year 1868. It contained, among other things, the novel by Walter Mitchell entitled "Bryan Maurice,"—a story almost as literal as the sketches in Flavel S. Mines's "Presbyterian Looking for the Church," which was published a few years

earlier. Both before and since he entered upon the Episcopate of Central New York, Bishop Huntington has constantly published sermons and books of devotion, some of which have unique value. His namesake, Dr. William R. Huntington, brought out in 1870 an essay towards unity, under the name of "The Church Idea," which is one of the few books written by churchmen that have a permanent place in literature; he has also published a volume on "Conditional Immortality," and his fugitive poems reveal rare powers of poetical expression. "Christian Truth and Modern Opinion," published in 1874, and containing the deliberate thought of seven Episcopal clergymen, including Bishop Clark, was one of the first witnesses among Broad-Churchmen to the harmony of the Christian faith with science, and just preceded the organization of the Church Congress, whose yearly reports include the best thought of leading minds in the Church on questions of the day, and have had a great and growing influence in formulating opinion on social and religious subjects. Dr. Washburn's writings, mostly published since his lamented death, his "Social Law of God," the two volumes of his "Sermons," the "Poems," and the essays called "Epochs in Church History," particularly the latter, though lacking the finish that so fastidious a scholar would gladly have given them, contain some of the best and wisest thinking that the Church has had, and bear witness to the influence of Dr. Muhlenberg's mind upon his illustrious pupil. Dr. John Cotton Smith's two volumes of essays and special discourses, though full of directing thought and containing his great prophetic discourse, "The Church's Law of Development," imperfectly represent an intellectual activity that at near the end of the great party struggle of the century was exerted, with unusual wisdom and forethought, in sermons and editorials, and letters and personal interviews, for charity and good-will among brethren. Neither should Dr. Samuel Osgood, whose literary work had been mainly done as a Unitarian clergyman, and who published little over his own name as a churchman, be overlooked as a leader of opinion in centres of influence. Dr. Daniel R. Goodwin has been prominent in church circles for a quarter of a century or more as a controversialist of unrivalled powers, chiefly on religious subjects, and as a teacher of Biblical criticism. Dr. Frederic Gardiner has done much first-class work in hermeneutics, and published one or two volumes. Dr. Clement R. Butler's "Ecclesiastical History" is only one among many evidences of his work as a trained scholar. Dr. J. H. Rylance is an unusually competent writer upon social questions, though he has published little. James S. Bush has presented a new apologetic in "The Evidence of Faith." Dr. R. Heber Newton has written upon questions of social and political reform with an insight and breadth of view which do not avail him to the same degree upon the constantly shifting ground of Biblical criticism. Dr. W. W. Olssen, in the two volumes entitled "Personality" and "Revelation," has shown signal ability in stating the common ground between questions of philosophy and religion. Chancellor Woolworth's "Cathedral in the American Church" contributes fresh ideas to the organization of our ecclesiastical institutions. Professor

Henry Coppée has covered an important period of mediæval history in his "Conquest of Spain;" and Bishop McLaren has discussed the spiritual side of theology with vigor and insight in the volume entitled "Catholic Dogma the Antidote of Doubt."

There are two pamphlets which mark an epoch in the church's growth, and have great significance: "Are there Romanizing Germs in the Prayer-Book?" by Franklin S. Rising, and "The Rise and Fall of the Low-Church Party," by Dr. John Henry Hopkins. Their dates are 1868 and 1872. The writers on the High-Church or ritualistic side deserve as emphatic mention as those who have advanced Broad-Church interests. First among them stands Dr. Morgan Dix, who early attracted attention by the terse style of his sermons, and by his original commentaries on a portion of St. Paul's epistles; next by his ascetic views in the volume entitled "The Two Estates;" next by his philosophical treatment of "Pantheism and the Christian Faith;" next by a volume of sermons, strong and vivid in their statements of catholic truth; next by his lectures on "The Prayer-Book of 1549," and last by the lectures on "The Calling of a Christian Woman." In all these writings the characteristic note is that of catholic dogma and principles, and in many single discourses Dr. Dix has written with great strength on the catholic side of church questions. Dr. F. C. Ewer was a still more distinctly pronounced writer, and represented a sharper type of thought in the same channels in which Dr. Dix has worked. His first important volume was "The Failure of Protestantism;" the next was "Catholicity in its Relationship to Protestantism and Romanism;" the last was the conferences, published in 1880, under the title of "The Operation of the Holy Spirit." Dr. Ewer's tendency was towards ascetic theology, and his life was true to the ideas expressed in his writings. Dr. James DeKoven belonged to the same school of opinion, though his writings comprise only sermons and pamphlets, and have slight literary value. The poet of the Church for over twenty years has been Harriet McEwen Kimball, whose "Hymns" were first collected in 1866, and whose poetry is not more intense in its insight into the interior life than it is an association of spiritual feeling with the various offices of the Church and the Prayer-Book. The periodical called "The Church and the World," begun in 1872 and ending in 1874, was conducted with remarkable ability, and the "Church Weekly," which began at the opening of the ritualistic controversy, had a brilliant record while it lasted.

The tendency of our later literature is towards a more constructive and inclusive statement of truth. Dr. Hugh Miller Thompson's writings, before his entrance upon the episcopate, had a certain appeal to common-sense that gave them great popularity. Bishop Stevens has done occasional work of marked value. Bishop Harris has discussed with great ability "The Relation of Christianity to Civil Society." Bishop Littlejohn has shown himself a keen and far-sighted student of the times in the volumes, entitled "Individualism," "Conciones ad Clerum," and "The Christian Ministry at the Close of the Nineteenth Century,"—the seeds of which are to be found in a remarkable article on Coleridge, in the "Church Review," which early gave

him an English reputation; and Bishop Williams has condensed his lectures at the Berkeley Divinity School into a book on the "English Reformation," which appeared as the first volume in the Paddock Lectureship. These works sufficiently indicate activity of thought in constructive directions; but there are three writers, representing different types of mind, who have made special additions to our church literature, — Phillips Brooks, Alexander V. G. Allen, and Elisha Mulford. Dr. Brooks's literary activity centres in his sermons, whose treatment is always literary; so that a judgment of his contributions to letters does not need to consider his Bohlen lectures on "The Influence of Jesus," or his "Lectures on Preaching," apart from his other writings. Their prevailing characteristic is that they find the sphere of Christ's work in humanity; they express very largely the ideas taught by Maurice, and amplify through a sympathetic imagination the vital truth of the incarnation in its relations to present life. The literary merits of Dr. Brooks's sermons appeal strongly to people of culture, while their broad humanity and genial worldly wisdom win the people at large. Though without distinct assertions of dogma, they are our finest examples of optimistic preaching. Dr. Allen's "Continuity of Christian Thought" is an extremely able and thorough presentation of the Greek as opposed to the Augustinian theology, and emphasizes the fact that the doctrine of the incarnation, in the fulness and sublimity of its real import, "is finding, in modern times, a recognition and appreciation akin to that which it held in the theology of Athanasius." Dr. Allen's book presents the theological groundwork upon which the sermons of Dr. Brooks are based. Dr. Mulford's work is of another type, and represents the highest order of mind. It is constructive, institutional, philosophical, exhaustive. This is seen in the way he has traced in "The Nation," published in 1870, the foundations of civil order and political life as they exist in the United States, — a book of whose author Charles Sumner said to Francis Lieber that he sat at his feet as a pupil; but it is seen to equal advantage in "The Republic of God," in which the human thought about God, the revelation of God in Christ, the work of Christ in humanity, the leavening and redemptive forces working in and through humanity, are treated with the comprehensiveness of the scientific method, and are made accordant with the postulates of philosophy. Dr. Mulford's work is the unfolding of institutional growths, whether in the nation, in the family, or in secular and religious society. His statements are also true to the inner processes of thought or experience in individual life. In philosophic strength, in the synthesis of ideas, in the tracing of truth along its political, social, and religious lines, Dr. Mulford's writings stand among the most important of the Church's contributions to American literature.

Julius H. Ward

MONOGRAPH XIII.

THE CHURCH'S HYMNOLOGY.

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OUR hymnic history is simpler, and can be told in much less space, than that of the mother-Church. She is represented by several hundred hymnals, filled of late years chiefly with matter produced by scores of her own children. Her daughter has to show only the old "Psalms and Hymns," the "Additional Hymns" of 1866, and the present "Hymnal," with one or two dozen unofficial compilations for occasional, private, or tentative use; and the native contributors to these have been few. Narrow, however, as is the topic, it cannot be wholly without interest for American churchmen.

Psalmody rather than hymnody was the "use" of our ancestors of all ecclesiastical colors, ninety years ago, and the Convention did but follow the example of New England Congregationalists when it set forth in 1789 the "Whole Book of Psalms in Metre," according to Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, with a small addition of hymns. The Bostonians, at least twenty years earlier, had gone to the length of admitting as many as one hundred and three, mostly from Watts, but twenty-seven probably seemed to our dignitaries an abundant provision, and perhaps to some of their flocks a questionable innovation. The Psalms are the "New Version" (1696, largely rewritten somewhat later), unabridged and practically unaltered. Criticism of this time-honored work is not a novelty; but it may be said, on one hand, that it contains a larger proportion of singable matter than has been supposed by persons not accustomed to use it; and, on the other, that a small selection from it, made with any judgment, cannot fail to be much better than the whole. Our grandfathers were not ready for this, and for their purposes Tate and Brady entire furnished doubtless the best provision within reach, being far smoother and more modern than Sternhold and Hopkins, with less inflation and padding than Merrick, and vastly nearer the original than the loose and partial "imitation" of Watts. The question whether, and if so why, it should be necessary to sing all the Psalms, or one-half or one-tenth of them, in metrical form, had not then been raised by any noticeable English-speaking body except the Methodists; who, indeed, did not so much raise as settle it for themselves, by quickly dropping that venerable custom.

It may be said here that we have no means of knowing which versions are by Tate and which by Brady, and any attempts in that direction are arbitrary and without basis. It is supposed that Tate

was the better poet, and the more fluent and favorite among their renderings may probably be his; no more than this can be claimed. The hymns in their Appendix, 1703, have always been credited to Tate alone.

The twenty-seven hymns of 1789 were taken in equal parts from churchmen and dissenters; six of them being by Doddridge, and four, with main or large portions of three more, by Watts; while four and a half are Addison's, five Tate's; one is by Dr. John Patrick (1679-1691; part of his version of Psalm xxx.), and one by Samuel Wesley, Jr. The remaining three are anonymous. One, "for the use of the sick," a dreary production of eleven long-metre stanzas in the old manner, beginning

"When dangers, woes, or death are nigh,"

appeared in an account of the Magdalen Charity, with hymns, etc., London, 1761. This was one of the two hundred and twelve hymns of 1827, but was happily not passed over to the present "Hymnal." The other two are still in use. That for Whitsunday, —

"He's come! let every knee be bent," —

is found in a musical tract published in 1733; while

"Go forth, ye heralds, in my name,"

is now (1885) attributed to James Maxwell, a Methodist, 1759. The attribution of it to John Logan, in the Methodist "Hymnal," 1878, appears to be one of several original mistakes in that work.

Sundry of the hymns of known origin were tinkered or rewritten, as, for instance, Addison's

"How are thy servants blest, O Lord!"

which here appears as

"Lord! for the just thou dost provide,"

with nearly every following line changed. The only excuse for this was that each line (and not merely the second and fourth) might be made to rhyme; but, if the great master of English style did not consider this necessary, others were scarcely called on to improve his verses. Compare the original with the rehash, and see which is better: —

"The sea, that roared at thy command,
At thy command was still."

For this the substitute of 1789 is

"The raging sea was hushed in peace,
And every wave was still!"

It would be trivial to dwell on this if the whole "amended" version did not stand to-day in our "Hymnal" as do several recensions of less noble strains: *e.g.*, Hymn 259 is partly Watts, and partly Anon., 1789. In another case Addison was badly treated: his famous judgment hymn was mixed with one of Watts about the Bible, the two having nothing in common except their metre. This strange blunder, after

edifying congregations for thirty-seven years, was corrected in the new book of 1826-27.

These twenty-seven hymns were increased by the General Convention of 1808 to fifty-seven. Of the thirty added twenty-five were of Independent or Baptist origin, ten being by Watts, ten by Anne Steele, three by Doddridge, one by Beddome, and one (dropped in 1826) Anon., from Dr. Rippon's Selection, 1787; while two were taken from Bishop Ken, two from Charles Wesley, and one was contributed by an American, — Professor Clement C. Moore: —

"Lord of life, all praise excelling."

Such at least is the tradition; but it is now said to be of earlier English origin. This, though not now used, must be well remembered, for it was for over half a century our best charity hymn.

This limited hymnic provision of the infant American Church calls for no extended remarks. Only by its small size was it distinguished from other compilations of an age in which churchmen and non-conformists used the same lyrics and held mainly the same views; and this very diminutiveness might express conservative dread of novelty. So long as only fifty-seven hymns were authorized there could be no great amount of heresy or schism in them. Beyond that the fathers' tastes were not exigent as to the tone, either doctrinal or literary, of what they sang.

But in one quarter, at least, other feelings prevailed. The vestry of Trinity Church, Boston, not knowing or not regarding what the General Convention was about, anticipated its action by putting forth in the same year, 1808, through Munroe, Francis, and Parker, "Hymns selected from the most approved authors, for the use of" their own parish. This is a 12mo of one hundred and seventy-nine pages, fourteen of which are taken up with tunes. The preface says, "Our book of hymns has heretofore been very imperfect. It contained little variety, and less excellence. The necessity of a larger collection was generally felt; and at length the vestry authorized the present publication" — probably the only case on record of an American parish doing such a thing.

The first twenty-seven hymns are those authorized in 1789. For the rest they were "chiefly indebted to Dr. Belknap, whose book unquestionably contains the best specimens of sacred poetry extant." Jeremy Belknap's "Sacred Poetry" appeared in 1795, and went through sundry editions. With perhaps one exception it was the first distinctly (though not nominally) Unitarian hymnal published in America. But the Trinity people were above "bigotry;" and, to say truth, they got no great harm from Belknap. Most of their authors are "orthodox" enough. No less than forty-nine of the new hymns are taken from Steele, twenty-three from Watts, and ten from Doddridge. Five are from Young's long poem on "Resignation;" three each from Barbauld, Thomas Scott, and Joseph Proud, the Swedenborgian, — perhaps his first and last appearance in an Episcopal collection; two each from Simon Browne, Merrick, Smart, Tate, Mrs. Carter, and the Scotch Paraphrases; a dozen by as many separate

writers, and six from English Unitarian collections. Only five others including Mrs. Barbauld's three, come from that fold, and the one hundred and fifty-two hymns are followed by the *Gloria Patri*, in six metres, from Tate and Brady. There is nothing from native authors.

This book is scarce now, and seems to have had no great circulation or influence; so that it is amusing to read in the preface that its compilers "sincerely congratulate the Church on this accession to its sacred treasures, and on the opportunity which in future it will enjoy," etc. But by "the Church" they perhaps meant Trinity Church, Boston.

A much more important book came, fifteen years later, from a smaller town and a man then obscure, but afterwards to be famous: "Church Poetry; Being Portions of the Psalms in Verse, and Hymns suited to the Festivals and Fasts and various Occasions of the Church. Selected and Altered from various Authors. By Wm. Augustus Muhlenberg, Associate Rector of St. James's Church, Lancaster. Philadelphia: Published by S. Potter & Co. J. Maxwell, Printer, 1823." It is an 18mo of vi. + 267 pages, of which one hundred and ten are occupied with Psalms, which, the preface says, were taken "from the works of Tate and Brady, Merrick, Watts, Mrs. Steele, Montgomery, Goode, B. Wood[d], and many others, — with all of whom great liberty has been taken in the way of alteration. Their compositions have in so many instances been modified, and the verses of one blended with those of another in the same psalm, that their names have not been affixed to the portions." The best that can be said of this practice is, that the literary iniquity of it was not then understood as it is now. Montgomery, or Muhlenberg, might tinker other men's verses with an easy conscience; but when some one else applied the same treatment to his he would be quick to see the matter in another light.

The principle here illustrated, that metrical psalms might be taken from other sources besides Tate and Brady, had an influence, though within very narrow limits, on the revision of the "Prayer-Book Psalms" in 1883. But, seeing that six months after the appearance of Muhlenberg's "Church Poetry," the General Convention appointed a hymn-committee whereof he was a member, we might naturally expect its work of 1826 to be more or less shaped and colored after his of 1823. The committee had, indeed, no other home precedent so nearly adequate as this. Here were one hundred and ninety-seven hymns, and more than half of them selected with some reference to church seasons and services. The most noted recent Anglican collection, that of Thomas Cotterill, had been largely drawn upon, but chiefly, alas! for the helps and models it afforded in "altering." The most favorable example of this is found in

"Saviour, source of every blessing,"

which passed into the "Prayer-Book Collection," and thence into the "Hymnal." Whoever will compare this with the original

"Come, thou Fount,"

or with the nearer approach to it which may be found in almost every book except our own, will see that our version is nearly as much Muhlenberg's as Robinson's. If a hymn had no human elements of authorship and history the change here might be an unqualified improvement.

The leading writers in "Church Poetry" are Watts, thirty-five; Doddridge, twenty-three; C. Wesley, nineteen; Steele, thirteen; Newton, eight; Montgomery, seven; and Cotterill, the whole or parts of seven. Many besides the three last-named made their entrance on a field of wider usefulness through the door-way supplied by this book. Here first (so far as known) appeared Francis S. Key's very genuine hymn:—

"Lord, with glowing heart I'd praise thee,"—

as memorable a piece of work as the "Star Spangled Banner." It has high devotional and fair literary merit, and is endeared to many thousands by long association.

No less than nine of the one hundred and ninety-seven have not been traced farther, and some of them must be Muhlenberg's, though he never acknowledged them. He says in the preface, "Occasionally, to supply a line or verse, and rarely a psalm or hymn, an attempt has been made at original composition; but only when necessity required." When a man freely acknowledges that he has remodelled other people's verses at will, it is not easy to distinguish his from theirs. Several of these nine have gone further, though none of them is equal to his later familiar pieces. One of them got into the "Prayer-Book Collection," and now stands 166 in the "Hymnal":—

"Almighty Father, bless the word
Which through thy grace we now have heard."

It may have been found useful, but dry and prosy, and was evidently made to order.

The committee appointed in 1823 consisted of Bishops Hobart and Croes, Professors Turner and Wilson, and Messrs. Kemper and Muhlenberg. The last-named was probably the only one of them who had any special previous acquaintance with the subject, and he and Dr. H. U. Onderdonk practically constituted, as he tells us, a working sub-committee. The result of their labors was approved by General Convention, in November, 1826, and leisurely copyrighted April 19, 1827. These two hundred and twelve hymns included all but two of the old fifty-seven; some of the rest were of more recent origin, and some not. Dissent supplied a majority, as at that time in all hymnals of any size and not distinctively Methodist. Where tinkering and piecing have been free no list of authors can be at once concise and thoroughly accurate; but, roughly, the British contributors stand thus: Watts, twenty-seven; Doddridge, nineteen; Steele, seventeen; C. Wesley, fourteen; Scotch Paraphrases, thirteen; Montgomery, eleven; Newton, seven; Cowper, Addison, and Tate, each five; Beddome, three; Ken, Pope, S. Browne, S. Wesley, Jr., Toplady, Ogilvie, Fawcett, Barbauld, Joyce, Grant, and Heber, each two; and some thirty-five others, one each; besides three that are

anonymous. This makes one hundred and eighty-six; the remaining twenty-six are American. Three of these had already some age and reputation. The simple and pleasing

“Now the shades of night are gone”

is everywhere ascribed to the Mohegan Indian, Samson Occom, 1770; but it is difficult to find any authority for this, and doubtful whether he could write verses so good.

“The day is past and gone” —

a sort of small classic, of which we have but part, — is assigned with more probability to “Elder” John Leland, an eccentric Baptist. It appeared in Virginia, 1792, or earlier.

“I love thy kingdom, Lord,”

is Dr. Dwight’s famous “third part” of Psalm cxxxvii.

Several others, though not new here, had the effect of being so, and owed such repute and circulation elsewhere as they may have attained chiefly to their admission among the two hundred and twelve.

“Sing, my soul, His wondrous love,”

is from what was called the “Baltimore Collection,” — a book of revivalistic and camp-meeting character, which first appeared about 1800; our compilers added the third stanza.

“Arise, my soul, with rapture rise,”

is by Samuel J. Smith (1771–1835), a wealthy Quaker, who lived near Burlington, N. J., and whose “Miscellaneous Writings” were published in 1836. This had appeared in a selection by Priscilla Gurney, London, 1818, with a text differing both from ours and from that of the posthumous volume. The much-used Trinity hymn,—

“O holy, holy, holy Lord!”

was written by the lamented James Wallis Eastburn (1797–1819). I find it first in Henshaw’s Selection, fourth edition, 1824. Its author was considered a youth of much promise, both for literature and the ministry. With Robert C. Sands he wrote the poem “Yamoyden” (1820), and his brief labors as Rector of Accomac, Va., were said to be “abundant and successful.” He was a brother of Bishop Eastburn, of Massachusetts. F. S. Key’s excellent hymn, and an inferior one of doubtful parentage, were taken, as already noted, from Muhlenberg’s “Church Poetry,” 1823.

More important than all these were two extracts from a modest volume which appeared in New York in 1824, soon after the committee began their work: “Songs by the Way, chiefly Devotional, with Translations and Imitations. By the Rev. George W. Doane, A.M.” It is to be regretted that our compilers did not draw more freely from this generous source. They might have found in it at least six or eight other lyrics of higher literary merit, and better adapted to the use of churchmen, than the majority of their admitted

pieces. Three of these, neglected at home, have somehow found their way across the ocean, and won acceptance by sundry Anglican hymnals: had they been incorporated in our hymnody in 1826 they would surely hold an honored place in it to-day. Mr. Doane's volume appeared somewhat too early for appreciation. The original hymns, which were the best things in it, were of the modern school, then only beginning to be known; and his translations from the Latin (fourteen in number), while they have been surpassed since, had merit, and anticipated by twelve years the first steps of that great movement which, in the hands of Newman, Chandler, Mant, Isaac Williams, Caswall, and Neale, has both enriched and reformed our hymnody.

But if our committee were to take but two lyrics from this quarter, there is no question that they took the best. To have written such a hymn as

"Thou art the Way"

is not to have lived in vain. The very compiler who first brings it to general notice, even had he done nothing else worth doing, has served his kind. It is one of the dozen or score truest, purest, strongest faith-songs in our language; certainly none of home origin surpasses it. The other,

"Softly now the light of day,"

is not equal to this, but a model of its kind, and perhaps as often sung. Yet the last lines are imperfect as an ending; and one cannot blame those who omit the second and fourth stanzas, retaining the essential thought in what has perhaps the advantage of the complete original in seeming to be a symmetrical whole, with a perfect close.

It is no slight honor to any collection to be the first in including two such hymns as these, thereby both winning and imparting fame. But they were not to be the only novelties here. It was the privilege of the two hundred and twelve to have Muhlenberg for contributor as well as editor. The slight and unacknowledged efforts of his muse in 1823 prepared her for a bolder flight, and in 1826 he was ready with five lyrics, only one of which has failed to achieve wide and lasting usefulness. This one was probably made to fill a gap, being on the "Death of a Young Person;" it stood No. 126, and began, —

"How short the race our friend has run."

Very likely it met the taste of that age, but it went no further. The others all have places in our present "Hymnal," and in sundry home and foreign books.

The most famous of these was probably the first written.

"I would not live away"

has an intricate history, which was not simplified by the author's lapse of memory in his later years. In his brief "story of the hymn," printed with its "evangelized" text in 1871, every date is wrong by two or three years; and his assertion, "The legend that it was written on an occasion of private grief is a fancy," hardly agrees with the clear and minute recollections of persons of the high-

est character, still living, and who knew the circumstances thoroughly. The date of composition assigned, 1824, is probably (not certainly) correct: it was written at Lancaster, in a lady's album, and began

"I would not live away. No, no, holy man.
Not a day, not an hour, should lengthen my span."

In this shape it seems to have had six eight-line stanzas. The album was still extant in 1876, at Pottstown, Pa., and professed to contain the original manuscript. Said the owner's sister, "It was an impromptu. He had no copy, and, wanting it for some occasion, he sent for the album." In 1826 he entrusted his copy to a friend, who called on him on the way from Harrisburg to Philadelphia, to carry to the "Episcopal Recorder," and in that paper it appeared June 3, 1826 (not 1824). For these facts we have the detailed statement of Dr. John B. Clemson, of Claymont, Del., the ambassador mentioned, who also chances to have preserved that volume of the paper.

Thus appearing (without name), it was adopted by the sub-committee. When their report was presented to the entire committee in 1826, — not 1829, as Dr. Muhlenberg has it, — "each of the hymns was passed upon. When this came up one of the members remarked that it was very sweet and pretty, but rather sentimental; upon which it was unanimously thrown out. Not suspected as the author, I voted against myself. That, I supposed, was the end of it. The committee, which sat until late at night at the house of Bishop White, agreed upon their report to the Convention, and adjourned. But, the next morning, Dr. Onderdonk (who was not one of their number, but who, on invitation, had acted with the sub-committee, which in fact consisted of him and myself), called on me to inquire what had been done. Upon my telling him that among the rejected hymns was this one of mine, he said, 'That will never do,' and went about among the members of the committee soliciting them to restore the hymn in their report, which accordingly they did; so that to him is due the credit of giving it to the Church." As thus adopted it was a small and altered selection from the original lines, made by Dr. Onderdonk, "with some revision" by the author. He was never satisfied with these texts, but revised the poem in 1859, and rewrote it in 1871, with the usual success of such efforts. However open to criticism the version of 1826 is the one that does and will live.

The authorship of this, as of many another popular lyric, has been disputed. The claim of Henry Ward, a printer of Litchfield, Conn., has been vehemently urged, and revived but a few years ago. Of course it is unsupported by adequate evidence. When Dr. Muhlenberg was asked to assure "some of his brethren, editors of Church papers," of his paternity, his manly reply was, "If they thought I was capable of letting the work of another pass for so many years as my own they would not be sure of anything I might say." His three others in the two hundred and twelve seem to have been made in 1826. That for Christmas —

"Shout the glad tidings, exultingly sing —"

was written, he says, "at the particular request of Bishop Hobart,

who wanted something that would go to the tune by Avison, then popular, to the words by Moore, —

“ ‘Sound the loud timbrel.’ ”

He liked the verses I made so well that he had them struck off before the hymns were published, and sung in Trinity Church on Christmas-day. In some Baptist books of to-day it begins without the refrain.

“ Saviour, who thy flock art feeding ”

is to this day the only real hymn we have upon baptism, the others being statements or exhortations. If there were others to compare it with, it could stand the comparison. It is widely used at home and in England.

“ Like Noah's wandering dove.”

This, though we still have it intact, would be improved by cutting off its head and tail. The author thought, in 1865, that the last stanza should be dropped; and three prominent collections omit the first, which is a mere introductory simile, not positively essential to the sense. Dr. Muhlenberg wrote, between 1824 and 1859, several other lyrics, which are more or less used by other bodies, but not by us.

By far the largest contributor to the Prayer-Book hymns was Dr. (presently Bishop) Henry Ustic Onderdonk, who, as we have seen, supplied, with Muhlenberg, the chief labor in compiling them. Distinctly inferior to his colleague and to Bishop Doane in poetic power, he had that kind of moderate practical talent which has so often proved useful in hymn-work. Not only his own people, but many of other communions, are in his debt, for most of his nine lyrics have been admitted to their worship, besides retaining a place in our own.

“ The Spirit in our hearts ”

is either based on a lyric by Dr. Thomas Gibbons, 1769, or a very curious case of unconscious parallelism. The British piece, — which is on the same text and in the same metre, — and the volume containing it, were and are so unfamiliar, that the difficulty of believing them known to Dr. Onderdonk is as great as that of supposing an accidental similarity. However that may be, he succeeded in producing the best of all songs of invitation. Such are not strictly hymns, and it is questionable whether they should have a place among the metrical appliances of public worship; but no one would exclude verses so gentle, scriptural, and Christian as these. They have gone almost everywhere. He was not so fortunate in two other rhymed exhortations.

“ Sinner, rouse thee from thy sleep.”

This still has place in our book and sundry others; but a committee of well-instructed churchmen in our time would hardly justify its retention on any other ground than that of long usage. The same remark applies equally to

“ Seek, my soul, the narrow gate.”

Hymns are supposed to be addressed to the Divine Being, not to our own souls or to our neighbors. Those lyrics which do not fulfil this condition are "Spiritual Songs" merely, and only great excellence (as with "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" or "God moves in a Mysterious Way") can justify their admission into a manual designed for use in public worship. But the canons of taste were less understood in these matters fifty years ago, and are often overridden now by the force of association.

"Blest be thou, the God of Israel."

This, on the other hand, is a correct and usable hymn, being a versification of an Old-Testament text, and in the style of those psalms of general praise which have always been in such demand among us. It has won some acceptance from Congregationalists, Presbyterians, etc., but was denied admittance to our present "Hymnal," which included all this writer's other lyrics, most of them inferior to it.

"How wondrous and great
Thy works, God of Praise."

An excellent little missionary hymn, which has somehow failed to make its way beyond our Protestant Episcopal books.

"When, Lord, to this our western land."
"On Zion and on Lebanon."

A pair for home missions, the former considerably used among other bodies.

"Although the vine its fruit deny."

A Biblical paraphrase, admitted by several books.

"Though I should seek to wash me clean."

An argument, or meditation, of no value other than theologic. The "Hymnal" (379) omitted the first two stanzas, and might as well have omitted the others.

Three more of the two hundred and twelve bear Dr. Onderdonk's mark sufficiently to have had his name connected with them.

"Heirs of unending life."

The first stanza and part of the second are his; the rest is Beddome's. A useful piece, better than the original, and far superior to most samples of tinkering.

"Ah, how shall fallen man."

Rewritten from the seventh Scotch paraphrase, which was manufactured from Watts, Book I., Hymn 86.

"The gentle Saviour calls
Our children to his breast."

Based on a well-known hymn of Doddridge, the alterations being chiefly in the first stanza. These recensions are retained by us, and have been more or less adopted elsewhere.

He also, one must suppose, among many other such minute efforts, made the first couplet of

"Since I've known a Saviour's name,"

with sundry further changes in the text. But one unlucky emendation must in charity be laid at printer's or proof-reader's door. Charles Wesley, who was acquainted with English grammar, had written in 1746

"Oh, that all the *art* might know
Of living thus to Thee."

By some wild mischance *world* was substituted for *art*. And so it stands to-day (478, v. 3) in the revised "Hymnal," to the confusion—in case this hymn were given out—of those who would sing with the understanding.

The "Prayer-Book Collection," even in the later years of its use, enjoyed a good reputation among brethren of other names, and candid churchmen were sometimes moved to inquire the cause of this. The answer might be found partly in its brevity. Those who groaned under a burden of one thousand or one thousand five hundred hymns, could admire a provision of only two hundred and twelve. As between a two-hours' sermon and one of fifteen minutes, it was not a question of literary standards. Then the book was colorless, with no protrusion of sacramental doctrines or ecclesiastical claims; and most will praise what is decorous and inoffensive. Beyond this, one-tenth of the matter was new, and most of that good enough to be worth copying. In this last circumstance, and in the fact that for forty years it contained the sole official and authorized hymnic pabulum of the growing Episcopal Church, lay its real claims to honor.

Meanwhile the "Metrical Psalter" was still unmitigated Tate and Brady. A volume of "Select Portions" from this, approved by the Bishop of Maryland, and published by E. J. Coale, Baltimore, 1820 (the copy before me was "for the desk in St. Peter's Church"), had shown that abridgment was possible; and we have seen how Muhlenberg, in 1823, set the example of looking to other sources besides the venerable "New Version." At length the Convention, October 29, 1832, "set forth and allowed the 'Psalms in Metre, selected from the Psalms of David.'" The first copies were printed in 1833, some being signed by the committee, December 27, 1832, and certified by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, under date of February 23, or by his brother, of New York, May 14. Exactly on what principle this work was done it would be hard to guess, and probably useless to inquire. Twenty-six psalms were passed by, and the selections were all from Tate, except fourteen. Of these, three were by Montgomery (70, part 2; 87, part 1; and 105); two (6, 82) by Cotterill; two (87, part 2; 120), by Watts; 121, part 2, by Steele; 37 by Bishop Lowth; 118 by Bishop Mant; 84 from Muhlenberg's "Church Poetry,"—possibly his own; while the others (16, 23, 59) have not been traced, and were perhaps Onderdonk's. Of this new matter Montgomery's versions possessed great and attractive merit, and every one remembers how often they were used. Bishop Mant's, Cotterill's, one of Watts's, and perhaps I may say Lowth's, afforded a pleasing change from the monotony of overmuch Tate;

the rest were no better than many scores that could then be had without asking. Monopoly once abandoned, some of the streams just drawn from might have yielded more largely, and it would not have been difficult to find others; as Merrick, Goode, and Auber. Precedents were abundant, as well as materials. The hymn-compiling of 1826 had been done, according to the ideas of the time, of course, with intelligence and earnestness; but it is hard to believe that this companion task was set about with any real care or pains. Some slight practical improvement was made, by additions and omissions both; but to those who looked into the matter our "Metrical Psalter" was a strange mongrel, such as scarce existed before or since. The renumbering was a minor point; but it looked strange to see "the LI. Psalm of David" changed to "Psalm 44" of the Protestant Episcopal Church. To print as well as announce it "Selection 44" would have been better.

The long interval from 1833 to 1866 is bridged over only by private collections, which, with one exception, exerted no great influence on our later official movements, and demand but brief mention. The first of them goes back to a much earlier date. While officiating at St. Ann's, Brooklyn (1817), Mr., afterwards Bishop, Henshaw, made, for a weekly female prayer-meeting in his flock, "A Selection of Hymns for the use of Social Religious Meetings and for Private Devotions." This was "gradually introduced into other praying-circles, connected with Episcopal congregations, in various places; and four editions, anonymously published, each one larger and somewhat different from the preceding," appeared. As meetings of this sort increased, their wants were supplied by sundry and divers hymn-books, "according to the varying tastes of the clergy, and others who have been concerned in the regulation of the matter." Some of his brethren "lamented the deviation from the uniformity that characterizes the worship of Episcopalians," and begged Dr. Henshaw to provide one book which might displace the others. So, in 1832, his fifth edition, "revised, altered, and greatly enlarged," was copyrighted and published at Baltimore. It contains four hundred and thirty-nine hymns, twenty-nine of which were for festivals and fasts, and thirty-one "for Times of Revival."

The late Dr. C. W. Andrews was our most active worker in this field. His "Additional Selection," bound up with the Prayer-Book hymns appeared in Philadelphia in 1843, and was enlarged and copyrighted in 1844. It was intended first for his own weekly lectures and prayer-meetings, then for similar use elsewhere. It was based largely on the English collections of Bickersteth and B. W. Noel. The chief authors were C. Wesley, Watts, Newton, and Cowper. It was rather widely circulated. Out of this grew his larger "Hymns and Devotional Poetry," published by the Evangelical Knowledge Society in 1857, and afterwards revised; it contained much unfamiliar matter. Dr. S. H. Tyng published two hundred and thirty-one additional hymns in 1848, and his son, Dudley A. Tyng, issued "The Lecture-room Hymn-Book," in 1855. These are usually bound with the authorized collection. Of quite another sort is "Sacred Hymns, chiefly from ancient sources, arranged according to the Seasons of the Church. By Frederick Wilson, M.A., Rector of S. James the Less, Philadelphia," 1859.

These are mostly translations by Chandler, Isaac Williams, etc., and only twenty-seven out of one hundred and thirty-nine are older than the present century. The same year were printed two hundred copies, a "preliminary edition for private circulation," of a book more valuable and more important than any or all of these.

The completed "Hymns for Church and Home" appeared in 1860, prepared by Bishop Burgess, Drs. Muhlenberg, Howe, and Coxe, and Professor Wharton, "as a contribution to any addition that may be made to the hymns now attached to the Prayer-Book." The long and interesting preface gives evidence of larger interest in and attention to the subject than had heretofore been found among American churchmen; and the contents at least hint at the increased width and variety of the field. The greater part of them is still from the eighteenth century and dissent; but the later, and for our uses better, work of Anglicans is not ignored. Here are nineteen renderings from the German, and twenty-eight (not "forty," as the preface has it) from the Latin; while, among original singers, Heber, Keble, Lyte, and Milman are allowed a fair hearing. They, indeed, in most of their contributions, do not bring us beyond 1834; but Neale, Caswall, Miss Winkworth, Miss Borthwick, and Mrs. Alexander were contemporaries. From Faber but one fragment is taken; but his fellow-Romanist, Bridges, is allowed to furnish three hymns and a half. Non-conformists, who were half churchmen, Montgomery and Conder, are made welcome, and Kelly and Bonar are sipped from sparingly. Of older hymnists the Wesleys, Cowper, and Newton are drawn upon as largely as Watts and Doddridge. The tone is more catholic, the materials are fused with greater skill. Some of the selections are unhackneyed, even original, and almost self-justifying at that. Were no names given, one might guess that able and cultivated minds, as well as devout hearts, had busied themselves about this book. Home matter is not wanting; here are five hymns of Crosswell, two each of Doane and two other eminent bishops, and several more. Some of these we must consider separately, since they are now part of our official hymnic provision:—

"Before the Lord we bow" (307, "Hymnal").

Francis Scott Key; probably written for the Fourth of July, 1832. All our home poets have produced but two other good hymns for that occasion.

"Lord, lead the way the Saviour went" (300).

"For Sisters of Mercy," 1831; by the lamented Dr. William Crosswell (1804–1851). See his poems, edited by his friend Dr. Coxe, 1861.

Several other hymns of his narrowly escaped the success which this had won. The best of them were included in the book before us.

"Once more, O Lord, thy sign shall be
Upon the heavens displayed" (8).

Bishop Doane; the last half of a poem entitled "The Two Advents," December, 1827. See his "Songs by the Way," third

edition (1875), p. 88. Several more of his later pieces have been adopted by other books, but not by our chief ones.

"Holy Father, great Creator" (145).

Bishop Griswold printed this in his "Prayers," 1835, as "A Hymn to the God of Christians,"—perhaps a fling at the Unitarianism then prevalent in his See city. It was here (1859–60) rescued from obscurity, with some needed alterations, by Dr. Coxe. The original made *Creator* rhyme with *creature*, and *Sanctifier* with *fire*.

"Once the angel started back" (111).

For this abrupt beginning the editors are responsible. It is the third stanza of a translation of '*Ad Regias Agni Dapes*,' in a little volume now scarce,— "Ancient Hymns of Holy Church,"—by Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Connecticut. From this source was taken another, which might better have been admitted to the "Hymnal,"—a version of *Vexilla Regis*.

Two renderings from the German, by Bishop Whittingham, seem to have been original here:—

"A mountain fastness is our God" (397).

"Jerusalem! high tower thy glorious walls (497).

The former is from Luther's famous *Ein' feste Burg*; the latter, from J. M. Meyfart, 1630.

"In the vineyard of our Father" (227).

This is by Mr. Thomas MacKellar,—a Philadelphia Presbyterian,—and was written for a Sunday-school celebration, he thinks, about 1853; but another authority says 1849.

"Almighty God, I call to thee" (511).

From Luther, *Aus tiefer Noth*. Seemingly an original translation here, by an unknown hand.

Besides these previously unknown or unfamiliar pieces the fine Easter song of the Unitarian, Henry Ware (1817: "Hymnal," 108), was now first admitted to our worship. Dr. J. W. Alexander's noble rendering from Gerhardt (87) had been in some previous selections. There were also some striking originals (?), which fortune, rather than merit, failed to carry further.

The "Hymns for Church and Home" doubtless did much to stimulate interest in the improvement for our hymnody. Their influence was plainly visible in the three hundred and six hymns (though one hundred and sixty-three of them were from the "Prayer-Book Collection") reported to the General Convention, in 1865, by a committee appointed for that purpose, with a resolution "that they be licensed for use in public worship until otherwise ordered." Many of these were good, and some of them were new. Here, for instance, were Mr. Smyttan's admirable "Forty Days and Forty Nights," and Neale's exquisite rendering of the "Alleluiatic Sequence" of Godescalcus; but beside them were relics of a sort whereof we had too many already, like this:—

"Jesus, in thee our eyes behold
 A thousand glories more
 Than the rich gems and polished gold
 The sons of Aaron wore."

These differing parts were not always coherent, and the work could not be regarded as final.

In December, 1865, was printed in Baltimore a small "Specimen of a Church Hymnal, humbly offered for the Consideration of those interested, by a Member of the General Convention." This excessive modesty thinly concealed one whose hymnologic studies had certainly gone farther than those of any other dignitary of the American Church, — no less a person than Bishop Whittingham. His personal taste and judgment, which might by some have been distrusted, had not here been followed; on the contrary, the preface tells us, "his first study was to lay these aside." Fifty-nine pages were occupied with samples from two portions of the work, and sixteen with subjects and first lines of five hundred and forty-six hymns; two hundred and seventy-nine were for the "Church Year;" fifty-one for daily and other services; ninety-one for "Offices and Occasions," and the rest on sundry "Topics." The publication was designed "for the purpose of ascertaining whether more [was] wanted." There was no loud call for more, and no more came of it. The entire manuscript probably still exists in the Maryland diocesan library.

But the public would no longer be content with the old psalms and hymns; and early in 1866 appeared sixty-five "Additional Hymns set forth by the House of Bishops, at the Request of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies." These were mainly taken from those reported to the Convention (as above), and largely from "Hymns for Church and Home." Twenty-seven bore date prior to 1800, being chiefly by C. Wesley (8), Newton (4), Cowper (3), and Watts (2). Of the later ones seven were Heber's, and three Montgomery's. Of translation from the Latin there were five by Dr. Neale, three by Caswall, and one by Dr. Irons; from the German, one each by John Wesley, Miss Borthwick, and J. W. Alexander. Of American writers, besides the last-named, Ray Palmer, Griswold, Crosswell, Doane, and Key, contributed one each; and there was one of uncertain origin. The strong points were "Abide with me," "Sun of my soul," and "Jerusalem the golden." In these our congregations for a time found refuge and consolation; most can remember how eagerly and constantly they were sought and sung.

But this slight taste of better provision only whetted the appetite for more; and in several dioceses Episcopal sanction was gained for larger liberty. In 1869 Dr. Batterson published in Philadelphia "The Church Hymnal. From the Prayer-Book Hymnal, Additional Hymns, Hymns Ancient and Modern, and Hymns for Church and Home. For use in Churches where licensed by the Bishop." This had four hundred and twenty-seven numbers, and *Gloria Patri* in all the metres. The next year, 1870, Mr. C. L. Hutchins, then of Buffalo, issued an edition of this with music, and some further hymns from the old two hundred and twelve. By this time "Hymns Ancient

and Modern" (1861), with, presently, its Appendix of September, 1868, was reprinted here, in several editions, and repeated, on a smaller scale, its amazing home success. License was given, or assumed, for its use in sundry dioceses; people rejoiced in a wealth of hymnic material before unknown to them; and some parishes reluctantly and slowly gave it up for the official "Hymnal" of 1871.

It was perhaps a pity that this moderate degree of freedom could not have lasted longer. In the mother-Church the voluntary system has produced hymnic activity, knowledge, and riches. There, since hymns began to be generally used, every rector has made his own collection, or introduced such one as he preferred. (Doubtless the bishops might, and occasionally did, object to and suppress some of these: there is a story of that sort about Cotterill's famous selection, which appears harmless enough, and was certainly very useful. But such misunderstandings seem to have been rare.) The results of this liberty are patent. No other section of Christendom has within the last fifty years developed such hymnologic energy and ability, both in studying and arranging the materials already extant and in producing new. Those who had taste or talent in this direction found motive to employ them; and thence arose a multitude of characteristic hymnals, and an army of writers who have enriched our sacred literature; for composing and compiling usually go together. Every mood of the Church's mind, every variety of opinion as to doctrine or feeling about ritual, has been more or less adequately expressed. If one is not satisfied with any of these books he can make a new one: if it have striking merits, or be adapted to any strong variety of popular taste, it will go from London to the Provinces, and be heard of across the seas. To scores this has been a labor of love, and one whose fruits have been abundant.

The natural desire for uniformity can hardly be less strong in England than with us; and suggestions have time and again been made, looking to an enforced national "Hymnal." But reason and experience vetoed these, knowing that uniformity in all details is not essential, and may be bought too dear. But it were too huge a task to substitute one book for many; and private enterprise had made them so good, cheap, and plentiful that authority might well shrink from entering the lists in competition.

Our case differed from that of England. A much smaller Church, scattered over a far larger country, in whose newer parts the conservative forces of law and tradition were little known or cared for, might fear to extend over this point a liberty which had often been abused on others. But within careful limits, as of Episcopal approval, many felt that it should be tried. We might seem to owe this much respect to the mother-Church, on whose materials and models we were mainly dependent. Such compiling as we had done had never won much praise abroad, where thousands were familiar with a subject to which we had given but limited attention. Our hard-worked bishops and leading rectors could not be expected, during a recess of Convention, to master so large and obscure a topic, or to gain more than a smattering of its history and divisions. But if for ten or twenty years the

English system, under whatever restrictions, could be allowed, priests and people would begin to think seriously about the matter; some of our prominent men might find inducement to include hymnology among their studies. One compilation would be compared with another, and with larger knowledge would come higher standards of taste. "Hymns Ancient and Modern," however faulty or imperfect, meant something tolerably definite, and had educating power: a book which, enforced by no authority, circulates at the rate of a million copies a year, must have character and meet a want. Another difficulty lay in the path of any imposed hymnal, and more hopelessly in 1870 than would be the case now. It must of necessity be a compromise between two leading schools of thought, not to say parties, in the Church. That is to say, it must either be colorless and characterless, or must offend many, both by its admissions and its omissions. In view of this and other facts in the case it was a judicious suggestion of the Rev. Charles L. Hutchins, that selections be made on the principle of accepted usage; *i.e.*, that a given number of leading Anglican manuals be agreed on, and such hymns only adopted as were found in one, or two, or five of them, those admitted by the largest number having the highest rank, and so on down. Of course this plan, if followed, would be fatal to all growth and progress, each book made under it being merely a repetition or rearrangement of former books, and new hymns, even the noblest, having no chance at all. But then there was no prospect of its being generally followed. It was intended only for our case, and would have ensured, not certainly a strong or original collection, but a safe one, which was the thing wanted.

All these considerations yielded to the desire for immediate uniformity after the usual methods, and the "Hymnal" appeared in 1871.

It is the only recent American collection of any standing which does not condescend to indicate, in any shape, the sources of its materials. This deficiency is supplied, with a reasonable number of mistakes, in some of the musical editions; and all needful points as to authorship, date, and text are furnished, with a near approach to exhaustive accuracy, by Mr. Hutchins, in his valuable, but little appreciated, "Annotations;" therefore I need speak only in general terms.

There are no originals, and few novelties: it is not for these that this book, like its predecessor of 1826, will be remembered. 173 has not been traced. 180 is said to be from the "Christian Observer." 181 is from "Hymns for Public or Private Use," 1846, perhaps the earliest of "Advanced" Anglican hymnals. 457, a rendering from Madame Guion, is found in a Boston Unitarian collection of 1853. 433, a fine version of Psalm cxlviii., was written and printed in a newspaper, about 1815, by Professor John De Wolf, of Bristol, R.I., a relative of Bishop Howe, to whom we owe its resurrection. Of 210, the loveliest of communion hymns, the two last stanzas are by Montgomery, 1825; the others apparently Moravian, 1832 or earlier. All the rest either are of well-known authorship or have been previously mentioned in this sketch.

Less than fifty, by the most liberal computation, are of American origin. Two-thirds of these are certainly or presumably by church-

men. The others, when not above cited, had been long familiar to other people, if not to ours, being from Sears, Ray Palmer, Mrs. Gilman, Mrs. Hyde, and Dr. Bethune, except 309, which is C. T. Brooks's, largely altered by J. S. Dwight. Of translations there are thirty-seven from the Latin, all by churchmen, reformed or not, — Neale leading off with fifteen. He also supplied six from the Greek, and Keble one (348), which was dropped at the revision in 1874. From the German there are sixteen, mostly by Anglicans (Miss Winkworth five, and John Wesley four), and two from the French. Total from other languages, sixty-two, of which forty-four are ancient or mediæval.

If we count by dates (considering the translations as English hymns, of course) some two hundred and fifty saw the light before 1800, some two hundred and seventy since; the latter having, also, a majority of writers.

As to ecclesiastical connection over three hundred were made by churchmen. Setting aside the Romanists (Caswall, Faber, Bridges, etc.), and the doubtful cases, hardly one hundred and eight are left to Protestant dissent. These figures would seem to indicate a great improvement in soundness of doctrine and tone of feeling; but it must be remembered that some leading contributors (C. Wesley, Newton, and Cowper) were rather in the Church than of it, being dominated by "views" which, whether or not accordant with her standards, are scarcely in harmony with her more characteristic utterances and general drift of sentiment to-day. The great Methodist poet founded a lyric school, in which he may be said to have had neither precedents, rivals, nor successors; and the Olney singers wrote under the combined influence of this and the then prevalent sad-colored and long-metred Independent muse; the latter for a solid basis, enlivened by a liberal sprinkling of the former. These saints, though brought up on the Prayer-Book, were not so far from Watts, Doddridge, and the Baptists of that time, as from Dr. Neale and Bishop Wordsworth. If we exclude the versions of Psalms, certainly not two hundred of these five hundred and twenty hymns, old and new, come from representative church sources.

But we have no right to exclude the Psalms from our consideration. Tate and Brady seem to have known no form of religion but the church's; and, if they wrote at the most coarse and pithless era of English literature (not to say of sacred poetry), at least they rendered yeoman service. They are by far the largest contributors to the "Hymnal," and their contribution is far too large. Why, at a day when entire metrical versions have been abandoned by all except the stricter Scotch persuasions, retain so huge a portion of their not eminently skilful nor precisely immortal work? No other hymnal does it, and few selected psalters of any date. Half a dozen of their versions are excellent; twenty might perhaps pass in a crowd; but to keep sixty is to sacrifice utility and taste on the altar of the past. What is the use, for instance, of fifteen mechanical stanzas (Hymn 38) of a psalm which anybody would rather sing in the splendid transfusion of Montgomery?

To enumerate the more voluminous contributors, after Tate and Brady, Watts supplies (in round numbers) thirty-seven; C. Wesley, twenty-eight; Montgomery, twenty-five; Neale, twenty-two; Doddridge, nineteen; Steele, Newton, and Heber, eleven each; Onderdonk, nine (three of them in part only); Keble and Sir H. W. Baker, eight; the Scotch Paraphrases and Mrs. C. F. Alexander, seven; Cowper, Kelly, and Bishop W. W. How, six; Caswall, Winkworth, Faber, and Bishop Wordsworth, five; J. Wesley, Addison, Muhlenberg, Lyte, Chandler, Ellerton, and Bridges, four; J. Mason, Hart, Beddome, Barbauld, H. K. White, Cotterill, Grant, Mant, Milman, Doane, and C. Elliott, three; and a host of writers, the remainder in pairs or singly.

As to the catholicity of selection (in the popular American sense of that ambiguous word) no complaint can justly be lodged. All schools of taste and piety, from Rome to Unitarianism, are here more or less represented. One may choose between the Advent antiphons (14) and "Come, ye sinners, poor and needy." Some have doubtless missed the old, familiar softening of "'Tis a point I long to know" (151 of the Prayer-Book); but they can take refuge in "The voice of free Grace cries, Escape to the mountain." And if others regret some hymns of pronounced Anglican character, endeared to them by their brief usage of "Hymns, Ancient and Modern," have they not (353-359) a full set for the Seven Hours? If not a few of the best lyrics that are enjoyed by our brethren across the water, and even by our neighbors of other names at home, are omitted, and many inserted which the majority of intelligent churchmen cannot or will not sing, be it remembered that it is impossible to please everybody. Five hundred and twenty hymns is a large provision for people long accustomed to only two hundred and twelve, and we can sing a small approved fraction of this large number over and over in frequent repetition. If not much regard has been paid to literary integrity and careful editing, our "Hymnal" did not aim at praise for these carnal qualities, but at utility; and it has its reward in being confessedly much better than the old psalms and hymns.

The revision in 1874 amounted to little, and that a dubious improvement. Of the twelve hymns added at the end three were the old, garbled versions of 1826, which had given way to comparatively pure texts in 1871; 525 is a restoration from the Prayer-Book; the others are additions of moderate value, four being old and four recent. In the body of the book fifteen hymns are displaced by others: Watts, three; Newton, three; S. Wesley, Sr., Doddridge, Robinson, Bruce, Blacklock, Sternhold and Hopkins, Kelly, Cunningham, and an uncertain piece dated 1830 (264), driving out Keble, two; Caswall, two; C. Wesley, two; Tate, J. Mason, Watts, Doddridge, Mrs. Hyde, Neale, Dix, Baker, and one of the Psalms of 1833. The only case among these where a change was obviously needed was 473, which had been a duplicate of 326. For the rest, neither the old nor the new 41 and 264 was of any special consequence. With 274, 385, and 417 gain and loss are about equal, unless loss be heavier in the last. With 114 and 378, good and important lyrics supplanted others of at

least equal beauty and value. With 75, 215, 246, 249, 262, 348, and 367, the progress, from any modern point of view, was distinctly backward. In about as many cases textual alterations, none of them momentous, were made. The substitution of *Jesus* for *Jesu* (*passim*) commends itself more doubtfully than that of *Alleluia* for *Hallelujah*, in 42. The effect of all these changes was not entirely to destroy the value of innumerable copies printed and circulated during the three preceding years, but to introduce frequent confusion between the two editions. Apart from this consideration on one hand, and that of authority on the other, probably any one not wedded to the memories of 1826 would prefer the unrevised form of 1871.

The "Hymnal" makes little account of our own later writers. These, indeed, have been neither numerous nor prolific, but their work has been gladly accepted elsewhere. If Bishop Burgess and Dr. Coxe had not been among the compilers of "Hymns for Church and Home," some of their productions would almost certainly have been introduced into that volume. Had Bishop Coxe not been a member of the Hymnal Committee, the loveliest of missionary songs, which had won a place in the exclusive "Hymns, Ancient and Modern," must thence have passed to us, and other verses of his, familiar to Presbyterians and Methodists, would have ceased to be unknown to his fellow-worshippers. But individual modesty was allowed to take precedence of the public good, and this section of our home resources was not drawn on.

Of late years hymnologic knowledge and activity have greatly increased. Facts bearing on the history and biography of the subject have been gathered in several treatises, and intelligent zeal has been shown, at home as well as abroad, in compiling both manuals for worship, and *Lyræ* for private use. All the surrounding bodies have new hymnals, constructed sometimes with much care and taste. Surprise has often been expressed, both within and without the Episcopal Church, at her comparative lack of interest in the matter. The complaint is unreasonable, or, at least, the fact is easily accounted for. With our friends of other names the hymn-book is their chief, and in most cases their only, liturgy. It is not so with us. Even for the musical part of worship we have the chants, the *Te Deum*, the *Glorias*, the Psalter, with growing content in their liberal use. Thus we might be almost independent of metrical hymns; and, so far as we want these, the mother-Church and the neighboring denominations can supply abundant material, so that we need only borrow thence, through our constituted authorities, what little we may desire. We are a conservative people, averse to changes; and we are now, after many delays and embarrassments, grown fairly used to a tolerable provision. It is therefore probably unwise to expect any further improvement in our hymnology for several decades to come.

Frederic M. Bird.

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